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# History.

AN

# Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest ACCOUNT of TIME.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

AND

Illustrated with MAPS, CUTS, NOTES, &c.

WITH

A GENERAL INDEX to the Whole.

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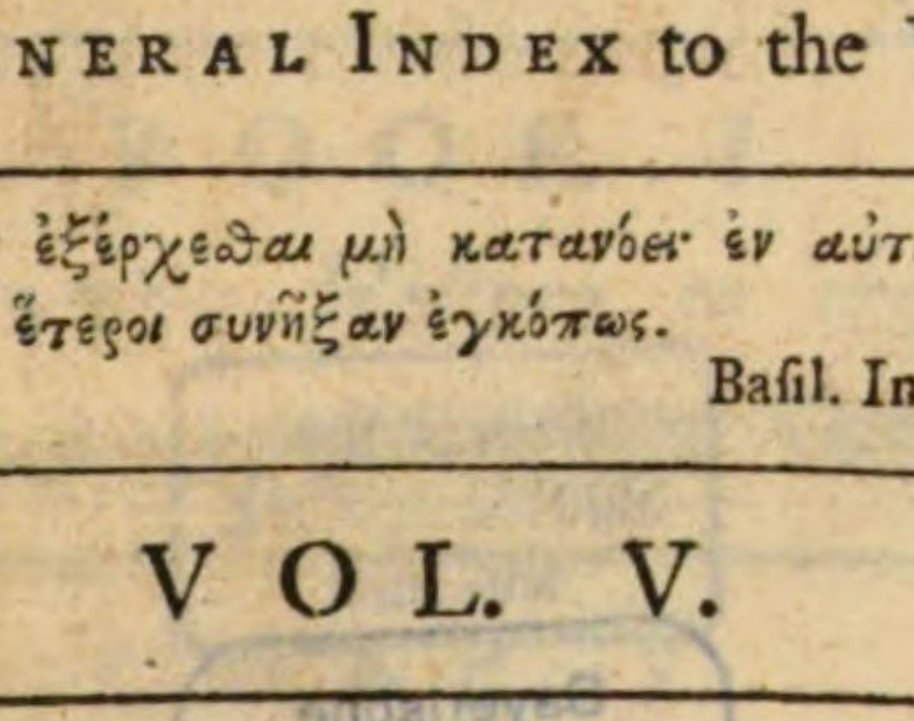
Ἱσορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ κατανόει· ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ ἑυρήσεις ἀκόπως, ἅπερ ἕτεροι συνῆξαν ἐγκόπως.

Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.

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VOL. V.

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MDCCXLVII.

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SECT. I.

The description of Media.

THE country before us, once the [illegible] empire, derives its name from Madai, the [illegible] son of Japhet, as is plain from Scripture, where the Medes are constantly called Madai (A). It was bounded, according to Ptolemy, on the north by part of the

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(A) Among profane authors, it is from one Medus that some derive the name of Media and Medea, others from

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A N

# Univerſal Hiſtory,

FROM THE

# Earlieſt Account of Time.

VOL. V.

## BOOK I.

### *The* ASIATIC *Hiſtory to the Time of* ALEXANDER the Great.

## CHAP. X.

### *The Hiſtory of the* Medes.

### SECT. I.

### *The deſcription of* Media.

THE country before us, once the ſeat of a potent empire, derives its name from *Madai*, the third ſon of *Japhet*, as is plain from Scripture, where the *Medes* are conſtantly called *Madai* [a] (A). It was bounded, according to *Ptolemy*, on the north by part of the *Name*, *ſituation*, &c.

[a] DAN. v. 28. ibid. vi. 8, 12, 15. ibid. viii. 20. ESTH. i. 3, 14, 18, 19. ibid. x. 2. See before, vol. i. p. 379.

(A) Among profane authors, ſome derive the name of *Media* from one *Medus*, the ſon of *Medea* and *Jaſon*; others from

the *Caſpian* ſea; on the ſouth by *Perſis*, *Suſiana*, and *Aſſyria*; on the eaſt by *Parthia* and *Hyrcania*; and on the weſt by *Armenia Major*. It was, in antient times, divided into ſeveral provinces, namely *Tropatene*, *Charomithrene*, *Darites*, *Marciane*, *Amariace*, and *Syro-Media*. All theſe were, by a later diviſion, reduced to two only, the one called *Media Magna*, the other *Media Atropatia*, or ſimply *Atropatene* [b].

*Atropatene* was that part which lay between mount *Taurus* and the *Caſpian* ſea, and is ſuppoſed to have been ſo called from one *Atropatus*, who, being governor of this province in the time of *Darius*, the laſt *Perſian* monarch, withſtood *Alexander the Great*, and, upon the downfal of the *Perſian* monarchy, ſeized on this part of *Media*, and tranſmitted it to his poſterity, who held it as ſovereigns to *Strabo*'s time [c]. This was a cold, barren, and unhoſpitable country, and on that very account allotted by *Shalmanezer* for the abode of many captive *Iſraelites*, after the conqueſt of that kingdom.

CITIES of note, in this part of *Media*, were *Gaza* or *Gazæ*, the metropolis of the province, and ſituated, according to *Pliny*, in a ſpacious plain, betweeen *Ecbatan* and *Artaxata*, and equally diſtant from both. *Sanina*, ſeated between the *Araxes* and the *Cambyſes*; *Fazina*, between the *Cambyſes* and the *Cyrus*; and *Cyropolis*, between the *Cyrus* and the *Amardus*. This tract was inhabited by the *Caduſians* and *Caſpians*, a barbarous and inhuman race, originally ſprung from the *Scythians* [d].

MEDIA MAGNA was bounded by *Perſis*, *Parthia*, *Hyrcania*, the *Hyrcanian* ſea, and *Atropatene*. The moſt remarkable cities in this part of *Media* were *Ecbatan*, *Laodicea*, *Apamea*, *Regeia*, *Arſacia*, &c. *Ecbatan*, the metropolis of all *Media*, and the ſeat both of the *Median* and *Perſian* monarchs, was built by *Dejoces*, called in the book of *Judith* [e] *Arphaxad*, the firſt that reigned

[b] STRAB. l. xi. p. 360, & 363. [c] STRAB. ibid. p. 523.
[d] PLIN. l. vi. c. 13. [e] Judith i. 2.

a city here called *Media*, whence, ſay they, the whole country borrowed its name (1). *Sextus Rufus* tells us, that in his time it was known by the name of *Medena* (2); and from others we learn (3), that it was alſo called *Aria*. But to inquire farther into the origin of theſe various appellations, would prove both a laborious and fruitleſs taſk.

(1) *Strab. l.* xi. *p.* 526. (2) *Ortel. theſ. geogr. ad vocem Media.*
(3) *Ortel. ibid.*

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in *Media*, after the inhabitants had ſhaken off the *Aſſyrian* yoke [e]. The walls of this city are much celebrated by the antients, and minutely deſcribed by *Herodotus* [f]. They were ſeven in number, all of a circular form, and gradually riſing above each other by the height of the battlements of each wall. The ſituation of the ground, riſing by an eaſy aſcent, was very favourable to the deſign of building them, and perhaps firſt ſuggeſted it. The royal palace and treaſury were within the innermoſt circle of the ſeven. The firſt of theſe walls was equal in circumference to the city of *Athens*, that is, according to *Thucydides* [g], one hundred and ſeventy-eight furlongs, and had white battlements; the ſecond black; the third of a purple colour; the fourth blue; and the fifth of a deep orange; but the two innermoſt, as ſerving more immediately for a fence to the royal perſon of the king, were embelliſhed above the others, the one being covered with ſilver, and the other with gold [h]. This deſcription of *Herodotus* favours, we muſt own, ſomewhat of romance; but, nevertheleſs, that *Ecbatan* was a great and powerful city, and perhaps no ways inferior either to *Nineveh* or *Babylon*, is confirmed by far greater authorities. In the book of *Judith* [i] we read, that the walls of this ſtately metropolis were ſeventy cubits high, and fifty cubits broad; that the towers on the gates were an hundred cubits in height, the breadth in the foundation ſixty cubits, and the walls built of hewn and poliſhed ſtone, each ſtone being ſix cubits in length, and three in breadth. This city is, by the antients, conſtantly called *Ecbatan* of *Media*, to diſtinguiſh it from another in *Syria* bearing the ſame name [k], where the unfortunate *Cambyſes* died, as we read in *Herodotus* [l] (B).

LAODI-

[e] HERODOT. l. i. c. 98. [f] HERODOT. ubi ſupra.
[g] Lib. i. [h] HERODOT. ibid. [i] Judith c. i. 2, 4.
[k] HERODOT. l. iii. c. 62. DIODOR. l. xiv. c. 23. PLIN. l. vi. c. 27. PLUTARCH. in Alex. p. 704. TACIT. l. xv. c. 31, &c.
[l] HERODOT. l. iii. c. 66.

(B) *Pliny* (4) tells us, that *Ecbatan* was built by *Seleucus*; an unaccountable overſight, ſince he muſt have read a deſcription of it not only in *Herodotus*, but likewiſe in *Demoſthenes* (5), who calls it the ordinary reſidence of the *Perſian* monarchs. On the other hand, *Diodorus* (6) carries the build-

(4) *Plin. l.* vi. *c.* 14. (5) *Demoſth. Philip.* iv. *p.* 100. (6) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* ii. *c.* 12.

LAODICEA, of which appellation there were many towns, ſo called either from the mother of *Nicator*, or the wife of *Antiochus*, is counted, by *Strabo* [m], among the cities of *Media*, and placed, by *Pliny* [n], near the confines of *Perſia*. *Apamea* is, by *Strabo*, ſometimes adjudged to *Media*, and ſometimes to *Parthia* [o]. *Raga*, *Rageia*, or *Ragea*, is called, by *Iſidorus* [p], the greateſt city of *Media*. It was repaired by *Nicator*, who called it *Europus*, and by that name it was known to *Ptolemy*; but, in the book of *Tobit*, it is called *Rages*, and placed in

[m] STRAB. l. xi. p. 361. [n] L. vi. c. 26. [o] STRAB. l. xi. p. 354, & 361. [p] ISIDOR. p. 361.

ing of this town back to the fabulous times of *Semiramis*, and ſpeaks of mountains leveled, valleys raiſed, waters conveyed through rocky mountains, and other aſtoniſhing works performed by his heroine for the embelliſhment of the city, and convenience of the inhabitants. This great city was ſituate on a riſing ground, according to *Ptolemy* and *Diodorus*, about twelve ſtades diſtance from mount *Orontes*, and not at the foot of mount *Jaſonius* on the ſouthern confines of *Media* and *Perſia*, where *Ammianus Marcellinus* is pleaſed to place it (7). Here *Daniel* is ſaid by *Joſephus* to have built a ſtateiy palace, which afterwards ſerved as a mauſoleum of the kings of *Media*. Some of the beams, ſays this author, were of ſilver, and the reſt of cedar, but plated with gold. There are now no monuments remaining, either of this magnificent building, or of the proud palace, where the monarchs of *Aſia* were wont to paſs their ſummer; nay, there is a great diſagreement among our modern travellers about the place where that ſtately metropolis ſtood. The opinion of *Molet*, who tranſlated and wrote a commentary upon *Ptolemy*, ſeems to Sir *John Chardin* the moſt probable, *viz.* that *Tauris* is the antient and famous *Ecbatan* (8); and this opinion is confirmed by *Ortelius*, *Golnitz*, *Teixera*, *Andrea della Valle*, &c. *Joſephus* aſſures us (9), that the palace built by *Daniel* was intire in his time; but at preſent not even the ruins of any magnificent buildings are to be ſeen either at *Tauris*, or in that neighbourhood; for in all the ruins there the materials, as our traveller judiciouſly obſerves (10), are only earth, brick, and pebbles, which in antient times were never uſed in *Media* for the building of palaces. Some writers confound *Ecbatan* with *Batana*, which is evidently *Ptolemy*'s *Batina*, and placed by him to the north of mount *Orontes*, near the river *Straton*.

(7) *Ammian. Marcell. l.* xxiii. *c.* 23. (8) *Chardin. voy. en Perſ. vol.* i. *p.* 181. (9) *Joſeph. antiquitat. l.* x. (10) *Chardin ubi ſupra.*

the neighbourhood of *Ecbatan* [p]. In proceſs of time, it became the ſeat of the *Parthian* kings; who gave it the name of *Arſacia*, or *Arſace*, as we ſhall ſee in the hiſtory of that people. Other cities of *Media* are mentioned by *Pliny*, *Stephanus*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and *Iſidorus*; viz. *Zombis*, *Patigran*, *Gazaca*, *Margaſis*, &c. but theſe were all built in after-ages by the *Macedonians*, and are therefore called, by *Strabo* [q], *Greek* cities. This part of *Media* was inhabited by the *Carduchians*, *Marandæans*, *Gelians*, *Syro-Medians*, *Margaſians*, &c.

THE mountains of this country, ſuch as may be proper to take notice of, are, according to *Ptolemy* and *Strabo* [r], *Choatra* parting *Media* from *Aſſyria*, and branching out from the *Gordyean* mountains on the confines of *Aſſyria* and *Armenia*; *Zagrus* dividing it from the ſame *Aſſyria* on the eaſt, a mountain, according to *Polybius* [s], one hundred cubits high. *Parachoatra* placed by *Ptolemy* on the borders towards *Perſia*, and by *Strabo* [t] on the confines of *Media*, *Hyrcania*, and *Parthia*. Theſe are the boundaries between *Media* and the adjacent regions, and therefore may be ſaid as properly to belong to the latter as to the former; but the *Orontes*, the *Jaſonius*, and the *Coronus*, are in the ſtricteſt ſenſe mountains of *Media*, as ariſing in the very heart of the country. The rivers of note are, according to *Ptolemy*, the *Straton*, the *Amardus*, the *Cyrus*, and the *Cambyſes*. But theſe rivers, as they are repreſented to diſembogue themſelves into the moſt ſouthern part of the *Caſpian* ſea, muſt by their poſition have belonged to the provinces of *Ghilan* and *Mazandaran*, as they are now call'd, and conſequently could not belong to *Media Proper*, as it is deſcribed to us by the antients. *Mountains and rivers.*

WE cannot help taking notice here of a conſiderable miſtake, which many of the antients have been guilty of, with reſpect to the ſituation of the *Caſpian Streights*, called by the *Latins Portæ Caſpiæ*, *Clauſtra Caſpia*, and *Pylæ Caſpiæ*. *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, *Arrian*, *Iſidorus*, *Characenus*, and *Dionyſius Periegeta* [u], place them on the confines of *Media* and *Parthia*, or on the eaſtern borders of *Media*. But *Pliny*, not liking this ſituation, carries them quite croſs the country; and, after having been ſome time at a loſs how to diſpoſe of ſo heavy a load, drops it at laſt on

[p] Ch. v. & ſeq. paſſ. [q] STRAB. l. vi. p. 361. [r] Idem ibid. p. 363. [s] POLYB. l. v. c. 44. [t] STRAB. ubi ſupra. [u] STRABO, l. xi. p. 362. ARRIAN. l. iii. ISIDOR. Characenus, p. 6. DYONYS. Perieget. verſu 1039.

the confines of *Media* and *Armenia*, that is, on the moſt weſtern borders of *Media* [w]. *Suetonius* [x] and *Tacitus* [y] confound them with the *Iberian* ſtreights, which are a narrow paſſage through the mountains dividing *Iberia* from *Sarmatia*. Some of our modern geographers place them in *Media Atropatia*, between the *Caſpian* mountains and the *Caſpian* ſea, confounding them with what the preſent inhabitants call *Demir-can*, or *Iron-gate*, which is a narrow paſſage out of *Tartary* into *Perſia*.

*Soil.* THE northern parts of *Media*, lying between the *Caſpian* mountains and the ſea, are very cold and barren: the preſent inhabitants make their bread of dried almonds, and their drink of the juice of certain herbs. Here the ſnow lies on the mountains for nine months in the year [z]. But the ſouthern parts are productive of all ſorts of grain, and neceſſaries for life, and withal ſo pleaſant, that the country adjoining to *Tauris*; probably the antient *Ecbatan*, is called the garden of *Perſia*. There are here large plains, among which that of *Nyſa* is famous for the numerous ſtuds of horſes that were kept in it for the uſe of the *Perſian* monarchs, and are often mentioned and celebrated by the antients. Where this plain of *Nyſa* was ſituated, is no eaſy matter to determine (C).

THE

[w] PLIN. l. vi. c. 15. [x] SUETON. c. 19. [y] TACIT. l. i. hiſt. c. 6. [z] CHARDIN voy. en Perſe, vol. i. p. 524.

(C) The antients place the *Nyſean* plain in the eaſtermoſt parts of what they call *Media*, and far beyond the limits of what is now ſuppoſed to have been properly this country. We have a traveller, who thinks he has ſeen this fertile paſture; but, if he did, we muſt place it quite differently from what the antients ſeem to inſinuate it ought to be, and ſeveral degrees nearer us. His words are, "We continued "our way (from *Tauris* to-"wards *Perſia*) upon the moſt "beautiful and fertile plains "covered with villages. Theſe "plains afford the moſt excel-"lent paſture of all *Media*, "and, I dare ſay, of the "whole world, and the beſt "horſes of the country were "there at graſs.---I aſked a "young nobleman in com-"pany with us, *If there were "any other plains in* Media *ſo "fine and ſo extenſive?* He "told me, *He had ſeen ſome as "fine about* Derbent, *but none "more extenſive.* So that 'tis "reaſonable enough to be-"lieve, that theſe plains are "the *Hippobaton* of the an-"tients, and where they ſay "the kings of *Media* had a "ſtud of fifty thouſand horſes; "and that here it is alſo we "muſt

THE climate is very unequal; that part which lies between the mountains and the sea is exceeding cold, and the earth swampy, and full of marshes, where innumerable swarms of venomous insects are bred (D), which, together with the vapours rising from the *Caspian* sea, render that part very unhospitable. The provinces that are more remote from the sea enjoy a very wholsome air, though liable to heavy rains, and violent storms, especially in the spring and autumn [a]. Besides the cattle and game of all sorts, which the inland provinces abound with, some of them have been for many ages remarkable on account of the various sorts of excellent wines they produce, especially the neighbourhood of *Tauris*, where no fewer than sixty different kinds of grapes, all of an exquisite flavour, are to be tasted at this day [b]. From its productions in the present state, we may judge what it must have been in better times. *Climate.*

WE cannot dismiss this subject without some observations on the *Caspian* sea, which is the northern boundary of *Media*. This large body of waters was by the antients called indifferently the *Caspian* and the *Hyrcanian* sea, from the *Caspians* and *Hyrcanians*, whose shores it washed [c]. However *Pliny* [d] makes some difference be- *The Caspian sea.*

[a] CHARDIN ubi supra. [b] CHARDIN, vol. i. p. 185.
[c] STRABO, l. xi. p. 83. DIODOR. l. vii. c. 75. [d] PLIN. l. vi. c. 13. & 16.

" must look for the *Nysean* " plain, so famous for the " horses of that name. *Ste-* " *phanus* the geographer says, " that *Nysa* was in the coun- " try of the *Medes*. I told " this same nobleman some " particulars which historians " relate concerning these " horses, particularly *Phavo-* " *rinus*, who says, all the " *Nysean* horses were light " duns: he answered, that *he* " *had never read or heard any* " *thing of the kind*. I after- " wards inquired of several " gentlemen of learning; but " could never understand, that " there was any place either " in *Persia* or *Media* that pro- " duced horses of that co- " lour (11)."

(D) *Ælian* tells us (12), that these parts of *Media* were greatly infested by scorpions; and that, while the king of *Persia* was on his progress into *Media*, the inhabitants were employed for three days before his arrival on the confines in clearing the country of these venomous insects.

(11) *Chardin ubi supra. p.* 185. (12) *Ælian. de animal. l.* x. *c.* 26.

tween

tween these two appellations, telling us, that on the *Caspian* coasts it bears the former denomination, and on those of *Hyrcania* the latter. The antient, and likewise the modern geographers, had but a very imperfect knowlege of the true situation, extent, coasts, and bays of this sea, before the discoveries made lately by a very able navigator and geographer (E); and therefore what has been said by others is only to be relied on so far as it agrees with the accounts he has given us. *Ptolemy*, and even *Herodotus*, knew that the *Caspian* was surrounded on all sides by land, without any communication with other seas, or visible efflux; whence some thought, that it ought to be called a lake rather than a sea. However *Strabo* [e], *Pliny* [f], *Pomponius Mela* [g], and *Arrian* [h], wrote that it was joined either to the *Indian* or northern ocean; but we are well assured by experience, that they were mistaken. They were perhaps led into this error by such as had made their observations when the *Wolga* had overflown its banks, at which time it appears more like a sea than a river, covering with its waters, as a modern traveller informs us [i], the whole country to the extent of sixty miles: this they might easily have mistaken for a streight joining the *Caspian* to the ocean. *Ptolemy*, though not guilty of this error, was greatly mistaken as to its extent from east to west; for he reckons it to have been about twenty-three degrees and an half; whereas it does not exceed, where widest, three degrees forty-two minutes, and where narrowest, one degree twenty-two minutes. He likewise places it three degrees more to the north than it really is. These mistakes were observed, and in some degree redressed, by *Abu'lfeda* an *Arabian* prince, and able geographer, who in 1320 discovered the true situation of the *Caspian*, and abridged its extent by a third of what *Ptolemy* had allowed it. By this alteration its length was no more in longitude, as *Ptolemy* had placed

[e] Strabo, l. x. p. 83. [f] Plin. l. vi. c. 13. [g] Pomp. Mel. l. iii. c. 5. [h] Arrian. l. vii. p. 477. [i] Le Bruyn voy. par la Moscov. tom. iii. p. 465.

(E) M. *Vanverden*, who, by orders of the late *Czar*, formed a very exact chart of the *Caspian*, from observations made by him on the spot in 1710, 1721, 1722. These observations, together with M. *Vanverden*'s new chart, were, by the *Czar*'s orders, communicated to the royal academy of sciences at *Paris*.

it,

it, but in latitude, as it truly is. *Abu'lfeda*'s obſervations were greatly improved by *Bourrous*, *Olearius*, and *Jenkinſon*; but the true dimenſions of this ſea were not aſcertained till the late obſervations above-mentioned; by which we are aſſured, that it lies between the thirty-ſeventh and forty-eighth degrees of north latitude, and does not exceed three degrees forty-two minutes in its greateſt longitude, which gives it a quite different figure from what it is repreſented to have in the maps of *Ptolemy*, and in the writings of the other antient geographers.

THE *Perſians* call this ſea *Kulſum*, or the ſea of *Aſtracan*; the *Ruſſians*, the ſea of *Gualenſkoi*; the *Georgians*, *Sowa*; the *Armenians*, *Soof*. It receives the river *Wolga*, which itſelf is like a ſea, and near two hundred others, into its boſom; and yet is never increaſed or diminiſhed, nor obſerved to ebb or flow. This conſtant plenitude has given riſe to many ſpeculations; and ſome have imagined, that it muſt neceſſarily have ſome ſubterraneous communication either with the *Black* ſea, though a hundred leagues diſtant, or with the *Perſian* gulf, which is near 200 leagues diſtant from it. Father *Avril*, a modern traveller, ſeems to favour the latter opinion, and alleges this proof to confirm it; *viz.* that over-againſt the province of *Xilan* in *Perſia* there are two immenſe whirlpools, which with an incredible rapidity, and frightful noiſe, ſuck in and ſwallow *whatever comes near them*, and are conſequently cauſed by ſome great cavity in the earth. He adds, that every year about the latter end of the autumn a great quantity of willow-leaves are obſerved floating on the water by thoſe who inhabit the coaſts of the *Perſian* gulf; and as this tree is no-where to be found near the *Perſian* gulf, and on the other hand the coaſts of the *Caſpian* towards the province of *Xilan* are covered with them, he rightly concludes, that there muſt be ſome ſubterraneous intercourſe between theſe two ſeas. This obſervation, if true, is a ſtrong proof of ſome ſecret communication between theſe two bodies of water, the leaves being conveyed through ſubterraneous fiſſures from the one to the other. The water of this ſea is ſalt like that of other ſeas, notwithſtanding the opinion of the antients to the contrary; and its freſhneſs in ſome parts near the ſhore, is only owing to the rivers that diſcharge themſelves into it. It is neither of a different colour from other ſeas, nor without various ſorts of fiſh, as *Olearius*, an eye-witneſs, aſſures us, and thereby diſproves the opinion of the antients, who

who believed it to be of a blackiſh colour, and to have but one kind of fiſh, and that of a monſtrous form. We ſhall conclude this ſection with obſerving, that the ignorance of the antients, with relation to this ſea, or lake, as ſome are pleaſed to call it, may be urged as an argument of the imperfect knowlege they had of theſe northern parts of the *Perſian* empire, and at the ſame time warn us not to depend on their accounts, unleſs vouched by the teſtimonies of modern travellers, who have with far greater care, and better ſucceſs, ſurveyed thoſe remote regions.

## SECT. II.

### *Of the antiquity, government, laws, religion, cuſtoms, arts, learning, and trade of the* Medes.

*Their origin.*

WE have already derived the *Medes* [k] from *Madai*, the third ſon of *Japhet*, and thereby put them upon the level with the moſt antient nations. In proceſs of time, ſeveral colonies from the adjacent countries ſettled among them, being invited thither by the fruitfulneſs of the ſoil, which gave riſe to the various tribes into which that people was antiently divided. The *Greek* writers will have them to be originally *Perſians* [l]; and *Herodotus* tells us, that they were called *Arians* till the time of *Medus*, the ſon of *Medea*, from whom they took the name of *Medians* [m]. But our etymology is far more natural, and confirmed by the authority of all the antient interpreters, who by *Madai* in Scripture conſtantly underſtand the *Medes* [n].

*Government.*

THEIR government was originally monarchical, like that of the other primitive nations, and they ſeem to have had kings of their own in the earlieſt times. Some are of opinion, that one of the four kings, who, in the days of *Abraham*, invaded the ſouthern coaſts of *Canaan*, reigned in *Media*. *Lactantius* mentions one *Hydaſpes*, who, according to him, reigned long before the *Medes* were con-

[k] Vide ſupra, vol. i. p. 379. [l] CEDREN. p. 18. [m] HERODOT. l. vii. c. 62. [n] Vide HIERONYM. in cap. xiii. Eſaiæ, & in quæſt. Hebraic.

quered

quered by the *Assyrians*. And *Diodorus* tells us, that *Pharnus*, king of the *Medes*, was with his seven sons defeated and taken prisoner by *Ninus*, in the very beginning of the *Assyrian* empire °. But his accounts of those early times are no-ways to be relied on, it being plain both from Scripture, and from the authority of the most judicious among the antient and modern chronologers, that the *Assyrian* empire did not begin till the days of *Pul*, as has been already fully shewn; whereas *Ctesias*, and his copyist *Diodorus*, have made this empire as old as the flood, and given us the names of all the *Assyrian* kings from *Belus*, and his feigned son *Ninus*, to *Sardanapalus*. According to the successions of the *Assyrian* kings, as stated by them, that empire continued about 1360 years; whereas *Herodotus* tells us, that it lasted only five hundred years, and even his numbers are all too long. They were first brought under the *Assyrian* yoke by *Pul*, according to us the founder of that monarchy, or by his immediate successor *Tiglath-pileser*. Till that time they were probably governed by their own kings, as were, according to holy writ, the neighbouring nations (H). In the reign of *Sennacherib* they shook off the *Assyrian* yoke, and fell into an anarchy, which lasted till the reign of *Dejoces*, as we shall see in the following section. Their kings, after the revolt, were quite absolute, and controuled by no law; nay, they claimed an equal respect with the gods themselves.

° Diodor. Sic. l. v. c. 5.

(H) In the time of the judges of *Israel*, *Mesopotamia* was under its own king (19); the king of *Zobah* reigned on both sides of the *Euphrates* till he was conquered by *David* (20). The kingdoms of *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, *Philistia*, *Zidon*, *Damascus*, and *Hamath the Great*, were governed by their own princes; and so were those of *Haran* or *Carrhæ*, and *Sepharvaim* in *Mesopotamia*, and *Calneh* near *Bagdad*. As these petty kingdoms were ruled by their own princes, so was *Media* till the time of *Pul*, who subdued most of the above-mentioned nations. *Media* may have been subdued by *Nimrod*, who was a great warrior; but his empire, if he founded any, was of short continuance, it being the custom in those early times for every father to divide his territories among his sons.

(19) *Jud.* iii. 8. (20) 2 *Sam.* viii. *and* x.

*Manners and customs.*

THE *Medes* were once a very warlike race, as will appear from their history; but in process of time became one of the most effeminate nations of *Asia*. In war they used the same armour as the *Persians*, whom they are said to have taught the art of war, especially to handle with dexterity the bow; and likewise to have been the first that introduced luxury into *Persia*, which at last occasioned the downfal of that empire, as it had before been the ruin of the *Medes* [q]. Polygamy was so far from being disreputable among them, that they were bound by law to maintain at least seven wives, and those women were looked upon with contempt who maintained fewer than five husbands [r]. In war, they poisoned their arrows with a bituminous liquor called *naphta*, whereof there was great plenty in *Media*, *Persia*, and *Assyria*. The arrow, being steeped in it, and shot from a slack bow (for a swift and violent motion took off from its virtue), burnt the flesh with such violence, that water rather increased than extinguished the malignant flame: dust alone could put a stop to it, and, in some degree, allay the unspeakable pain it occasioned. They are likewise said to have bred a number of large dogs, to whom they used to throw the bodies of their friends, parents, and relations, when at the point of death, looking upon it as dishonourable to die in their beds, or be laid in the ground [s].

SOME writers charge the *Medes* with being the first authors of making eunuchs [t]; but others impute this execrable practice to the *Persians*, and even name the place where it first took rise [u] (I). The custom of confirming alliances with the blood of the contracting parties, which obtained among all the eastern nations, even in the *Roman* times, was originally peculiar to the *Medes* [w]. When they were to

[q] STRABO, lib. xi. XENOPHON. Cyropæd. lib. i. p. 7. [r] STRABO, l. xi. p. 526. [s] BARDESAN. apud Euseb. præpar. evang. l. vi. c. 8. [t] ATHENÆUS, l. xii. [u] STEPHAN. de urbib. [w] HERODOT. l. i. c. 74.

(I) *Stephanus* tells us, that this custom was first introduced in a city of *Persia* called *Spada*, whence he derives the *Latin* Word *Spado*, signifying an eunuch. But both he, and those who charge the *Medes* with introducing such an unnatural practice, are certainly mistaken, since we find eunuchs in vogue among the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians* long before

to ſtrike alliances, they uſed to tie together, with an hard bandage, the thumbs of their right hands, till the blood, ſtarting to the extremities, was, by a ſlight cut, diſcharged. This they mutually ſucked; and a league, thus confirmed, was eſteemed moſt awful, as myſteriouſly ſolemnized with the blood of the parties [x].

THE laws and religion of the *Medes* were much the ſame with thoſe of the *Perſians*: wherefore we ſhall defer what may be ſaid of them, till we come to the hiſtory of the *Perſians*, from the oriental writers. We ſhall only obſerve here, that, when a law was once enacted, it was not in the king's power to repeal it, or to reverſe a decree he had once made; whence the laws of the *Medes* are, in *Laws, religion, &c.*

[x] TACIT. annal. xii.

before ſuch a piece of wanton luxury can be ſuppoſed to have been known either to the *Medes* or *Perſians*. *Joſephus* (21) acquaints us, that *Nabuchadonoſor* commanded the moſt comely youths among the captive *Jews* to be made eunuchs. And *Hierom* is of opinion, that the prophet *Daniel* and his three companions were eunuchs (22). *Ammianus Marcellinus* will have *Semiramis* to have been the firſt contriver of eunuchiſm (23). What prompted them thus to maim and deform nature, *Petronius Arbiter* will tell us:

*Perſarum ritu male pubeſcentibus annis*
*Subripuere viros; exſectaque viſcera ferro*
*In venerem fregere: atque ut fuga mobilis ævi,*
*Circumſcripta mora, properantes differat annos* (24).

And *Claudian*,

*Seu Perſica ferro*
*Luxuries vetuit naſci lanuginis umbram* (25).

Eunuchs have always been in great repute among the eaſtern princes, and were antiently employed in the moſt momentous affairs; all the places of greateſt truſt being filled by ſuch men. But we have formerly ſhewn that the term eunuch does not always ſignify a real one, but often an officer at court, and near to the king's perſon; ſuch as was *Potiphar* to the king of *Egypt* (26). To them the *Perſian* kings committed not only the guard of their own perſons (27), but likewiſe the education of their children, it being a cuſtom among them to put the heir apparent of the crown, as ſoon as he was born, into the hands of eunuchs, under whoſe tuition he remained till he attained the ſeventh year of his age (28).

(21) *Joſeph. antiquit. l.* x. *c.* 16. (22) *Hieronym. in cap. prim. Daniel.* (23) *Ammian. Marcellin. l.* xiv. (24) *Petron. Arb. ſatyr.* (25) *Claudian. in Eutrop. l.* i. (26) *See vol.* iii. *p.* 293, *note* (M). (27) *Xenoph. Cyropæd. l.* viii. (28) *Plato in Alcibiad.* i.

holy

holy writ, called unchangeable [y]. A modern writer tells us, that those only were admitted to the crown, who were remarkable, above others, for their strength or stature [z]. But that there was no such law, is plain from the regular succession of father and son, without regard to any personal quality whatsoever. Some law of this nature may perhaps have obtained among them before they were conquered by the *Assyrians*; but we are quite in the dark as to the state of *Media* in those early times.

THEY paid their kings the greatest respect imaginable, putting them upon the level even with their gods. They thought it an high offence either to spit or laugh in their presence [a]. They honoured their sovereign with the haughty title of *great king*, or *king of kings*; which stile was afterwards adopted by the *Persian* monarchs, and their proud successors the *Parthians*, whose king, even in the time of the emperor *Constantius*, retained that title, writing himself, in a letter to that prince, Sapor, *king of kings, allied to the stars, brother to the sun and moon*, &c [b]. When they appeared in public, which seldom happened, they were always attended by music, and numerous guards, consisting of the prime nobility; their wives, children, and concubines, being part of their retinue, even when they headed their armies in the field.

AS to their arts, learning, and trade, we are quite in the dark. Their country abounded with many excellent productions, as well for the use of the inhabitants themselves, as for foreign exportation; but, whether they ever applied themselves to trade, is what we find no-where recorded: the contrary seems rather to appear, from the character which the prophet [c] gives them of despising gold and silver, and delighting in the bloody trade of war. Neither do we find any mention made by the antients of their arts or sciences. During the short time of their monarchy, they seem to have applied their thoughts only to warlike exercises, namely, to the arts of managing an horse, and handling the bow; in which they surpassed all other nations, the *Median* horse being no less celebrated by the antients, than were in after-ages the *Persian* foot [d]. Thus much we have thought necessary to say apart of the *Medes*,

[y] DAN. vi. 8.
[z] ALEXAND. ab ALEX. l. iv. c. 23.
[a] HERODOT. l. i. c. 99.
[b] AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. l. xvii.
[c] ISAI. xiii. 17, & seq.
[d] XENOPH. Cyropæd. l. i. c. 7.

and their country. What elſe may be added thereto, we defer to the ſections of the following chapter, which will be no more than a continuation of this.

## SECT. III.

### *The chronology of the* Medes, *to the tranſlation of their empire to the* Perſians.

WE have formerly ſhewn how *Cteſias* and his followers have darkened the chronology of the *Aſſyrians*, *Babylonians*, and *Medes* with ſuch enormous anachroniſms, that it is no eaſy matter to aſcertain the riſe or fall of thoſe potent monarchies. To proceed with all the clearneſs and perſpicuity ſo perplexed a ſubject will allow, we ſhall diſtinguiſh, in the chronology of the *Medes*, three remarkable occurrences, which will give birth to as many different æras, *viz.* the recovery of their liberty after they had been ſubdued by the *Aſſyrians*; the riſe of their kingdom after ſome years of anarchy; and the beginning of their empire, which, it is agreed on all hands, roſe on the ruins of the *Aſſyrian* monarchy. The firſt king of the *Aſſyrians*, who brought the *Medes* under ſubjection, was either *Pul*, according to us, the founder of the *Aſſyrian* empire, or his immediate ſucceſſor *Tiglath-pileſer:* for this prince, having, at the requeſt of *Ahaz* king of *Judah*, made war upon *Rezin* king of *Damaſcus*, and reduced that capital, tranſplanted its inhabitants to *Kir* in *Media* [f]; whence it is plain, that the *Medes* were then ſubject to the *Aſſyrians*; and conſequently that they muſt have been ſubdued either in the reign of *Pul*, or ſoon after the acceſſion of *Tiglath-pileſer* to the crown; for the empire of the *Aſſyrians* was already grown great, and *the* GOD *of* Iſrael *ſtirred up the ſpirit of* Pul *king of* Aſſyria, *and the ſpirit of* Tiglath-pilneſer *king of* Aſſyria [g], to make war. *Pul* makes his firſt appearance in Scripture during the reign of *Menahem* king of *Iſrael*, in the year of the flood 1577. before Chriſt 771. *Tiglath-pileſer*, who is ſuppoſed to have been his ſon, ſucceeded him in the year of the flood 1608. before Chriſt 740. That there was no *Aſſyrian* empire before the days of *Pul*, is plain, both from the Scripture, and from the particular hiſtories of each kingdom; ſo that the *Medes* could not be ſubdued by them before the time we have mentioned.

[f] 2 Kings xvi. 7. 9. [g] 1 Chron. v. 26.

From the time of *Pul*, or *Tiglath-pileſer*, they continued in ſubjection to the *Aſſyrians* till the reign of *Sennacherib*, which began about the year of the flood 1635, before Chriſt 713 (L). They took advantage, it is likely, of his long and diſtant abſence, or of the ſudden ſlaughter of his army near *Egypt*, and, ſhaking off the yoke, defended their liberty, by dint of arms, againſt the power of the *Aſſyrians*, which was now in its decline. Theſe are the troubles which prevented *Tobit* from going into *Media*, according to his cuſtom [i]; and they muſt have happened about the latter end of *Sennacherib*'s reign, that is, about the year of the flood 1638. before Chriſt 710. The *Medes*, having thus reſcued their country from the *Aſſyrian* bondage, fell into a kind of anarchy, as *Herodotus* informs us [k]; which gave *Eſar-haddon* or *Aſſar-hadon*, who ſucceeded *Sennacherib*, and was both a valorous and fortunate prince, an opportunity of bringing great part of *Media*, if not the whole country, anew under ſubjection. How long the anarchy may have laſted, is hard to determine. Some include the years of the anarchy in the fifty-three, which *Dejoces*, their firſt king, is ſaid to have reigned. If we ſuppoſe the *Medes* to have revolted in the year before Chriſt 710. and allow fifty-three years to the reign of *Dejoces*, the anarchy cannot have laſted above one year: for *Dejoces*, who, in the book of *Judith*, is called *Arphaxad* [l], was killed by *Saoſduchinus* or *Nebuchadonoſor*, in the year 656. which was the twelfth of *Saoſduchinus*'s reign, who came to the crown in the year 668. before the chriſtian æra. But the reign of *Dejoces*, who, as we read in *Herodotus* [m], had ſome time exerciſed the office of judge, before he was

[i] Tobit i. 15. [k] Herodot. l. i. c. 96. [l] Judith i. 1. [m] Herodot. ubi ſupra.

(L) That in the time of *Shalmanezer* they were ſubject to the *Aſſyrians*, is plain from Scripture, where that prince is ſaid to have tranſplanted the inhabitants of *Samaria* to *Halah* and *Habor*, and the other cities of the *Medes* (30). In this captivity *Tobit* was carried from his native country, the city of *Thiſbe*, in the tribe of *Naphtali*, with *Anna* his wife, and *Tobias* his ſon, into *Aſſyria*; but the reſt of his brethren were carried into *Media*, and planted there, particularly *Gabael* in *Rages*, and *Raguel* in *Ecbatan* (31); which proves *Media* to have been in the time of *Shalmanezer* ſubject to the king of *Aſſyria*.

(30) 2 *Kings* xvii. 6. (31) *Tobit* i. 10, & *ſeqq.*

choſen

chosen king, is evidently too long; and we may safely abridge it of fifteen or twenty years, adding them to the anarchy. From the beginning of the reign of *Dejoces*, to the destruction of *Nineveh*, which happened in the ninth year of the reign of *Jehoiakim*, that is, in the year of the flood 1747. before Christ 601. *Media* may be properly stiled a kingdom. From the destruction of *Nineveh*, we may date the rise of the empire of the *Medes*; for the conquerors, that is, *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Cyaxares*, having shared the *Assyrian* empire, they both became very powerful, and reduced most of the neighbouring nations, as we shall see in the sequel of this history. Their empire lasted till the taking of *Babylon*; for *Xenophon* [n] tells us, that, after the reduction of that city, *Cyrus* went to the king of the *Medes* at *Ecbatan*, and succeeded him in the kingdom; which is intirely agreeable to Scripture. *Babylon* was taken sixty-three years after the destruction of *Nineveh*, to which we may add the two years that *Darius* the *Mede* reigned over that city; so that the empire of the *Medes* lasted sixty-five years, at the period of which the *Persian* empire took rise in *Cyrus*. That *Darius* the *Mede* reigned over *Babylon*, is unquestionable; for he is said, in Scripture [o], to have introduced there the immutable laws of the *Medes* and *Persians*. In his reign, the *Medes* are ever placed before the *Persians* [p], as the *Persians*, in the reign of *Cyrus* and his successors, are always set before the *Medes* [q].

BEFORE we proceed to the history of the *Medes*, we shall exhibit the series of their kings, according to several authors.

*A table of the kings of the* Medes, *according to* Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Eusebius, *and* Syncellus.

| Acc. to *Herodot.* | | | Acc. to *Diod.* | | Acc. to *Euseb.* | | | Acc. to *Syncel.* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| * * * * * * * | | 1 | *Arbaces* | 28 | 1 *Arbaces* | 28 | 1 | *Arbaces* | 28 |
| * * * * * * * | | 2 | *Mandauces* | 50 | 2 *Sosarmus* | 30 | 2 | *Mandauces* | 20 |
| * * * * * * * | | 3 | *Sosarmus* | 30 | 3 *Medidus* | 40 | 3 | *Sosarmus* | 30 |
| * * * * * * * | | 4 | *Artieas* | 50 | 4 *Cardiceas* | 13 | 4 | *Articas* | 30 |
| * * * * * * * | | 5 | *Arbacines* | 22 | * * * * * * * | | * * * * * * * | | |
| * * * * * * * | | 6 | *Artæus* | 40 | * * * * * * * | | * * * * * * * | | |
| * * * * * * * | | 7 | *Artynes* | 22 | 5 *Dejoces* | 54 | 5 | *Diæces* | 54 |
| 1 *Dejoces* | 53 | 8 | *Antibarnes* | 40 | 6 *Phraortes* | 24 | 6 | *Aphraartes* | 51 |
| 2 *Phraortes* | 22 | 9 | *Astibares* | ** | 7 *Cyaxares* | 32 | 7 | *Cyaxares* | 32 |
| 3 *Cyaxares* | 40 | 10 | *Apandas* or *Astyages* | ** | 8 *Astyas* | 38 | 8 | *Astyages* or *Darius* | 38 |
| 4 *Astyages* | 35 | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 150 | | | 282 | | 259 | | | 283 |

[n] XENOPH. Cyrop. l. viii. ubi supra, & v. 28. viii. 20. [o] Dan. vi. 8, 12, 15. [p] Dan. x. 1, 20. & xi. 2. [q] Esth. i. 3, 14, 18, 19. Dan.

THIS table contains what may be called two original catalogues, those of *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*, as he has borrowed it from *Ctesias*. The other two are compounded of both, with an equal deference to each, as far as they go. By what we have laid down above, and confirmed with the authority of holy writ, it appears, that *Herodotus* is not greatly mistaken in his numbers. *Ctesias* enumerates ten kings of *Media*, whose names are different from those mentioned by *Herodotus*, except the last, whom he calls *Astyages*, and *Diodorus* names *Apandas*. The reigns of the eight first amount to two hundred and eighty-two years, and those of the two last are omitted; but, if they be supplied from *Herodotus*, they will come very near *Justin*'s account; who supposes the kings of *Media* to have reigned three hundred and fifty years. *Eusebius* and *Syncellus* differ as widely from *Ctesias* as from each other, except in the name and reign of the first king *Arbaces*; and, besides, omit two of his ten. They pay a greater respect to *Herodotus*, whom they copy more exactly, at least with regard to his names, though they vary sometimes very materially from him in the lengths of the reigns. As for the variations between them, it would be a fruitless task to inquire into them; especially as it must appear, from what we have said already, that they are both grosly mistaken (N).

SECT.

(N) *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* and *Appian* have followed *Herodotus* with regard to the duration of the empires of the *Assyrians* and *Medes*. The former acquaints us (34), that the empire of the *Medes* was ruined in the fourth generation; and the latter (35), that the three great empires of the *Assyrians*, *Medes* and *Persians*, to the time of *Alexander*, did not last 900 years. The *Persian* empire continued 230 years, from the first year of the fifty-fifth Olympiad to the second of the hundredth and twelfth. To this number if we add 670 years, which the empires of the *Assyrians* and *Medes* lasted, according to *Herodotus*, the sum will be but 900 years. These are the sentiments of the most judicious among the profane historians, concerning the duration of the empires of the *Assyrians* and *Medes*. But on the other side *Cephaleon*, *Alexander Polyhistor*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Castor*, *Trogus Pompeius*, and his abbreviator *Justin*, with *Velleius Paterculus*, have followed *Ctesias* in his catalogue of the *Assyrian* kings. Among

(34) *Dionys. Halicar. l. i. hist. Rom.* (35) *Appian. in præfat.*

christian

## SECT. IV.

### *The history of the* Medes.

WE ſhall begin with what we may call the fabulous hiſtory of the *Medes*, being extracted from *Cteſias*, his tranſcriber *Diodorus*, and their followers. Accordchriſtian chronologers, *Africanus*, *Euſebius*, and *Syncellus*, have inſerted in their catalogues, the kings of the *Aſſyrians* and *Medes* mentioned by *Cteſias*; though, in order to adjuſt their chronologies, they have ſometimes abridged, and ſometimes increaſed their number.

If the empire of the *Medes* continued 352 years, as it muſt have done according to *Cteſias*, if we ſupply the reigns of the two laſt kings, in his catalogue, from *Euſebius* or *Syncellus*, it muſt be ſuppoſed, that, after the empire of the *Aſſyrians* was deſtroyed by *Arbaces*, there were no *Aſſyrian* kings either at *Nineveh* or *Babylon*, and that the *Medes* were ſole maſters of *Aſia*. But this ſuppoſition is evidently repugnant both to ſacred and profane hiſtory. If we conſult the Scripture, we ſhall find, that the *Aſſyrian* empire was never more potent than after this pretended deſtruction of *Nineveh*. The prophet *Jonah*, who flouriſhed in the reigns of *Azariah* king of *Judah*, and *Jeroboam* king of *Iſrael*, was ſent to preach repentance to *Nineveh*, about 80 years after the ſuppoſed reign of *Arbaces*; and *Nineveh* was then a great city, three days journey long; it had a king of its own, and was ſo populous as to contain above 120,000 children not yet come to the uſe of reaſon; for thus is the paſſage commonly underſtood, where it is ſaid, that *they could not diſcern between* their right hand and their left (36). Could a city, which had been reduced to an heap of rubbiſh but 80 years before, grow to ſuch a pitch of grandeur in ſo ſhort a time? For, according to the prophet's account, it was then in the meridian of its ſplendor. Thoſe who follow *Cteſias*, have been forced to own, that *Nineveh* was twice taken and deſtroyed, *viz.* in the time of king *Jehoſhaphat* by *Arbaces*, and three hundred years after, in the reign of *Joſiah*. But the Scripture, *Joſephus*, and all profane writers, allow only one deſolation of that great city. The latter differ only in the time when it happened. *Herodotus* places it at the end of the reign of *Cyaxares*, and *Polyhiſtor* does not much differ from him. *Cteſias*, and his followers, refer it to the reign of *Arbaces*, three hundred years earlier. That the latter are miſtaken, is manifeſt from holy

(36) *Jonah* iii. 3. & iv. 11. *Vide Gregor. Poſth. p.* 194.

ing to these, the *Medes* were governed by kings of their own, before the early days of *Ninus*, the pretended founder of the *Assyrian* monarchy; for, when *Ninus* invaded this country, it was ruled by one *Pharnus*, who, being worsted by that mighty warrior, was taken prisoner, and crucified, with his wife and seven children [1]. Thus *Media* was reduced to a province of the *Assyrian* empire, and remained subject to the successors of *Ninus* till the time of *Sardanapalus*. However, they made some attempts towards the recovery of their liberty during the regency of *Semiramis*, and minority of her son *Ninyas*; for she is said to have invaded *Media* with a mighty army, and, encamping near a mountain called *Bagistan*, to have made a pleasant garden twelve furlongs in compass. The mountain was dedicated to *Jupiter*, and had, on one side, craggy rocks seventeen furlongs high, which she ascended on the packs and loads carried by the beasts of burden that followed her army. In the lower part of this rock, she caused her statue to be hewn out, and an hundred of her guards attending her. From hence she marched to *Chaon*, a city of *Media*, where, on the top of a very lofty rock, she

[1] Diodor. Sic. l. ii. c. 1.

writ, as we have already shewn. We may add, that this powerful empire, which *Arbaces* founded, must soon have decayed, which is inconsistent with the system of *Ctesias*, and the authors that follow him. The *Assyrian* empire must have raised itself again, *Nineveh* must have been rebuilt, and have passed from an heap of rubbish to an extraordinary pitch of grandeur; and all this in the space of seventy or eighty years: for, after this pretended destruction of *Nineveh*, and the *Assyrian* empire, we find, in Scripture, a series of *Assyrian* kings, and a potent empire, not subject to the *Medes*. Besides, if we compare the destruction of *Nineveh*, described by *Ctesias*, with what we read in Scripture, and *Polyhistor*, they will plainly appear to be the same. *Ctesias* says, that *Sardanapalus* burnt himself, his concubines, and treasures; *Polyhistor* writes the same of *Sarac*. *Ctesias* tells us, that the *Medes*, in conjunction with the *Babylonians*, destroyed *Nineveh*; and the same is confirmed by *Polyhistor*, and the sacred penmen. *Ctesias* writes, that the city was laid in ashes, and the citizens dispersed: and this is what we read in the prophets. Such a conformity of facts, joined to the former evidences, amount to a full conviction, that there was but one destruction of the *Assyrian* empire, and one desolation of *Nineveh*.

formed

formed another pleaſant garden, with ſtately edifices, whence ſhe might behold the beauties of the ſpot, and her whole army encamped in the plain. From *Chaon* ſhe advanced towards *Ecbatan*, and, on her march, levelled mount *Zarcæum*, which was many furlongs in extent, filled up valleys, and, in ſpite of nature, opened a plain and eaſy way to *Ecbatan*, which, to our author's time, was called *Semiramis's road* [m]. Theſe extraordinary works, as they were laſting monuments of her conqueſts not only over the rebellious *Medes*, but nature itſelf, kept that nation in a ſervile ſubjection and dependency to the reign of *Sardanapalus*, that is, for the ſpace of near fourteen hundred years (O), when *Arbaces*, governor of *Media*, and *Beleſis*, governor of *Babylon*, put an end to the *Aſſyrian* empire, in the manner we have related, and, we hope, more fully confuted, in the hiſtory of *Aſſyria*.

Arbaces.

ARBACES, the firſt king of the *Medes* after their revolt, is repreſented as a prince of great generoſity and gratitude, as appears from his behaviour towards the mean-ſpirited *Babylonian Beleſis*, who, by a pious fraud, bereaved him of the immenſe treaſures that were concealed in the aſhes and ruins of the *Aſſyrian* palace, as we have elſewhere related at length. He is ſaid to have ſubdued all *Aſia*, and to have reigned twenty-eight years.

Mandauces.

HE was ſucceeded by his ſon *Mandauces*, who reigned fifty years; but did nothing worthy of notice in the warlike way, being himſelf, as he is repreſented, a prince of a peaceable diſpoſition, and his ſubjects deſirous of ſome reſpite after the violent ſtruggles for liberty and empire in the laſt reign.

Soſarmus.

SOSARMUS appears next, by ſome called *Medidus*. He reigned thirty years; and this is all we find of him upon record.

[m] Idem ibid.

(O) Theſe ſtories are of a piece with what the ſame author relates elſewhere; *viz.* That the army of *Ninus* conſiſted of two millions of men, at a time when the earth was not yet well peopled; that *Semiramis* employed two millions of workmen in the building of *Babylon*; that ſhe diſpoſed, in the ſhape of elephants, the hides of three hundred thouſand black oxen, and other fables of the like nature, forged by *Cteſias*, and gravely related by *Diodorus*.

Artias. ARTIAS, by some called *Arbycas*, by others *Cardiceas*, reigned next. From his name, some, who indulge etymologies, argue him to have been a great and glorious prince, the word *arti* or *arta*, in the composition of his name, denoting greatness, as it does, according to the interpretation of *Herodotus*, in that of the *Persian Artaxerxes* [p]. All we can say is, that, if he performed great exploits, they have been long since buried in oblivion. There is a great disagreement among authors concerning the length of his reign; some allowing him fifty years, others thirty, and some only thirteen.

Arbianes. AFTER him came *Arbianes*; in whose reign a war broke out between the *Medes* and *Cadusians*, who, at the instigation of one *Parsodes*, rising up in arms, shook off the yoke, which they had for some time groaned under. *Parsodes* was by birth a *Persian*; but the chief favourite and prime minister of *Arbianes* king of the *Medes*, whom he served with great fidelity, till, being highly provoked at a sentence pronounced against him by that prince, he fled, with three thousand foot, and a thousand horse, to the *Cadusians*; where he not only withdrew his obedience to *Arbianes*, but stirred up the whole nation to a revolt. The *Cadusians*, being thus encouraged to stand up for their liberties, committed the whole management of the war to *Parsodes*, as the most proper person, on all accounts, to appear at the head of their army: but, before he took the field, *Arbianes* died, after a reign of twenty years.

Artæus. ARTÆUS came to the crown while the *Cadusians* were making vast preparations to invade his kingdom; and, understanding that *Parsodes* was advancing towards the frontiers at the head of two hundred thousand men, he thought it high time to curb the insolence of that rebel; and accordingly, having raised an army of eight hundred thousand men, he marched out with his mighty host, and engaged the rebels; but was most shamefully routed, and forced to save himself by flight, leaving fifty thousand of his men dead in the field of battle. Upon this victory, the *Cadusians* proclaimed *Parsodes* their king; who, accepting the crown, inspired his new subjects with that irreconcileable hatred which he had conceived against the *Medes*, and laid the foundations of a perpetual enmity between the two nations. He is said to have solemnly conjured the *Cadusians*, even on his death-bed, to wage an eternal war with the *Medes*,

[p] HERODOT. l. vi. c. 98.

and

and never lay down their arms, till that odious nation was utterly aboliſhed, loading, at the ſame time, with curſes and imprecations, ſuch of his ſucceſſors, as ever ſhould, upon any terms whatſoever, be reconciled with them. In purſuance of this, as we may call it, his laſt will, the *Caduſians* watched all opportunities of haraſſing the *Medes* with inroads, and doing them what miſchief they could, till the empire was transferred from them to the *Perſians* [q].

AFTER *Artæus*, *Artynes* reigned twenty-two years; but did nothing worth mentioning. He was ſucceeded by *Artibarnas* or *Artabanus*; in whoſe reign, the *Parthians*, revolting, put themſelves under the protection of the *Sacæ*, a people inhabiting mount *Hæmodus*, which ſeparates *India* from *Scythia*. This occaſioned a war of many years between the *Medes* and the *Sacæ*, who were then governed by the famed *Zanara*, an heroine of great proweſs. That princeſs is no leſs celebrated, by our author, for her courage and conduct in war, than for her beauty. She had, according to him, reſcued her country from the tyranny of the neighbouring princes, civilized her ſubjects, and inured them to military diſcipline, and the toils of war. After ſhe had, for many years, haraſſed the *Medes*, a peace was at laſt concluded between her and *Artibarnas*, on the following equitable conditions, that the *Parthian* ſhould ſubmit to the *Medes*; and the *Sacæ* and *Medes* quietly enjoy what they poſſeſſed at the beginning of the war [r] (P). Artynes. Artibarnas.

HITHERTO we have dwelt on what we may ſafely call the fabulous hiſtory of the *Medes*, theſe kings, or moſt of them, being no-where found, but in the books, or rather

[q] DIOD. SIC. l. ii. c. 3. [r] Idem ibid.

(P) This queen was, according to our author, another *Semiramis*. She excelled all of her own ſex in beauty, and was inferior to none of the other in courage and wiſdom; ſhe built many cities, made conſiderable conqueſts, and raiſed the obſcure nation of the *Sacæ* to a great pitch of glory. Whence her ſubjects, in gratitude for the many advantages they enjoyed by her means, erected her a monument after her death, of vaſt dimenſions, being three furlongs in breadth, and on the top of which was built a pyramid of a furlong in height. Upon this pyramid ſhe was repreſented by a golden coloſſus, and adored by her ſubjects as a goddeſs (37).

(37) *Diod. Sic. l. ii. c. 3.*

In

in the imagination, of *Cteſias*, which was very fertile in the production of monſters. We now come to the genuine hiſtory of *Media*, as it has been tranſmitted to us by authors of a quite different character.

*The genuine hiſtory of the* Medes.

THE *Medes*, having thrown off the *Aſſyrian* yoke in the reign of *Sennacherib*, lived ſome time without a king; but were again brought under ſubjection by one of their own country, whoſe name was *Dejoces*. He is repreſented as a ſubtle, crafty man, and aiming at abſolute power; and is ſaid to have compaſſed his deſign in the following manner: The *Medes* were, at that time, divided into ſeveral diſtricts, in one of which lived *Dejoces*, who, ſeeing all kind of licentiouſneſs prevail over the whole country, applied himſelf to the adminiſtration of juſtice with great zeal and diligence. The *Medes* of the ſame diſtrict, obſerving the equity of his conduct, choſe him for their judge; and he, aſpiring to the ſovereign power, performed that office with all poſſible regard to juſtice. By this means, he not only acquired a great reputation in his own diſtrict, but among thoſe alſo of the other diviſions, who looked upon him as the only impartial judge in the whole nation: whence ſuch as thought themſelves injured by unjuſt ſentences, reſorted from all parts to him, in order to obtain juſtice, till, at laſt, no one would commit the deciſion of a difference to any other perſon. At length the numbers of thoſe, who applied to him for redreſs, increaſing, in proportion to the great fame of his equity, and the whole care of adminiſtring juſtice being devolved upon him, he unexpectedly abſented himſelf from the place where he uſed to determine differences, declaring, he would no longer perform that office, and ſubmitting it to the judgment of his countrymen, whether it was reaſonable, that he ſhould neglect his private affairs, to attend thoſe of the public. Hereupon rapine and all manner of wickedneſs prevailing again to ſuch a degree, that it was not ſafe to live in the country, the *Medes* called a general aſſembly of the whole nation, to deliberate on the means of reforming the abuſes, that were daily becoming more frequent. Upon this occaſion, thoſe who were in the intereſt of *Dejoces* obſerved, that, if a ſtop was not put to the growth of the diſorders that had already overſpread the whole land, they ſhould ſoon be obliged to abandon their country to a foreign enemy. They adviſed therefore their countrymen to appoint a king of their own nation, as the only expedient that could reſcue their country from impending ruin. Their diſcourſe was received with general approbation, and a king was reſolved

on. Their next deliberation was concerning the perſon, whom they ſhould prefer to the crown; when *Dejoces* was named to the ſovereignty, and, with univerſal applauſe, placed on the throne [s].

THUS was *Dejoces* created king; and no ſooner was he veſted with the ſupreme power, than he threw off the maſk, and commenced tyrant; though the rigour he practiſed may perhaps have been abſolutely neceſſary to bring the nation, after ſome years of anarchy, into any order or diſcipline. Dejoces *choſen king* Year of the flood 1638. Bef. Chr. 710.

THE firſt thing he did, after his promotion, was to command his new ſubjects to build him a palace ſuitable to his dignity, and to appoint him guards for the ſafety of his perſon. He was obeyed; and, on the ground which he choſe, a ſtrong and ſtately fabric was erected for his ordinary reſidence. At the ſame time he was allowed to chuſe for his guard, out of the whole nation, ſuch as he thought moſt proper for that truſt. Thus ſettled on the throne, he united the ſeveral diſtricts, into which the *Medes* had been divided during the anarchy, and turned his thoughts towards building a ſtrong city, which might be the metropolis of his new kingdom. To this alſo his ſubjects ſubmitted; and the famous city of *Ecbatan* was built, purſuant to his orders and directions, a city which, in proceſs of time, became very famous in thoſe parts (Q).

DEJOCES, *thus lodged in a magnificent and well-defended city*, enacted the following laws to be obſerved by all his ſubjects, of what rank ſoever: that no one ſhould be admitted to his preſence; but tranſact all things by his ſervants and miniſters: that none ſhould be allowed

[s] HERODOT. l. i. c. 95—99.

(Q) *Ecbatan*, in Scripture (38), is called *Achmetha*; by *Cteſias* and *Stephanus*, *Agbatan*. In the book of *Judith*, it is ſaid to have been built by *Arphaxad* king of the *Medes*. Dr. *Prideaux* (39) tells us, upon what ground we know not, that *Ecbatan* was only enlarged and beautified by *Dejoces*. He will, perhaps, have *Arbaces*, whom he confounds with *Tiglath-pileſer*, to be the founder of it. *Joſephus* (40) acquaints us, that the decree of *Cyrus*, about the rebuilding the temple of *Jeruſalem*, was found at *Ecbatan*; which plainly proves it to be the ſame with the *Achmetha* of Scripture, where, according to *Ezra* (41), the ſaid decree was lodged.

(38) *Ezra* vi. 2. (39) *Connect. of the Old and New Teſtament*, p. 26.
(40) *Joſeph. antiq. l.* xi. *c.* 4. (41) *Ezra*, *ubi ſupra*.

even

even to see him, that were not immediately of his household: and that for any, who attended him, to laugh or spit in his presence, should be accounted a great indecency, and contrary to the respect which is due to a sovereign. These laws he injoined, that the malecontents might have no opportunity of putting in execution any evil design against his person, not doubting but those, who were debarred from seeing him, would be easily induced to think him of a superior nature to themselves: but tho' he kept himself thus concealed from the eyes of the people, yet he was informed of every thing that happened in his dominions, maintaining to that end many emissaries in all the provinces of his government, who brought him a minute account of every transaction. By this means, no crime escaped either the knowlege of the prince, or the rigour of the law; and the punishment, thus treading upon the heels of the offence, kept the wicked in awe, and stemmed the course of violence and injustice [t].

Dejoces, having thus civilized his unpolished subjects, began to entertain thoughts of extending the limits of his new kingdom; and, with this view, invaded *Assyria*, which was now in its decline, and greatly weakened by the revolt of many nations, who, following the example of the *Medes*, had shaken off the *Assyrian* yoke. But *Saosduchinus* or *Nebuchadonosor*, at that time king of *Assyria*, meeting him in the great plain of *Ragau*, a battle ensued, in which the *Medes* were utterly defeated, and *Dejoces* himself slain [u], after a reign, according to *Herodotus*, of fifty-three years (R). *Nebu-*

[t] Herodot. l. i. c. 99—101. [u] Idem ibid. c. 102. and Judith i. pass.

(R) This unsuccessful war was not carried on, as some suppose, by *Phraortes*, the son and successor of *Dejoces*, but by *Dejoces* himself, by the prince, *which reigned over the* Medes *in* Ecbatana, *and built in* Ecbatana *walls round about*, as we read in the book of *Judith* (42). Now the city of *Ecbatana*, and the walls for which the city was chiefly remarkable, were built by *Dejoces*, as is said in express terms by *Herodotus* (43). We may hence conclude the *Dejoces* of *Herodotus*, and the *Arphaxad* of the book of *Judith*, who was killed by *Nebuchadonosor* in the great plain of *Ragau*, to be one and the same person (44).

(42) *Judith* i. 1, 2. (43) *Herodot. l.* i. *c.* 98. (44) *See Usb. ad A. M.* 3296. *and Prideaux connect. part* i. *book* i. *p.* 35.

*chadonosor*, following his blow, reduced several cities of *Media*, and among the rest *Ecbatan* itself, which he almost intirely destroyed [w].

He was succeeded by his son *Phraortes*; who, being of a warlike temper, and not satisfied with the kingdom of *Media*, which his father had left him, invaded *Persia*; and is said to have brought that nation under subjection to the *Medes* [x]. But we are inclined to disagree with our author in this particular, and ascribe the conquest of *Persia*, not to *Phraortes*, but to his son and successor *Cyaxares* (S). How- Phraortes. Year of the flood 1692. Bef. Chr. 656.

[w] Judith i. 14. [x] Herodot. ubi supra.

(S) It seems plain from Scripture, that the *Persians* were not subdued by the *Medes* till after the taking of *Nineveh*, by the joint forces of *Cyaxares* and *Nebuchadnezzar*. In the fourth year of *Jehoiakim*, which the *Jews* reckon to be the first of *Nebuchadnezzar* (45), God threatened, by his prophet (46), that *he would take all the families of the north, and* Nebuchadnezzar *the king of* Babylon, *and bring them against* Judea, *and against the nations round about, and utterly destroy those nations, and make them an astonishment and lasting desolations, and cause them all to drink the wine-cup of his fury*; and in particular, he names the kings of *Judah* and *Egypt*, and those of *Edom* and *Moab*, and *Ammon* and *Tyre*, and all the kings of *Elam*, and all the kings of the *Medes*, &c. Where it is to be observed, that in numbering the nations which were to be subdued, he omits the *Assyrians*, who must consequently have been already conquered, and names the kings of *Elam* or *Persia*, as distinct from those of the *Medes*; whence we may conclude, that the *Persians* were not yet subdued by the *Medes*. In the beginning of the reign of *Zedekiah*, that is, in the sixth year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, the same prophet foretold the approaching conquest of *Persia* by the *Medes* and their confederates: *Behold*, says he, *I will break the bow of* Elam—*upon* Elam *will I bring the four winds from the four quarters of heaven—and there shall be no nation where the outcasts of* Elam *shall not come.—I will set my throne in* Elam, *and will destroy from thence the king and the princes, saith the* Lord; *but it shall come to pass in the latter days* (that is, in the reign of *Cyrus*), *that I will bring again the captivity of* Elam, *saith the Lord* (47).

From these words of the prophet it is manifest, that, in the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar*, nay, after the destruction of *Nineveh*, the *Persians* had kings of their own, and consequently could

(45) *Jerem.* xxv. 1. (46) *Ibid. ver.* 9. (47) *Jerem.* xlix. 35, & *seq.*

However, he ſubdued ſeveral of the neighbouring nations, attacking them one after another, till he made himſelf maſter of almoſt all the *Upper Aſia*, lying between mount *Taurus* and the river *Halys*. Elated with the good ſucceſs that attended his army, at length he invaded *Aſſyria*, made himſelf maſter of great part of the country, and even laid ſiege to *Nineveh*, the metropolis of the empire. But here his good fortune abandoning him, he periſhed, with the greater part of his army, in the attempt, after having reigned twenty-two years [y].

Cyaxares I. Year of the flood 1713. Bef. Chr. 635.

UPON the death of *Phraortes*, his ſon *Cyaxares* was placed on the throne. He was a brave and enterpriſing prince; and indeed ſuch a man was then, more than ever, wanting, to ſave the nation from impending ſlavery, moſt part of the kingdom being already poſſeſſed by the *Aſſyrians*. Having ſettled himſelf well in his kingdom, and brought his troops under good diſcipline (T), he ſoon recovered what the *Aſſyrians* had taken during the reigns of his father and grandfather. What he had next at heart was, to avenge their death, by the deſtruction of *Nineveh*; and accordingly, having aſſembled all his forces, he marched out, with a deſign to treat that city, as *Nebuchadonoſor* had treated the metropolis of *Media*. The *Aſſyrians* meeting him on the frontiers, with the remains only of that great army which had been deſtroyed before *Bethulia*, an engagement enſued, wherein the former were defeated, and driven into *Nineveh*. *Cyaxares*, purſuing his victory, laid cloſe ſiege to the city; but was ſoon obliged to give over the enterprize, and employ his troops in the defence of his own kingdom [z].

[y] Idem ibid. [z] Idem ibid. c. 103.

could not be ſubdued by *Phraortes*, who was killed thirty years before *Nebuchadnezzar* came to the crown of *Babylon* (48).

(T) He was the firſt, according to *Herodotus* (49), that marſhalled the people of *Aſia* into diſtinct bodies of lances, cavalry, and archers; whereas, before his time, horſe and foot, and pikemen and archers, engaged promiſcuouſly. But this we can hardly believe, when we conſider that the nations of this part of *Aſia* were engaged in continual wars, and conſequently muſt have been more experienced in the military art.

(48) *See Sir Iſaac Newton's chron. of ant. kingd. amend. p.* 313, *& ſeqq.*
(49) *Herodot. l.* i.

A for-

A formidable army of *Scythians*, having driven the *Cimmerians* out of *Europe*, were in full march in purſuit of their flying enemies, and ready to enter *Media*. They were come from the neighbourhood of the *Palus Mæotis*, and commanded by king *Madyes*, the ſon of *Protothyas*. This *Madyes* can be no other than *Indathyrſus* the *Scythian*, who invaded *Aſia*, as *Strabo* informs us [a]; and, having laid waſte great part of that country, advanced to the confines of *Egypt*. *Cyaxares* no ſooner heard of their march, but, breaking up the ſiege of *Nineveh*, he advanced with all his forces againſt them. The two armies engaged; and the *Medes*, though encouraged by the example of their king, who, on that occaſion, gave proofs of an extraordinary valour, were utterly routed. The conquerors, having no other enemy to contend with, over-ran not only all *Media*, but the greater part of *Upper Aſia* (U). From thence they

*The* Scythians *invade* Aſia.

[a] Strab. l. i. prope initium.

(U) *Euſebius* tells us, that *Cyaxares* took the city of *Nineveh* before the *Scythians* invaded *Media*. But as *Herodotus*, and all the profane hiſtorians, without exception, unanimouſly agree in this point, that the *Scythians* broke into *Media* while he was beſieging *Nineveh*, and obliged him to withdraw his troops from thence to the defence of his own kingdom, we have choſen to follow them rather than *Euſebius*, whoſe authors we are unacquainted with. Touching the expedition of the *Scythians*, *Herodotus* tells us, that the *Cimmerians*, being driven out by the *Scythians*, invaded and laid waſte part of *Aſia*; and that the *Scythians*, not ſatisfied with driving them from their habitations, followed them, we know not why, into far diſtant countries, and in this purſuit fell, as it were by chance, upon *Media*, while the *Cimmerians* were gone another way into *Lydia* (50). As the *Cimmerians*, *Scythians*, and *Samaritans*, were all of the ſame race and nation, as *Goropius Becanus* learnedly proves in his *Amazonica*, we are inclined to think, that this pretended expulſion of the *Cimmerians* was nothing elſe but the ſending of a colony into *Aſia* with an army of *Scythians*, to aſſiſt them in acquiring new ſettlements, and eſtabliſhing plantations, in a foreign country. For though the *Cimmerians*, *Scythians*, and *Samaritans*, were but one people, yet they were diſtinguiſhed in name according to their different tribes, profeſſions, and perhaps dialects. Such another expedition the ſame people undertook ſome ages after,

(50) *Herodot. l.* i. *c.* 103.

when

they extended their conqueſts into *Syria*, as far as the confines of *Egypt*. But there *Pſammiticus*, king of that country,

when they were encountered by the *Romans*. For they came from the countries bordering on the lake *Mæotis*; they were then likewiſe aſſiſted, as *Plutarch* informs us (51), by their neighbours the *Scythians*, and had in their army above 300,000 men, beſides a great multitude of women and children. They wandered over many countries, bearing all down before them, and finally, deſigning to ſettle in *Italy*, divided into ſeveral bodies, to facilitate their paſſage thither; but were all cut off in three battles by the *Roman* conſuls. Mere neceſſity obliged theſe poor nations to infeſt their neighbours, and expoſe themſelves to ſuch dangers: for their country abounding more in men than in ſuſtenance, and ſhut up in the north by intolerable cold, they were compelled to diſcharge their overgrown numbers on the ſouthern countries, and drive others, right or wrong, from their poſſeſſions, as being intitled to what others had, becauſe they had nothing themſelves. As they were a warlike race, and inured to hardſhips, they generally prevailed, their next neigbours giving them a free paſſage, that they might the ſooner get rid of them; others ſupplying them with proviſions, and guides, to lead them to more wealthy countries.

The firſt body of theſe, mentioned by *Herodotus*, took the way of the *Euxine* ſea, which they had on the left, as mount *Caucaſus* on their right. They paſſed through *Colchis* and *Pontus*, and, arriving in *Paphlagonia*, fortified the promontory whereon *Sinope* was afterwards built by the *Greeks*. Here they left, under a ſtrong guard, ſuch as were unfit for ſervice, and great part of their baggage; and then continued their march into *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, and *Ionia*, having now no mountains or deep rivers to ſtop their march; for the *Iris* and *Halys* they had already paſſed. We ſhall give an account of their wars with the *Lydians* in the hiſtory of *Lydia*.

As the *Cimmerians* held their courſe weſterly along the Shore of the *Euxine* ſea, ſo the *Scythians* took the other way; and, having the *Caſpian* on their left, paſſed between that ſea and the *Caucaſus*, thro' *Albania*, *Colthene*, and other obſcure nations, till they came into *Media*, where they engaged and routed *Cyaxares*, as we have ſaid. To this overthrow of *Cyaxares*, ſome commentators refer that prophecy of *Nahum* (52); *He* (that is, *Cyaxares* beſieging *Nineveh*) *ſhall recount his worthies; they ſhall ſtumble in their walk* (that is, in the walk or perambulation of the *Scythians*, whoſe

(51) *Plutarch. in Mario.*

(52) *Nahum* ii. 5.

coming

try, meeting them in perſon, prevailed upon thoſe barbarians, what by intreaties, what by preſents, to proceed no farther, and thereby ſaved his country from the heavy oppreſſion, which his neighbours groaned under [a]. In this expedition, the *Scythians* poſſeſſed themſelves of the city of *Bethſheam* in the territories of the tribe of *Manaſſeh* on this ſide the *Jordan*, and held it as long as they continued in *Aſia*; whence it is called *Scythopolis*, or the city of the *Scythians* [b]. On their return from *Egypt*, as they paſſed through the land of the *Philiſtines*, ſome of the ſtragglers plundered the temple of *Venus* at *Aſcalon*; which was believed the moſt antient in the world dedicated to that goddeſs. To avenge this attempt, the goddeſs is ſaid to have inflicted on thoſe that were concerned in the ſacrilege, and their poſterity, the hemorrhoids; which ſhews that the *Philiſtines* ſtill preſerved the memory of what they had formerly ſuffered on account of the ark; for, from that time, they looked, it ſeems, on this diſtemper as a puniſhment from Heaven attending ſuch ſacrilegious attempts; and therefore, in charging the *Scythians* with this crime, took care not to omit, in their hiſtories, the puniſhment which their anceſtors had ſuffered for one of the ſame nature [c].

The *Scythians* were, for the ſpace of twenty-eight years, maſters of the *Upper Aſia*, namely the two *Armenias*, *Cappadocia*, *Pontus*, *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and great part of *Lydia*. *Cyaxares*, finding it impracticable to get rid of his troubleſome gueſts by open force, reſolved to try what might be effected by ſtratagem; and accordingly invited the greateſt part of them to a general feaſt, which was given in every family. Each landlord made his gueſt drunk; and in that condition were the *Scythians* maſſacred, and the kingdom

[a] Herodot. lib. i. c. 105. lib. ii. c. 1. & lib. vii. c. 20.
[b] Syncel. p. 214. [c] Herodot. l. i. c. 105.

coming at this time into *Aſia* may well be ſo termed, ſince it was rather a paſſing thro', than any ſettlement; for in the ſhort ſpace of twenty-eight years they over-ran, conquered, and loſt *Media*, *Aſſyria*, and all the upper *Aſia*): *they ſhall make haſte to the wall therefore, and the defence ſhall be prepared*; that is, they ſhall haſten to *Nineveh*, as if they intended to deliver it from the *Medes* beſieging it (53).

(53) *Vid. int. al. Jun. & Tremel. in loc.*

delivered from a long and cruel bondage (W). The *Medes* then repoſſeſſed themſelves of the provinces they had loſt, and once more extended their empire to the banks of the *Halys*, which was their antient boundary weſtward [e].

CYAXARES, having thus freed his country from the oppreſſion of the *Scythians*, found himſelf ſoon after engaged in a war with the *Lydians*. The occaſion of this war is thus related by *Herodotus* [f]: Upon a ſedition which happened among the *Scythian* nomades, a party of them made their eſcape into *Media*; where they were not only entertained with great humanity by *Cyaxares*, but intruſted with the education of divers youths, whom they were to inſtruct in the uſe of the bow, and in the *Scythian* language. Theſe ſtrangers went frequently to hunt, and were ever accuſtomed to return with ſome game; but one day happening to come home with empty hands, *Cyaxares*, whom they uſed daily to preſent with ſome veniſon, treated them with moſt opprobrious language. This they reſented; and

[e] HERODOT. l. i. c. 106.

[f] HERODOT. l. i. c. 73, 74.

(W) We do not find, that the *Scythians*, who eſcaped this bloody feaſt, raiſed any commotions in *Media*, or that they ever afterwards, either in revenge of this treachery, or on any other pretence, troubled the *Medes*. We are therefore apt to believe, that the ſtratagem of *Cyaxares* was attended with leſs bloodſhed than is commonly ſuppoſed: for, by cutting off the chief men among them, he might have brought the others to reaſonable terms. It is not improbable, that in the ſpace of twenty-eight years, many had ſettled themſelves ſo well, that they were willing to live in ſubjection to *Cyaxares*, provided they might peaceably enjoy what they poſſeſſed: many who had enriched themſelves with the ſpoils of *Aſia*, were willing to return home to their wives and families with the booty, and ſuch as were not pleaſed with either of theſe two courſes, might join their companions in *Lydia* and *Parthia*, or ſeek their fortunes in other countries. We read in Scripture, that all the families of the north were with *Nebuchadnezzar*; which may well be underſtood of theſe brave northern nations ſettling in his dominions, after they were driven out of *Media* and *Lydia*. 'Tis certain that, after this expulſion of the *Scythians*, the *Babylonians*, who never before had been a match for the *Egyptians*, in all engagements with them, carried the day; which may be aſcribed to this new addition of forces.

agreed among themſelves to kill one of the youths committed to their care, dreſs his fleſh like veniſon, and ſerve it up to *Cyaxares* and his gueſts. They executed what they propoſed; and then, flying to *Sardis*, implored the protection of *Halyattes* king of *Lydia*. *Cyaxares* immediately diſpatched embaſſadors to demand the *Scythians*; but they not being able to prevail with the king of *Lydia* to deliver them up, a war of five years enſued between the two nations, with various ſucceſs (X). The battle, fought in the ſixth year of this war, was very remarkable, on account of a total eclipſe of the ſun, which happened during the engagement, and is ſaid to have been foretold by *Thales* the *Mileſian* (Y). The *Medes* and *Lydians*, who were then in the heat of the battle, equally terrified with this

(X) This *Herodotus* delivers as the occaſion of a war between the *Medes* and *Lydians*; the one king demanding the fugitives, and the other refuſing to deliver up ſuch as had put themſelves under his protection. But to us we muſt own, it does not at all ſeem probable, that the *Scythians* ſhould have ſheltered themſelves from their own countrymen in the dominions of either prince, conſidering how odious the *Scythian* name muſt at this time have been in both kingdoms. As to *Cyaxares*, they had particular reaſons to diſtruſt him for the treachery he had ſhewn towards their countrymen, as we have related above. Some writers therefore, with greater probability, ſuppoſe, that the *Scythians*, who retired into *Lydia*, were ſuch as had eſcaped the maſſacre in *Media*, and not any other new colony; for that univerſal ſlaughter being freſh in their memories, it is very unlikely, that other *Scythians* would have come to ſettle in the very country where it had been ſo lately perpetrated.

(Y) That this eclipſe fell out, while *Cyaxares* the father of *Aſtyages*, and *Halyattes* the father of *Cræſus*, were engaged in a battle, is confirmed by *Endemus*, in his aſtronomical hiſtory. *Pliny* likewiſe (55), in ſpeaking of eclipſes, acquaints us, that *Thales* the *Mileſian* was the firſt that foretold an eclipſe of the ſun; and adds, that the eclipſe foretold by him happened in the fourth year of the forty-eighth Olympiad, in the reign of *Halyattes* (and not of *Aſtyages*, as we find in ſome modern copies), 170 years after the foundation of *Rome*. *Clemens Alexandrinus* (56) places this battle, and the eclipſe of the ſun, in the 50th

(55) *Plin. l.* ii. *c.* 12.

(56) *Clem. Alexand. ſtromat. l.* i

this uncommon event, which they looked upon as a sign of the anger of the gods, immediately retreated, and soon after concluded a peace, by the mediation of *Labynetus*, that is, *Nebuchadnezzar*, king of *Babylon*, and *Syennesis* king of *Cilicia*. This peace was strengthened by a marriage between *Aryenis*, the daughter of *Halyattes*, and *Astyages*, the eldest son of *Cyaxares* [g]; of which marriage was born the ensuing year *Cyaxares*, who, in the book of *Daniel*, is called *Darius* the *Mede* [h].

Nineveh *taken and destroyed.* Year of the flood 1747. Bef. Chr. 601.

*Cyaxares*'s first care, as soon as he was disengaged from the *Lydian* war, was to resume the siege of *Nineveh*, which the irruption of the *Scythians* had obliged him to raise. Having, with this view, entered into a strict alliance with *Nebuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon*, and confirmed it by a marriage between that prince and his daughter *Amyite* (Z), he returned, in conjunction with the *Babylonians*, before *Nine-*

[g] Herodot. l. i. c. 73, 74. [h] Dan. v. 31.

Olympiad; wherein he differs widely from *Endemus*, whom he quotes, and pretends to follow. The time assigned, both by him and *Pliny*, does not suit with the reign of *Cyaxares*, but with that of his successor *Astyages*. *The solar and lunar tables of* Ptolemy, which are the same with those of *Hipparchus*, place this eclipse on the fourth year of the 44th Olympiad, and on the fourth day of the *Egyptian* month *Paon* (or the 20th day of *September*, according to the *Julian* calendar, on a *Sunday*), three hours thirty-five minutes before noon. But, according to Sir *Isaac Newton*, it fell upon the 28th of *May*, in the year of *Nabonassar* 163, forty-seven years before the taking of *Babylon* (58), and 585 before Christ.

(Z) Some will have *Amyite* to be the daughter of *Astyages*, and grand-daughter of *Cyaxares*. But *Astyages* at that time could not have a daughter marriageable; and *Nebuchadnezzar*, had he married her, must have been, at the time of his death, at least eighty-five years old, and *Astyages* much older. In the book of *Tobit*, the destruction of *Nineveh* is ascribed to *Ahasuerus* king of *Media*, and *Nebuchadonosor* king of *Babylon* (59). This *Ahasuerus* can be no other than *Cyaxares*, who, as Sir *Isaac Newton* shews, was called *Achshuerus*, *Assuerus*, *Oxyares*, *Axeres*, prince *Axeres*, or *Cy-Axeres*, the word *Cy* signifying a prince in the *Median* language (60). By *Nabuchadonosor* is meant *Ne-*

(58) *Sir Isaac Newt. chron. of antient kingd. amend. p.* 316. (59) *Tobit* xiv. *ver. ult.* (60) *Sir Isaac Newton, ubi supra, p.* 509.

*buchadnezzar*

*Nineveh*, took the place, slew *Sarac* the king, and leveled that mighty city with the ground [h]. Thus was the proud metropolis of the *Assyrian* empire laid in ashes, pursuant to the prophecies uttered above an hundred years before [i] (A).

This victory, with the destruction of *Nineveh*, the *Jews* ascribe to the *Chaldeans*; the *Greeks* to the *Medes*;

[h] Herodot. l. i. c. 106. Alexander Polyhist. apud Euseb. in chron. p. 46. & apud Syncell. p. 210. [i] Nahum i. 1. ii. 1, 2, & seqq. iii. 1, & seqq. Zephan. ii. 13, 15.

*buchadnezzar* the great, both these names being given by the *Babylonians* to their kings, as that of *Pharaoh* was by the *Egyptians* to theirs. That *Nabopallassar*, the father of *Nebuchadnezzar*, was called by both these names, is plain from the books of the *rabbies*, and also from *Josephus*. *R. Juchasin* calls *Nebuchadnezzar* the son of *Nebuchadnezzar* (61); and *David Ganz* calls the father *Nebuchadnezzar* the first, and the son *Nebuchadnezzar* the second (62). *Josephus*, in speaking of *Nabopallassar*, sometimes calls him *Nabuchadonosor* (63), and sometimes *Nabulassar* (64), which is a contraction of *Nabopallassar*. It is certain, that the books of *Tobit* and *Judith* cannot be reconciled with any other antient writeings, sacred or profane, relating to those times, unless we allow the name of *Nebuchadonosor* to have been common to the kings of *Babylon*.

(A) On the ruins of the old *Nineveh*, another city was raised, which for a long time bore the same name, but never attained to the grandeur and glory of the former. It is now called *Mosul* (65), and situated on the west side of the *Tigris*, where was antiently only a part of the suburbs of old *Nineveh*; for the city itself stood on the east-side of the river. The circuit of *Nineveh* was, according to *Diodorus Siculus* (66), 480 furlongs, that is, sixty of our miles. Hence it is said by *Jonah* (67), to be a city of three days journey, that is, in compass; for twenty miles is as much as a man can well walk in one day. *Strabo* (68) tells us, that it was much bigger than *Babylon*; and in the same place says, that the circuit of *Babylon* was 385 furlongs, that is, 48 of our miles.

(61) *Juchas. fol.* 126. (62) *David Ganz, at the year of the world* 3285. (63) *Joseph. antiq. l.* x. *c.* 11. (64) *Joseph. contra Apion. l.* i. (65) *Thevenot, part* ii. *l.* i. *c.* 11. *p.* 50. (66) *Diod. Sic. l.* ii. *p.* 65. (67) *Jonah* iii. 3. (68) *Strabo, l.* xvi. *p.* 737.

*Tobit*, *Polyhistor*, *Josephus*, and *Ctesias*, to both. It gave a beginning to the great successes of *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Cyaxares*; and laid the foundation of the two collateral empires, as we may call them, of the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, which rose on the ruins of the *Assyrian* monarchy.

AFTER the reduction of *Nineveh*, the two conquerors, prosecuting their victory, led the confederate army against *Pharaoh Necho* king of *Egypt*, who had, some time before, routed the king of *Assyria*, and taken *Carchemish*. *Pharaoh* met them near the *Euphrates*, was defeated, and forced to abandon whatever he had formerly taken from the *Assyrians* [k], as we have seen in a former volume [l]; for what had once belonged to them, *Cyaxares* and *Nebuchadnezzar* looked upon now as theirs by right of conquest (B). After this victory, they seized on the important place of *Carchemish*, reduced all *Cœle-Syria* and *Phœnice*; and then, with an army of *Babylonians*, *Medes*, *Syrians*, *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*, to the number of ten thousand chariots, an hundred and eighty thousand foot, and an hundred and twenty thousand horse, invaded and laid waste *Samaria*, *Galilee*, *Scythopolis*, &c. and at last besieged *Jerusalem*,

[k] 2 Kings xxiv. 7. Jerem. xlvi. 2. EUPOL. apud Euseb. præp. evang. l. ix. c. 35.

[l] See before vol. i. p. 85.

(B) From this time the *Jewish* computation of the years of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s reign begins; that is, from the end of the third year of *Jehoiakim*, and therefore the fourth year of *Jehoiakim*, when *Nebuchadnezzar* was by his father taken into partnership of the empire, is, according to the *Jews* (70), the first year of his reign. But, according to the *Babylonian* computation, his reign is not reckoned to begin till his father's death, which happened two years after. As both these computations are found in Scripture, we thought it necessary to say thus much, in order to reconcile them. We must further observe, that as the *Chaldean* astronomers counted the reigns of their kings by the years of *Nabonassar*, beginning with the month *Thoth*; so the *Jews* counted the reigns of their kings by the years of *Moses*, beginning with the month *Nisan*; insomuch that if any king began his reign but a few days before the first of the month *Nisan*, those few days were reckoned a whole year, and the beginning of this month was accounted the beginning of his second year (71).

(70) *Jerem.* xxv. 1.

(71) *Sir Isaac Newton, ubi supra, p.* 269.

and

and took *Jehoiakim* priſoner [m]. Enriched with the ſpoils of the conquered nations, they divided their forces, *Nebuchadnezzar* purſuing his conqueſts in the weſt; and *Cyaxares* falling upon the *Aſſyrian* provinces of *Armenia*, *Pontus*, and *Cappadocia*, which he ſubdued, with great ſlaughter of the inhabitants. After this, they united their forces once more; and, by the reduction of *Perſis* (C) and *Suſiana*, accompliſhed the conqueſt of the *Aſſyrian* empire.

THE prophet *Ezekiel* [n] enumerates the chief nations that were ſubdued and ſlaughtered by the two conquerors *Cyaxares* and *Nebuchadnezzar*: Aſhur *is there, and all her company*, viz. in *hades*, or the lower parts of the earth, where the dead bodies lay buried: *his graves are about him: all of them ſlain, fallen by the ſword, which cauſed their terror in the land of the living. There is* Elam, *and all her multitude round about her grave: all of them ſlain, fallen by the ſword, which are gone down uncircumciſed into the nether parts of the earth, which cauſed their terror in the land of the living: yet have they borne their ſhame with them that go down into the pit.---There is* Meſhech, Tubal, *and all her multitude* (viz. the *Scythians*); *her graves are round about him: all of them uncircumciſed, ſlain by the ſword, though they cauſed their terror in the land of the living.---There is* Edom, *her kings and all her princes, which, with their might, are laid by them that were ſlain by the ſword.---There be the princes of the north, all of them, and all the* Zidonians, *which, with their terror, are gone*

[m] 2 Kings xxiv. 12. Dan. i. 1. & 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6.
[n] Ezek. xxxii. 22, & ſeqq.

(C) While the *Aſſyrians* reigned at *Nineveh*, *Perſia* was divided into ſeveral kingdoms. Amongſt others, there was a kingdom of *Elam*, which flouriſhed in the days of *Hezekiah*, *Manaſſeh*, *Joſiah*, and *Jehoiakim*, kings of *Judah*, and fell in the reign of *Zedekiah* (73). This kingdom ſeems to have been very powerful. *Iſaiah*, foretelling the ſiege of *Babylon*, joins *Elam* and *Media* among the beſiegers (74); and *Jeremiah* threatens the former with a terrible downfall (75); which we therefore ſuppoſe to have been accompliſhed by the *Medes* and *Babylonians*: which confirms what we have ſaid before; *viz.* that the *Perſians* were not ſubdued by *Phraortes*, as *Herodotus* would have it, but by *Cyaxares*, in conjunction with the *Babylonians*.

(73) *Jerem.* xxv. 25. *and* xlix. 34. *Ezek.* xxxii. 24. (74) *Ch.* xxi. 2.
(75) *Ch.* xlix. 34, *& ſeqq.*

*down with the slain.* By the princes of the north are meant such as were on the north of *Judea*, namely the princes of *Armenia* and *Cappadocia*, who fell in the wars which *Cyaxares* waged in reducing those provinces, after the destruction of *Nineveh*.

CYAXARES, having thus erected the kingdom of *Media* into a powerful empire, and shared the new acquisitions with his *Babylonian* ally, died in the fortieth year of his reign [o]; and was succeeded by his son

Astyages. Year of the flood 1753. Bef. Chr. 595.

ASTYAGES, who in Scripture is called *Ahasuerus* [p]. This prince had by *Aryenis*, the daughter of *Halyattes* king of *Lydia*, *Cyaxares* II. called, in Scripture, *Darius* the *Mede*, and who was sixty-two years old, when *Belshazzar* was slain at the taking of *Babylon* [q]. The same year that *Cyaxares* was born, *Astyages* gave his daughter *Mandane*, whom he had by a former wife, to *Cambyses* a *Persian*; from which marriage sprung *Cyrus*, the founder of the *Persian* monarchy, and the restorer of the *Jews* to their country, to their temple, and former condition. He was born but one year after the birth of his uncle *Cyaxares*, and consequently was in the sixty-first year of his age, when *Babylon* was taken. Whether his father *Cambyses* was king of *Persia*, as *Xenophon* [r] would have it, or only a nobleman of that country, as we read in *Herodotus* [s], is what we shall examine hereafter. Though the reign of *Astyages* was very long, having lasted thirty-five years [t], yet we find no particulars of it recorded in history, except his repulsing the *Babylonians*, who, under the conduct of *Evil-merodach*, the son of *Nebuchadnezzar*, had made an inroad into his country, as we have related in the history of *Babylon*. The victory, which he gained on this occasion, was, in great part, owing to the valour and conduct of *Cyrus*, who attended his grandfather in this expedition, and, though at that time but sixteen years of age, signalized himself in a very particular manner [w], pursuing the *Babylonian*, with great slaughter, quite home to his own borders. This rash, and seemingly unjust, undertaking of *Evil-merodach* laid the foundation of that animosity between the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, which ended at last in the ruin of *Babylon*. From hence we may infer, that *Evil-merodach* was not the son of *Nebuchadnezzar* by *Amyite*, the daughter of *Cyaxares*, or, as others will have

[o] HERODOT. l. i. c. 107. [p] Dan. ix. 1. [q] Dan. v. ver. ult. [r] XENOPH. Cyropæd. l. i. [s] HERODOT. l. i. c. 107. [t] Idem, l. i. c. 130. [w] XEN. l. i. Cyropæd.

it,

it, of *Astyages*, but by some other wife; it not being likely, that they would have thus engaged in war againſt each other, had they been ſo nearly related. It is ſtill more improbable, that *Evil-merodach* ſhould undertake ſuch hoſtilities while he was on the point of marrying *Nitocris*, as is commonly reported, who was by birth a *Mede*.

ASTYAGES, after a reign of thirty-five years, was ſucceeded by his ſon *Cyaxares*, uncle to *Cyrus*. This prince was ſcarce ſeated on his throne, when he found himſelf engaged in a bloody war with *Nerigliſſar*, who had murdered *Evil-merodach*, and uſurped the crown of *Babylon*. This war was carried on with great ſlaughter on both ſides by *Cyaxares* and *Cyrus*, during the reigns of the uſurper *Nerigliſſar*, of his ſon *Laboroſoarchod*, and of *Nabonadius* the ſon of *Evil-merodach*, and grandſon of *Nebuchadnezzar*, in whoſe time *Babylon* was taken, and the *Babylonian* empire utterly ruined. But as this war, which laſted twenty years, was intirely managed by *Cyrus*, we ſhall defer the relating of theſe important events till the reign of that great and glorious prince, which, as he was the founder of the *Perſian* monarchy, we ſhall reſerve to the hiſtory of that empire.

Cyaxares II. Year of the flood 1788. Bef. Chr. 560.

As for *Cyaxares*, he is ſaid, in Scripture, to have taken the kingdom, after the reduction of *Babylon*, and death of *Belſhazzar* [x]; for *Cyrus*, as long as his uncle lived, held the empire only in partnerſhip with him, though he had intirely acquired it by his own valour; nay, ſo far did he carry his complaiſance, that he let him enjoy the firſt rank: but the command of the army, and the whole management of affairs, being veſted in *Cyrus*, he alone was looked upon as the ſupreme governor of the empire; and hence it is, that, in *Ptolemy*'s canon, no notice is taken of *Cyaxares*; but, immediately after the death of *Nabonadius*, *Cyrus* is placed there, as the next ſucceſſor. But that a *Mede* reigned at *Babylon*, after the death of *Nabonadius*, or, as *Herodotus* calls him, *Labynetus*, the laſt *Babylonian* king in the canon, is plain both from *Xenophon* [y] and Scripture. The former tells us, that, after the taking of *Babylon*, *Cyrus* went to the king of the *Medes* at *Ecbatan*, and ſucceeded him in the kingdom: and we read in Scripture, that *Babylon* was deſtroyed by the *Medes* [z]; *by the kings of the* Medes, *and the captains and rulers thereof, and all the land of his dominion* [a]; that the

[x] Dan. v. 31. [y] XENOPH. Cyropæd. I. viii. [z] Iſa. xiii. 17, 19. [a] Jer. li. 11, 28.

king-

kingdom of *Babylon* was *numbered, and finiſhed, and broken, and given to the* Medes *and* Perſians [b]; firſt to the *Medes* under *Darius*, and then to the *Perſians* under *Cyrus*: for *Darius* reigned over *Babylon* like a conqueror, not obſerving the laws of the *Babylonians*, but introducing the immutable laws of the conquering nations the *Medes* and *Perſians* [c]. In his reign, the *Medes*, as we have obſerved elſewhere, are conſtantly placed before the *Perſians* [d], as the *Perſians*, in the reign of *Cyrus* and his ſucceſſors, are placed before the *Medes* [e]; which ſhews, that, according to Scripture, a *Mede* reigned at *Babylon* between the laſt *Babyloniſh* king in *Ptolemy*'s canon and *Cyrus*. This king can be no other than *Cyaxares*, as *Xenophon* calls him [f], or *Darius* the *Mede*, as he is ſtiled by *Daniel*. The Scripture aſcribes the deſtruction of *Babylon* chiefly to *Cyaxares*, whereof St. *Hierom* alleges three reaſons [g]: 1. becauſe *Darius* or *Cyaxares* was the elder of the two; 2. in regard the *Medes* were at that time more famous than the *Perſians*; and, laſtly, becauſe the uncle ought to be preferred to the nephew. On the other hand, that few of the *Greek* writers take any notice of *Cyaxares*, may eaſily be accounted for: the *Perſians*, deſirous to magnify and extol *Cyrus* their countryman, gave him all the glory of that great conqueſt; and from them the *Greeks* borrowed their relations: beſides, *Cyrus* alone was employed in the ſiege of *Babylon*, *Darius* being then abſent; and the confederate army under his conduct ſtormed the town, and put an end to the empire of *Babylon*. We may add, that, as *Darius* did not reign at *Babylon* full two years before the fame of this great conqueſt was ſpread abroad in diſtant countries, *Cyrus* was in the intire poſſeſſion of the *Babylonian* empire; whence they looked upon him as the great hero, who had alone performed ſuch extraordinary feats. But *Joſephus*, who was better informed, tells us [h], *that* Darius, *with his ally* Cyrus, *deſtroyed the kingdom of* Babylon. The ſame author adds, that this *Darius* was the ſon of *Aſtyages*; and that he was known to the *Greeks* by another name. Now, if we aſk the *Greeks* the name of *Aſtyages*'s ſon, *Xenophon* [i] will tell us, that he was called *Cyaxares*. As for the name of *Darius*, it was preſerved in the *darics* or *ſtateres darici*, thoſe famous pieces of gold, which, for

[b] Dan. v. 26, 28. [c] Dan. vi. 8, 12, 15. [d] Idem, ibid. & 28. viii. 20. [e] Eſth. i. 3. 14, 18, 19. Dan. x. 1, 20.
[f] Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. i. c. 19. [g] Comment. in Dan. v.
[h] Joseph. antiq. l. xii. c. 13. [i] Xenoph. ubi ſupra.

ſeveral

ſeveral ages, were preferred by the eaſtern nations to any other coin; for we are told [k], that theſe were coined, not by the father of *Xerxes*, but by an earlier *Darius*, the firſt king of the *Medes* and *Perſians* that coined gold. But no *Darius*, more antient than the father of *Xerxes*, is anywhere ſaid to have reigned, except this *Darius*, whom the Scripture calls *Darius* the *Mede*.

AFTER the reduction of *Babylon*, *Cyaxares*, in concert with *Cyrus*, ſettled the affairs of their new empire, dividing it into an hundred and twenty provinces [l], which were governed by thoſe, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves during the war. Over theſe governors were appointed three preſidents, who were conſtantly to reſide at court, and, receiving accounts of what happened in the ſeveral provinces, diſpatch the king's orders to the immediate officers; ſo that theſe three principal miniſters had the ſuperintendency over, and the chief adminiſtration of, the moſt weighty affairs of the whole kingdom. Of theſe *Daniel* was appointed the chief, an honour which he highly deſerved, not only on account of his great wiſdom, but likewiſe of his age, and conſummate experience; for he had now ſerved the kings of *Babylon* full ſixty-five years in the quality of prime miniſter. As this employment advanced him to be the next perſon to the king, it raiſed no ſmall jealouſy in the other courtiers, who, conſpiring againſt him, would have compaſſed his ruin, had he not been miraculouſly preſerved by that Providence, which is ever watching over the ſafety of the juſt. As the only thing they could lay hold of to diſgrace him at court, and make him incur the king's diſpleaſure, was the law of his GOD, to which they knew him inviolably attached, they prevailed with *Darius* to iſſue out a proclamation, forbidding all perſons to put up any petition whatſoever to GOD or man, except to the king, for the ſpace of thirty days, upon pain of being caſt into the lions den. Now, as *Daniel* was ſaying his uſual prayers, with his face turned towards *Jeruſalem*, he was ſurpriſed, accuſed, and, as the laws of the *Medes* were unalterable, condemned to be devoured by the lions; but, being miraculouſly delivered from their jaws, this malicious contrivance ended in the deſtruction of its authors, and greatly raiſed, as we may well imagine, *Daniel*'s reputation both with *Darius* and *Cyrus* [m]. This

[k] SUIDAS ſub voce Δαρεικός. HARPOCRATION. Scholiaſt. in Ariſtoph. eccleſ. p. 741, 742.

[l] Dan. vi. 1, 2.

[m] Idem ibid. ver. 4, 5, 6, &c. ad finem.

probably

probably happened, while *Cyrus* was in *Syria*; for, after having ſettled his affairs at *Babylon*, and furniſhed the gariſons with ſuch troops as were neceſſary for the defence of the ſeveral parts of the empire, he marched, with the remainder, into *Syria*; which he brought under ſubjection, with the other adjacent countries, extending his conqueſts as far as the *Red-Sea*, and the confines of *Ethiopia*. In the mean time, *Darius* remained at *Babylon*, managing the civil affairs of the empire; and in this interval was *Daniel* caſt into the lions den. The *darics* were, perhaps, coined, much about the ſame time, out of the gold of the conquered *Lydians* (B). But, in the reign of *Cyrus*, we ſhall give a more diſtinct account of ſeveral particulars relating to his two predeceſſors *Cyaxares* and *Aſtyages*. We have hitherto ſuppoſed the former to be *Daniel*'s *Darius* the *Mede*; but, as this point is controverted by writers of no mean characters, before we diſmiſs the hiſtory of *Media*, we muſt beg leave to offer ſomething in our notes in defence of this our ſuppoſition, after having acquainted the reader with the ſentiments of others, and the arguments they produce to ſupport them (C).

CHAP.

(B) This piece, according to Dr. *Bernard* (83), weighed two grains more than one of our guineas; but, as it had very little allay, it may be reckoned, as the proportion of gold and ſilver now ſtands with us, to have been worth twenty-five ſhillings.

(C) Authors are no leſs divided in their opinions touching *Daniel*'s *Darius* the *Mede*, than they are about his *Belſhazzar*. Sir *John Marſham* (84), as we have hinted above, ſtands up for *Nerigliſſar*; and will have the *Medo-Perſian* empire to have begun in him. He ſuppoſes *Nerigliſſar* to have been a *Mede*, for no other reaſon but becauſe he married the ſiſter of *Evil-merodach*, whoſe mother was a *Mede*. We are unwilling to quarrel with him on account of this ſuppoſition, or rather conjecture; but ſhould be glad to know how, even according to this ſuppoſition, the kingdom of *Babylon* was, upon the death of *Belſhazzar*, that is, according to him, of *Evil-merodach*, divided, and given to the *Medes* and *Perſians*? Is it not equally certain, that *Belſhazzar* was killed, as that his kingdom was given to the *Medes* and *Perſians*; and that this happened immediately upon the death of that king, as the words of the prophet plainly inſinuate? *Thy kingdom is di-*

(83) *De ponder. & menſur. antiq. p.* 171. (84) *Can. chron. ſæcul.* 18.

*vided*

*vided, and given to the* Medes *and* Perſians.—*In that night was* Belſhazzar *the king of the* Chaldeans *ſlain. And* Darius *the* Median *took the kingdom* (85). Beſides, it is very plain, from the whole ſixth chapter of *Daniel*, that *Darius* the *Mede* was king of *Media*. He introduced the laws of the *Medes* and *Perſians*; which would have been very impolitic in him, had he uſurped the crown without any friends or troops to rely on, except the *Babylonians*, whoſe laws he trod under foot, and annulled. And this, if we ſuppoſe him to be *Nerigliſſar*, was his caſe; for he introduced the laws of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, was at war with both nations, and had no friends to depend upon, except his own ſubjects, who naturally muſt have hated him, without any further provocation, as a ſtranger, as an uſurper, and as the murderer of their lawful prince. To all this we may add, that if the *Medo-Perſian* empire began in *Nerigliſſar*, *Cyrus* did not deſtroy the *Babylonian*, but the *Medo-Perſian* empire; which no author ever aſſerted. But the ſtrongeſt proof, in our opinion, that can be produced againſt this ſyſtem, and that alſo of *Scaliger*, who takes *Nabonadius* to be *Darius* the *Mede*, is, that *Darius* is ſaid to have divided his empire into 120 provinces (86); which muſt be underſtood, not of the *Babylonian*, which was never ſo extenſive, but of the *Perſian* empire. The latter, on the conqueſt of *Egypt* by *Cambyſes*, and of *Thrace* and *India* by *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, had ſeven other provinces added to its former number: whence, in the time of *Eſther*, it conſiſted of 127 provinces. If this was the diviſion of the *Perſian* empire in her time, the former muſt neceſſarily have been that of the ſame empire; for, if the *Perſian* empire, from *India* to *Ethiopia*, contained but 127 provinces, the empire of *Babylon* alone, which was hardly the ſeventh part of the other, could not contain 120. It is not, therefore, to be doubted, but *Darius* the *Mede* was lord, not of the *Babylonian* only, but of the *Perſian* empire; which cannot be ſaid either of *Nerigliſſar* or *Nabonadius*.

*Scaliger* (87) maintains *Nabonadius* to be *Daniel*'s *Darius*, adding, that he was by nation a *Mede*, and no way related to *Nebuchadnezzar*, but freely elected king by the ſame *Babylonian* lords who put *Laboroſoarchod* to death. That he was freely elected, he endeavours to prove from the words of the prophet *Daniel*, ſaying that he *took the kingdom*; which imply a free election, and not a forcible invaſion. That he was a *Mede*, he pretends to evince from a prophecy which *Megaſthenes* (88) relates *Nebuchadnezzar* to have uttered before his death, foretelling to the *Babylonians*, that a *great calamity was to fall on them, which neither* Belus, *nor queen* Beltis *could avert*; *that a* Perſian *mule ſhould bring the* Babylonians

(85) *Dan.* v. 28. 30, 31. (86) *Dan.* vi. 1. (87) *Scal. de emend. temp. l.* vi. (88) *Apud Euſeb. præp. evang. l.* ix.

bylonians *under subjection, being assisted by a* Mede. The *Persian* mule is *Cyrus*, he being the issue of a *Persian* and a *Mede*; the *Mede*, who assisted him, was *Nabonadius*. If we ask *Scaliger*, how *Nabonadius* can be said to have assisted *Cyrus* in destroying the city and kingdom of *Babylon*, since he waged war with him in defence of both, and was vanquished and killed? his answer is, that *Nabonadius* forwarded the destruction of *Babylon* by being conquered and slain; and that, in this sense (if in this there be any sense), he concurred with *Cyrus* in the overturning of the *Babylonian* empire. This argument needs no answer; it is sufficiently refuted by being related: and therefore *Isaac Vossius* well observes (89), that the arguments produced by *Scaliger* to support this wild opinion are *unworthy of* Scaliger. As to his other proof, *viz.* that *Darius took the kingdom*; they imply, we own, no violence, on the part of *Darius*, who cannot properly be said to have stormed the town, or won it by dint of arms; seeing this was performed by *Cyrus*, in the absence of *Darius*, though with the joint forces of the *Medes* and *Persians*. This city being thus reduced by the troops of *Darius*, and by *Cyrus* his general, *Darius*, without any further opposition, took possession of the empire, as conquered by his forces. It is not by any means probable, that the *Babylonian* lords, after murdering their king, should place a *Mede* on the throne, while they were at open war with that nation: nor can the division of the kingdom of *Babylon* between the *Medes* and *Persians*, foretold by *Daniel*, be meant of a king, who, though by nation a *Mede*, should be elected by the *Babylonians*, and peaceably enjoy the kingdom till driven out by the *Persians*. This division must have been made after the empire was destroyed, and the city taken. To conclude: This system contradicts not only the prophecy of *Daniel*, touching the division of the empire between the *Babylonians* and *Medes*, but that likewise of *Jeremiah*, where it is said, that *all nations shall serve him* (Nebuchadnezzar) *and his son, and his son's son*. If *Nabonadius* was *Darius*, who of all the kings of *Babylon* was *Nebuchadnezzar*'s son's son? Since *Scaliger* could not answer this question, it was well done of him to take no notice of it, in displaying and solving, in the best manner he could, several difficulties that others might have started against his assertion. He commonly adopts the sentiments of *Berosus*; but here he even forsakes him; for *Berosus* tells us (90), that *Nabonadius* was a *Babylonian*. 'Tis true, he seems afterwards concerned for having thus slighted the authority of such an unerring guide, and is inclined to make

(89) *Isaac Voss. chronol. sacr. p.* 144.

(90) *Beros. apud Joseph. antiq. l.* X. *c.* 11.

him

him a *Babylonian*. But how can this be reconciled with Scripture, where he is ever ſtiled *Darius the Median?* He has a ſalve for this ſore too: the word *Median*, or *Mede*, is not, ſays he, the national name, *as the whole tribe of chronologers and interpreters, ſimple well-meaning men, have imagined, but the ſurname of* Darius. But it is very unlucky, that *Daniel* ſhould begin his ninth chapter thus: *In the firſt year of* Darius *the ſon of* Ahaſuerus, *of the ſeed of the* Medes, *which was made king over the realm of the* Chaldeans. He was therefore by nation a *Mede*, and the ſon of a king of *Media*. But our writer ſeems to have been more converſant in the mangled fragments of *Beroſus*, than in the books of the prophets, from which there is no appeal: and may, on that very account, richly deſerve the compliments which he ironically beſtows on ſuch as are unwilling to adopt his wild notions. But we will not preſs this further: contradiction, and an over-bearing poſitiveneſs, were, as is well known, the eſſential ingredients of his character: and had he not in moſt things been ſingular, in all peremptory, he had neither been a *Scaliger*, nor the ſon of *Julius*.

The difficulties we have objected againſt the two foregoing opinions, have made other writers look for *Darius* the *Mede* elſewhere: they ſuppoſe, that there was one *Darius* a *Mede* king of *Perſia* before *Cambyſes* the father of *Cyrus*, who was alſo, according to *Xenophon*, king of *Perſia*. This conjecture is ſupported by a paſſage out of *Æſchylus* (91), where that poet ſeemingly ſuppoſes the firſt king of *Perſia* there mentioned, to have been a *Mede*, who with a powerful army took *Suſa*: next to him, he places his ſon, whom he does not name; and, in the third place, *Cyrus*, whom he calls an happy prince. This *Darius*, who took *Suſa*, and waged war with the *Babylonians*, they will have to be *Darius* the *Mede*, ſon of *Ahaſuerus*. This opinion is liable to one ſtrong objection, namely, that *Darius*, the grandfather of *Cyrus*, could not be alive when *Babylon* was taken, *Cyrus* himſelf being then, as is agreed on all hands, and we ſhall ſhew in the hiſtory of *Perſia*, ſixty-one years old.

Other writers, following *Xenophon*'s account, maintain *Cyaxares* the ſon of *Aſtyages*, and uncle of *Cyrus*, to be *Darius* the *Mede*. He ſucceeded *Aſtyages* in the kingdom of *Media*, as *Cyrus* did *Cambyſes* in that of *Perſia*. Theſe two kings, with joint forces, invaded the kingdom of *Babylon*, and took the city: *Cyaxares* reigned two years at *Babylon*; and, at his death, *Cyrus* became maſter of the whole empire. This hypotheſis is intirely agreeable to Scripture, and free from thoſe unſurmountable difficulties which attend the others, as is allowed

(91) *Æſch. Perſæ, v.* 762.

even

even by thoſe who reject it. Their only exception to this ſyſtem is, that neither *Herodotus*, *Beroſus*, nor *Megaſthenes*, knew of any ſuch king as *Darius* or *Cyaxares* II. nay, *Herodotus* tells us, in expreſs words, that *Aſtyages* was ſucceeded by his grandſon *Cyrus*. This immediate ſucceſſion of *Cyrus* to his grandfather is vouched by *Diodorus*, *Juſtin*, *Strabo*, *Polyænus*, *Africanus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Juſtin Martyr*, *Lactantius*, *Euſebius*, *Hierom*, *Auſtin*, &c. But theſe, as they have only copied after *Herodotus*, add no weight to the ſcale. The above-mentioned writers, we own, give *Aſtyages* no other ſucceſſor than *Cyrus*; but *Xenophon* (92) does, and likewiſe *Joſephus* (93), forſaking herein *Beroſus*, whom he often quotes, and ever follows, where his authority does not claſh with Scripture. *Xenophon* calls the ſucceſſor of *Aſtyages Cyaxares*, and *Joſephus* gives him the name of *Darius*; adding, that he overturned the kingdom of *Babylon*, being, in that enterprize, aſſiſted by his nephew *Cyrus* (94): which is conſonant both to Scripture and chronology; whereas the contrary opinion, though perhaps not repugnant to holy writ, cannot by any means be reconciled with chronology: for, if we ſuppoſe that *Aſtyages* had no other ſucceſſor but *Cyrus*, we muſt allow him to have lived one hundred years, and upwards; for he gave his daughter in marriage to *Nebuchadnezzar*, as the ſticklers for *Herodotus* tells us, before the ſiege of *Nineveh*; that is, ſeventy-three years before the reduction of *Babylon*. He muſt have been, at that time, at leaſt thirty years old, and two years more he reigned at *Babylon*. Could we but prevail upon ourſelves to believe, that *Aſtyages* lived to ſo great an age, we ſhould willingly follow *Herodotus*, having a great reſpect for that venerable, and by ſome much injured hiſtorian. His ſyſtem is no ways repugnant to ſcripture, where nothing is ſaid of *Darius* the *Mede*, which may not be as well applied to *Aſtyages* himſelf as to his ſon.

A modern writer (95), ſo prepoſſeſſed in favour of *Herodotus*, as not to call in queſtion any thing that author aſſerts, endeavours to ſupport his ſyſtem with a paſſage from the *Apocryphal* of *Daniel*, xiii. 65. where it is ſaid, *And king* Aſtyages *was gathered to his fathers, and* Cyrus *of* Perſia *received the kingdom*. His quotation is right, according to the vulgate, which is the ſtandard in the church of *Rome*; but in our Bibles theſe words are to be found in the Apocryphal hiſtory of *Bel* and the *Dragon*, ver. 1. we ſhall not therefore take the pains of confuting our author, but cloſe this note with an ob-

(92) *Xenoph. Cyropæd. l.* i. *c.* 19 (93) *Joſeph. antiq. l.* x. *c.* 12.
(94) *Joſeph. ubi ſupra.* (95) *See Lenglet. methode pour etudier l'hiſt. tom.* 1. *p.* 322.

ſervation

# PERSIA SIVE SHAHISTAN

SCYTHIÆ PARS

PONTI EUXINI PARS

MARE CASPIUM

IBERIA

COLCHIS

ALBANIA

ARMENIA MINOR

ARMENIA MEDIA

ATROPATIA

PONTUS

PAPHLAGONIA

GALLOGRÆCIA

PHRYGIA

CAPPADOCIA

LYCAONIA

SOPHENE

ADIABENE

MESOPOTAMIA

CILICIA

SYRIA

CYPRUS I.

PHŒNICE

CŒLESYRA

IUDÆA

SAMARIA

IDUMÆA

ARABIA PETRÆA

CHALDÆA

BABYLONIA

PARTHIA seu PARTHIENE

PARAETACENE

CARMANIA

DESERTA

PERSIA

SINUS PERSICUS

ARABIA

PANCHAIA

FELIX

SINUS ARABICUS

MARGIANA

BACTRIANA

SOGDIANA

GABAZA

ARIA

DRANGIANA

ARACHOSIA

GEDROSIA

PARAPAMISUS

PORI REGNUM

OXYDRACÆ

INDIA INTRA GANGEM

INDIA EXTRA GANGEM

SINUS GANGETICUS

CHERSONESUS AUREA

MARE ERYTHRAEUM

OCEANUS INDICUS

Caucasus Mons
Bosporami
Dioscuria
Heraclea
Neoris
Madia
Cytæa
Phasis
Pityus
Trapezus
Moschici Montes
Harmenica
Artaxata
Vera
Sebastia
Ariganocerta
Garæa
Orosa
Ecbatana
Gabena
Arbela
Gaugamela
Nisibis
Carræ
Edessa
Singara
Hatra
Nicephorium
Palmyra
Sura
Thapsacus Euphrates
Neapolis
Pelusia
Thermalea
Babylon
Coche
Seleucia
Ctesiphon
Aramea
Mesenes
Charax
Forat Nig.
Vxii
Aspa
Susa
Cyropolis
Cyropolis Ext.
Alexandria ult.
Alexandria
Marginia
Bazaria
Maracanda
Polytimetus R.
Jaxartes R.
Batana sive Batane
Sandis
Rogæ
Arnas
Ochus R.
Bactra
Tapuri
Mardi
Barcani
Alexandria Artacoana
Alexandria
Susa
Raphanæa
Hecatompylos
Rhagæ
Tabas
Arsacia
Cibina
Peucela
Peucelaotis
Massaca
Xenira
Ora
Pechelima
Nisæa
Nisa
Bucephale
Urbis Cephacarum
Hydaspes Flu.
Acesines Flu.
Indus Flu.
Ganges Flu.
Araæ Alexandri
Singara
Hypasis sive Hyphasis Flu.
Athenagurum
Alexandria
Brachmanes
Sabracæ
Sogdorum regio
Musicani
Prasti
Sabaræ
Sabi regnum
Arabitæ
Arbitæ
Suficana
Xylenopolis
Patala
Barce
Pasira
Ichthyophagi
Harmozia sive Armoza
Alexandria
Sabis
Chodda
Carmana metropolis
Thaspis
Vipista
Pasar Gadæ
Gabæ
Persepolis
Prophthasia
Arsaspe
Euergetæ
Arachotus
Musarna
Oscana
Omana
Parsis metropolis Arbis
Bubacene
Barygaza emporium
Supara
Simylla emporium
Hippocura regia
Calligeris
Nitriæ
Muziris emporium
Modura
Vertex Taprobanæ
Scopelara
Palibothra
Celyana
Parisara
Aganagera
Cartinagra
Padari
Gangaridæ
Lestarum regio
Iacola
Thamydeni
Salma
Hamæ portus
Macrocosmus
Hippos mons
Hippos vicus
Cophar
Zahram regia
Macoraba
Carman regia
Badeo regia
Maraba
Sabe
Thurifera regio
Saphar
Pudni
Muza emporium
Ocelis emporium
Sanina
Homeritæ
Madoc
Arabia emporium
Nabatæi
Saraceni Midianitæ
Bethana
Petra
Thamara
Getara
Alhana
Regama
Cryptus portus
Mapha metropolis
Vagara
Ascitæ
Sabatha
Tamara
Ava
Aila

ſervation of greater moment and profit; which is, that this great event, this total end, and final deſtruction, of the *Babyloniſh* monarchy was literally and circumſtantially fulfilled, according to the prophecies, that had gone long before; as the reader may ſee, by comparing the one with the other, in the following inſtances, among many more: It was foretold, 1*ſt*, That proud city was to be beſieged by the *Medes* (96), in conjunction with other nations (97); that the paſſes and fords ſhould be ſeized, the mighty men caſt into the greateſt dread and confuſion (98); that the rivers ſhould be dried up (99); that the city ſhould be ſurpriſed in the midſt of their mirth and jollity, and her princes and captains in the height of their carouſing, and be caſt from their drunkenneſs into an eternal ſleep (100): and, *laſtly*, That that once ſo potent and glorious city ſhould certainly become utterly waſte, and an habitation for owls, bitterns, and other ſuch ominous birds (101): All which was exactly verified, as we have ſeen. Thus much we have thought neceſſary to ſay on a ſubject, which has occaſioned endleſs diſputes among the learned; and hope that the reader will not think we have treſpaſſed on his patience, when he reflects, that we have brought, within the compaſs of one note, what has ſupplied matter for whole volumes.

(96) *Iſa.* xiii. 17. xxi. 1—10. (97) *Jerem.* li. 11, 27, *& ſeqq.*
(98) *Ibid.* 30, *& ſeq.* (99) *Ibid.* l. 38. li. i. 9. 21. 35, *& ſeqq.*
(100) *Idem ibid.* 39. *& ſeqq.* 57, *& ſeqq.* (101) *Iſa.* xiii. xiv. xxiii. *paſſ. & alibi. Jerem.* l. 39.

# CHAP. XI.

## *The Hiſtory of* Perſia.

### SECT. I.

#### *The deſcription of* Perſia.

*Its ſeveral names.*

THIS country, like many others, has, in different ages, been called by different names; and though, to ſome, the ſettling of theſe may ſeem a dry and uſeleſs taſk, yet, inaſmuch as the ſubſequent hiſtory will be much enlightened thereby, we ſhall give the reader as diſtinct and accurate an account of them as we can. The moſt antint name of *Perſia* is that by which it is called by *Moſes* [a], viz. *Elam*, or, as ſome write it,

[a] Gen. x. 22. xiv. 1. Jerem. xxv. 25. Joseph. antiq. l. i. c. 7.

*Ælam*, from *Elam* the son of *Shem*, the father of its first inhabitants. *Herodotus* [b] calls its inhabitants *Cephenes*; and, in very antient times, the people [c] of this country called themselves *Artæi*, and the region wherein they dwelt *Artæa*. In the books of *Daniel* [d], *Esdras* [e], &c. we find it called *Paras*, agreeable to the *Persian* denomination of *Pars*, or *Phârs*, by which the proper *Persia* is called at this time. It has been also called *Achæmenia* [f] and *Arsaca*, from its antient kings. In [g] oriental writers it is called *Agjem*, *Irân*, and *Shabistân*, which last signifies the dominions of the *Shâh*. It is true, that, strictly speaking, *Achæmenia* and *Irân* are not general names of *Persia*, but rather of parts thereof; yet as they are frequently used in authors to signify that country which we call *Persia*, they may well enough be comprehended in this list of names (A).

The

[b] L. vii. c. 61. [c] Hyde relig. vet. Persar. p. 413. [d] Ch. vi. 28. [e] 1 Esdr. vii. 4. [f] Horat. lib. iii. od. i. c. 44. Ovid. de arte, lib. i. ver. 226. [g] Hyde, ubi supra. Chardin's travels, tom. iii. p. 2, 3.

(A) The best commentators agree, that the *Elamites*, who were the ancestors of the *Persians*, were descended from *Elam* the son of *Shem*; and thus much has been asserted, and proved, as far as the nature of the thing would admit, in a foregoing volume (1 . It is likewise allowed, that the most antient among the inspired writers constantly intend *Persia*, when they speak of *Elam*, and the kingdom of *Elam*. Thus, not to detain the reader with unnecessary quotations, when the prophet *Jeremiah*, after denouncing many judgments against this country, adds these words, *But it shall come to pass, in the latter days, that I will bring again the captivity of* Elam, *saith* the Lord (2); he is always understood to mean the restoration of the kingdom of the *Persians* by *Cyrus*, who subdued the *Babylonians*, as these had before subdued the *Persians*, and made them subject to their empire (3). As to the word פרס *Paras*, authors are not very well agreed as to its etymology, or signification: some are for deriving it from the *Arabic* word *Phâris*, which signifies a horse. Some *Persian* historians say, that *Phars* is a proper name; and that the person so called was the son of *Arsham*; i. e. *Arphaxad* the son of *Shem*: others make this *Phars* the son of *Japhet*, &c. Some again, who seem to be

(1) *Vol. i. p.* 267. (2) *Ch.* xlix. 39. (3) *Poli synop. critic. Lewis on Jerem.* xlix. 39.

nearest

THE extent of *Perſia* has been, in different ages, as various as its names. *Ptolemy* [h] bounds it thus; on the north it hath *Media*; on the eaſt *Carmania*: On the weſt *Suſiana*; on the ſouth the *Perſian* gulf: but this relates to *Perſia* as a province. We conſider it in another light; and therefore, to ſpeak as clearly and diſtinctly as we may, let us firſt aſſign the boundaries of the *Perſian* empire, as they ſtood antiently, when it extended fartheſt; let us next ſettle the boundaries of the modern *Perſian* empire; and, thirdly, let us review the ſeveral provinces mentioned *Extent.*

[h] Geogr. lib. vi. c. 4.

neareſt the truth, ſay that he was the ſon of *Elam* the ſon of *Shem* (4). It is evident, however, that the *Greek* word *Perſis*, and the *Latin* word *Perſia*, are derived from this oriental denomination, and not from this country's being conquered by *Perſeus*. The name *Artæi* is thought to be derived from the *Perſian* word *Ard*, or *Art*, which ſignifies ſtrong, brave, magnanimous; intimating, that the people of this country were ſuch in their diſpoſitions (5). *Achæmenia*, as *Stephanus Byzantius* (6) informs us, was only a part of *Perſia*: *Strabo* ſays nearly the ſame thing; yet ſometimes it is uſed to ſignify *Perſia* in general, as particularly by *Herodotus* (8), who makes *Cambyſes*, in an oration, call his people *Achæmenidæ*. In the *Armenian* language, *Perſia*, as I have ſaid, is ſtiled *Shahiſtân*; *i. e.* the country of the *Shâh* (9). The *Arabians* gave the name of *Agemeſtaan* to *Perſia*, becauſe, in their language, *Agem* ſignifies ſtranger, or rather barbarian; which, with great modeſty, they impoſe on every other nation but their own: hence the diſtinction of *Arak-Arab*, and *Arak-Agem*, which ſignifies as much as the towns of the *Arabs*, and the towns of the *Barbarians*. The *Perſians* themſelves call their country generally *Iroun*, and *Iran*; for this reaſon they ſay, that under the reign of king *Effraſiab*, their empire contained all the countries between the *Caſpian* ſea and *China*. This monarch divided his mighty empire into two parts, calling that on the other ſide of the river *Oxus*, *Touran*; and this *Iran*; i. e. *on the other ſide of the river*, and *on this ſide of the river*: whence, in the antient *Perſian* hiſtories, *Key Iran*, and *Key Touran*, ſignified *the king of* Perſia, and *the king of* Tartary. At this day, the *Perſian* monarch is ſtiled *Padcha Iran*, and the grand vifier of *Perſia*, *Iran Medary*; i. e. *the pole of* Perſia (10).

(4) *Hyde rel. vet. Perſ. c.* 35. *p.* 418. (5) *Ibid. p.* 413. (6) *Apud Hyde ubi ſupra.* (7) *Lib.* xv. *p.* 500. (8) *L.* iii. *c.* 65. (9) *Hyde, p.* 413. (10) *Chardin voy. vol.* iii. *p.* 3.

by antient writers, and, as we go on, take some account of the condition they are now in.

*Boundaries.*

As to the antient [i] empire of the *Persians*, it reached in length from the *Hellespont* to the mouth of the river *Indus*, about two thousand eight hundred *English* miles; in breadth from *Pontus* to the mouth of the *Arabian* gulf, about two thousand miles.

The [k] modern *Persia*, that is, the dominions of the *Persian* crown, extended in length from the mouth of the river *Araxes*, to the mouth of the river *Indus*, about one thousand eight hundred and forty of our miles; and in breadth, from the river *Oxus* to the *Persian* gulf, about one thousand and eighty of our miles: bounded thus; on the north, by the *Caspian* sea, the river *Oxus*, and mount *Caucasus*; on the east, by the river *Indus*, and the dominions of the great *mogul*, as he is commonly called; on the south, by the *Persian* gulf, and the *Indian* ocean; and on the west, by the dominions of the grand *signior* (B).

In

[i] Cluver. geogr. I. v. c. 13. [k] Idem, ubi supra.

(B). The ingenious Sir *John Chardin* tells us, That "*Persia* "is the greatest empire in the "world, if we consider it ac- "cording to the geographical "descriptions of the *Persians*; "for they represent its antient "boundaries to have been the "four following great seas; "viz. the *Black* sea, the *Red* "sea, the *Caspian*-sea, and the "*Persian* gulf; and also these "six rivers almost as well "known as seas, *Euphrates*, "*Araxis*, *Tigris*, *Phasus*, *Oxus*, "and *Indus*. It is, indeed, "impossible to mark precisely "the limits of this vast king- "dom; for it is not with it "as with the dominions of "some petty sovereigns, where "a rivulet or pillar marks the "frontier: *Persia* has, on "every side, a space of three "or four days journey, utterly "uninhabited, though the soil "is in some places the best in "the world. The *Persians* "look on it as a mark of true "grandeur, the leaving such "deserts between great em- "pires: It hinders, say they, "all disputes about limits; "and they serve, like walls, "to separate one kingdom "from another. The seas and "rivers before-mentioned are "far from being the bounda- "ries of *Persia* at this day: "yet the latest *Persian* writers "describe always their empire "within these limits; for they "insist, that of right all the "countries between them be- "long to them; and that they "want only such another "brave king as *Abbas the* "*Great*, to restore them to

"the

Gedrosia.

In our account of the provinces, into which the country we are speaking of was antiently divided, we shall begin with *Gedrosia*, mentioned by *Pliny*, *Strabo*, and other writers [l]. It is bounded on the west by *Carmania*; on the north by *Drangiana* and *Arachosia*; on the east by *Guzarat*, a province of *India*; on the south by the *Indian* ocean. It is called at present *Makran*. Of old it was inhabited by the *Arbitæ*, *Parsiræ*, *Musarnæi*, and the *Rhamnæ*. Its principal cities were *Pasis*, *Arbis*, and *Cuni*. *Ptolemy* places here a celebrated emporium, called *the haven of women*. The principal modern cities are *Firbk* [m], *Chalak*, and the port of *Guadal* (C).

Car-

[l] See note (C). [m] Voyages de Tavernier, l. iv. c. 8.

" the possession of their antient territory. *Persia*, in " the state I saw it, taking it " from *Georgia*; *i. e.* from the " 45th deg. of latitude to the " 80th; and from the river " *Indus* to the mountains of " *Ararat*; that is, from the " 77th to the 112th deg. of " longitude; contains in length " about 550 *Persian* leagues, " which makes 750 *French* " leagues, and in breadth " about 400 (11)". We have chosen to make use of the testimony of this traveller, preferable to others, because he seems to have taken great pains in the description which he has given us of this country; and since it must be allowed, that his long stay therein, his great parts, and general knowlege, qualified him perfectly for such a work, if we cannot credit him, it is hard to know on whom we may rely.

(C) As it would have swelled this chapter to an excessive bulk, if we had, in the text, been very particular as to the respective provinces of *Persia*, so, to avoid obscurity on the other hand, we have thought it necessary to add such a description of each province, in these notes, as may suffice to give the reader a competent idea of its situation, extent, and productions. This being premised, let us proceed in the order observed in the text.

Tho' *Gedrosia* be constantly so called by *Strabo* and *Ptolemy*, yet (12) *Diodorus Siculus*, (13) *Suidas*, and some manuscripts of (14) *Ammianus Marcellinus*, read *Cedrosia*. The extent of this province cannot easily be assigned, because, though in general terms, its boundaries be pretty well settled, yet how to fix these at this distance of time, is a question not readily resolved. Mount *Beelus*, or rather a ridge of mountains, runs through the middle of this province; and

(11) *Chardin voy. tom.* iii. *p.* 2.

(12) *Lib.* xviii. *c.* 6.

(13) *In verb.* Καδρωσία.

(14) *In edit. Valesii, p.* 369.

Carmania

CARMANIA is divided into *Carmania the Desert*, and *Carmania Proper*. *Carmania* [n] *the Desert* is bounded on the north by *Parthia*; on the west by *Persis*; on the east by *Drangiana*; on the south by *Carmania Proper*. *Carmania* [o] *Proper* hath on the south the *Indian* ocean; on the west *Persis*, and the gulf of *Persia*; on the east *Gedrosia*; and on the north *Carmania the Desert*. It contains the modern provinces of *Chirman* and *Ormas*. It was inhabited by the *Isatichæ*, *Zuthi*, *Gadanopydres*, *Camelobosci*, *Agdonites*, *Rhudianæ*, *Ares*, *Charadeæ*, *Pasargadæ*, and *Armozæi*. Its antient cities were *Carmanæ*, now *Khirman*, still a considerable place, and famous for the excellent scymitars made there; *Alexandria*, built by *Alexander the Great*; *Armuza* or *Armuzum*, on the shore of the gulf, giving name to a promontory, and to the island of *Ormuz*. The modern places of note besides, are *Khirman*, *Bermazir* [p], *Kubestek*, and *Iasquez*, which gives name to a cape or promontory shooting into the *Persian* gulf (D).

DRAN-

[n] PTOL. l. vi. c. 6. [o] Lib. vi. c. 8. [p] TAVERN. voy. l. iv. c. 1.

from them springs the celebrated river *Arbis*, or *Arabis*, which, after a short course, runs into the *Indian* ocean. At the mouth of this river stood the Γυναικῶν λιμὴν, or port of women, of *Ptolemy* (15), mentioned also by *Arrian*, in his *Indian* history, who tells us, that this place was so called, because it was first governed by a woman (16). The soil of this province was sandy and barren, very deficient in water, and the air intemperately hot; so that *Alexander*'s army suffered excessively here, notwithstanding they built their huts with aromatic wood, and met with spices in profusion (17). *Ptolemy* mentions two islands dependent on this province, *Astea* and *Codane* (18). *Arrian*, speaking of the voyage of *Nearchus*, tells us he observed several others (19).

(D) Though other authors speak of *Carmania* in general, yet *Ptolemy* makes not only the difference before noted in the text, but interposes the description of *Arabia Felix* between *Carmania Deserta*, and *Carmania* the *Proper*. As to the first, it is very truly what *Ptolemy* calls it, having scarce a town or a village in it, its soil being an unhospitable sand, its air hot and unhealthy; and the whole province, in a manner, destitute of water (21). *Carmania Proper* is a better country, having in it several rivers, particularly the *Anda-*

(15) *Lib.* vi. *c.* 21. (16) *Ch.* 22. (17) *Strabo, l.* xv. *p.* 495.
(18) *Ubi supra.* (19) *Hist. Indic. p.* 366. (21) *Lib.* vi. c. 8.

DRANGIANA [q], bounded on the south by *Gedrosia*; on the east by *Arachosia*; on the north by *Aria*; on the west by

Drangiana.

[q] PTOL. l. vi. c. 19.

*nis* mentioned by *Pliny* (22) and *Ptolemy* (23). It is mountainous, though with this advantage, that these mountains have mines of copper and iron. The people antiently, however, lived in no very desirable condition, if the description given us by *Pomponius Mela* be true: The "*Carmanians*, said he, have "neither fruits nor raiment, "nor house nor cattle, but "cover themselves with skins "of fish; and feeding on them "for the most part, the bo- "dies, as well as heads of "these people, are covered "with hair (24)." It may be, *Pomponius Mela* confounds the *Carmanians* with a nation inhabiting the sea-coast, and called, from their manner of living, *Ichthyophagi*, mentioned both by *Strabo* (25) and *Arrian* (26); and who are said not only to have fed on fish, but to have erected huts with their bones. *Ammianus Marcellinus* (27) gives *Carmania* a better character. At this day this province is particularly remarkable for producing sheep which bear the finest wool in the world; they have this peculiar property, that, having fed upon new grass from *January* to *May*, their fleece falls off of itself, and leaves the wool in their hands, which consists in girdles much esteemed through the east, and in a sort of serges which are as soft, and almost as fine, as silk (28). Dependent on this province is the little, but famous, island of *Ormuz*, in compass about 20 miles, stony, and full of rocks, barren, and destitute of all necessaries, except salt, of which there is such plenty, and so hard, that it is said houses are built thereof. The soil is composed of a white sand, formerly imported into *Europe*. Water (except such as after rains was preserved in cisterns) it had none: so that, even in its most flourishing times, when it was the emporium of this part of the world, its inhabitants had not only their victuals, but the very water they used, from the continent. The air in summer was so excessively sultry, that people were forced to live in grots, and to lie in water (29). At present there is nothing on it but a fort: but of its antient kingdom, and of the several revolutions which happened therein, we shall treat in its proper place.

(22) *Lib.* vi. *c.* 23. (23) *Ubi supra.* (24) *De situ orbis, l.* iii. *c.* 8. (25) *Lib.* xv. *p.* 495. (26) *Hist. Ind. c.* 26. (27) *Lib.* xxiii. (28) *Tavernier in Harris's collection, vol.* ii. *p.* 307. (29) *Mandelslo's travels in Harris's collection, vol.* ii. *p.* 118. *Tavern. in the same vol. p.* 347.

by *Carmania the Deſert*; derived its name, as ſome ſay, from the river *Drangius*, and is called, by the modern *Perſians*, *Sigiſtan*. It was antiently peopled by the *Darandæ* and the *Batrii*. *Ptolemy* reckons ten conſiderable cities in this province, the moſt famous of which were *Ariaſpe* and *Prophthaſia*. Thoſe now of any note are [r] *Siſtan*, ſuppoſed, by ſome, to be the antient city laſt-mentioned, *Chalak*, and *Kets*. Some writers [s] ſpeak of a certain valley in this province, called *Mulebat*, improved, by a prince named *Aladin*, into a paradiſe, though for very bad purpoſes (E).

[r] TAVERN. voy. ubi ſupra. [s] See note (E).

(E) *Strabo* (30), *Ptolemy* (31), and *Pliny* (32), agree in calling this province *Drangiana*: *Diodorus* calls it *Drangina*, and its inhabitants *Drangi* (33). A ridge of mountains, the principal of which is called *Bagous*, runs through this country; and from thence ſome have fanſied, that there ran a river called *Drangius*, from whence this country took its name; but of this there is no certainty. The province is not large, and every-where hilly, far from abounding with any rich commodities; and therefore never very famous, either in antient or modern times. At preſent, it is only ſo from its being reported to have been the birth-place of *Ruſtan* the celebrated hero of oriental romances. As to the valley of *Mulebet*, or paradiſe of ſultan *Aladin*, mentioned above, its hiſtory runs thus: A petty prince, of this name, cauſed this valley to be adorned in the moſt elegant manner he could contrive, furniſhing it eſpecially with airy pavilions, fine women, rich ſherbet, and delicate proviſions: he then ſhut up its entrance with a ſtrong fort; and, whenever he had any dangerous exploit to perform (for it ſeems he was but a kind of a free-booter), he choſe out ſome ſtrong able young man; and, having firſt got him to drink to ſuch a degree as to loſe his ſenſes, he cauſed him, while in that condition, to be removed into this paradiſe of his, where having ſuffered him to remain for two or three days, he then directed him to be lulled aſleep in the ſame manner, and ſo ſent home to his own houſe: then, under promiſe of ſending him for ever to dwell in that paradiſe, the joys of which he had taſted, *Aladin* quickly drew the deluded wretch to perpetrate the moſt barbarous and bloody fact that could be thought of (34).

(30) *Lib.* xv. *p.* 497. (31) *Lib.* vi. *c.* 19. (32) *Lib.* vi. *c.* 23. (33) *Lib.* xvii. (34) *Paul Venet. apud Purchas's pilgrimage, b.* iv. *c.* 6. *p.* 317.

ARA-

ARACHOSIA is bounded on the west by *Drangiana*; on the north by *Paropamisus*; on the east by the river *Indus*; on the south by *Gedrosia*. Its modern name is not well settled. It was inhabited of old by the *Arimaspi*, who were afterwards called *Margyetæ*, and then *Euergetæ*, the *Sydri*, *Roplutæ*, and *Eortæ*. *Ptolemy* reckons up thirteen cities in this province. We shall content ourselves with mentioning only three; *Arachotus*, built, on a lake of the same name, by the famous *Semiramis*, who is said to have given it the name of *Cophes*; *Alexandria*, built by *Alexander the Great*, and by some thought to be the same with the city now called *Cabul* [t]; and *Arbaca*, supposed to have derived its name from some of the kings of *Parthia* named *Arbaces*. As to modern towns of note, we know of none (F). Arachosia

PARO-

[t] See note (F).

(F) It is on the authority of Monsr. *Tavernier*, that we have told our readers there are now no towns of note in this province (35); by which we mean, none that are exactly known to stand within the limits of the antient *Arachosia*: however, since some writers are positive, that the antient city of *Arachotus*, or rather *Arachotos* (for it is a *Greek* appellation), was seated where now stands the city of *Cabul* (36), we will take this opportunity of inserting a description of that city, and the parts adjacent; which may, perhaps, prove as useful, and must of necessity be more entertaining to our readers, than a dry recital of the conjectures of geographers, relating to this province: "*Caboul* is a large city, "the metropolis of the pro- "vince of *Caboulistan*, or *Ca-* "*boul*. It hath two castles "well fortified; and because "several kings have held their "courts there, and many "princes successively have had "it for their portion, there "are a great many palaces in "it. It lies in 33 degrees of "north latitude. The moun- "tains about it produce plenty "of *mirobalans*, which from "thence the eastern people "call *cabuly*, several sorts of "drugs, and some spices, "which, with the iron-mines "in them, yield a great profit "to the inhabitants. In this "town they maintain a great "trade with *Tartary*, the coun- "try of the *Usbecks*, and the "*Indies*. The *Usbecks* alone "sell yearly, in this town, "above sixty thousand horses; "and the *Persians* bring hither "great numbers of sheep, and "other cattle; by which means "they are much enriched. "Wine is to be had, and pro- "visions

(35) *Lib.* iv. *c.* 1. *p.* 412.

(36) *Heylin's cosmography*, *b.* iii. *p.* 146.

Paropamisus.

PAROPAMISUS, bounded on the west by *Aria*; on the north by *Bactria*; on the east by the dominions of the *Mogul*; on the south by *Arachosia*; is called, by the moderns, *Sablestan* [u], including likewise the kingdom of *Candahar*. Its antient inhabitants were the *Bolitæ*, *Aristophili*, *Ambantæ*, *Parietæ*, and *Parsii*. Its chief cities *Ortospanum* and *Naulibis*. Modern cities there are many of great note, such as *Becksabat*, *Asbe*, *Bust* [w], strengthened with one of the finest castles in *Persia*, and adorned with various beautiful karavanseras (G).

BA-

[u] TAVERN. voy. ubi supra. [w] TAVERN. voy. tom. i. l. iii. p. 394.

" visions are cheap, tho' the " country about it is but cold " and barren, unless in some " places, which are sheltered " by the mountains, being " rendered little the more " fruitful by the two rivers " that water it, and have their " source in the mountains. " From this province especial- " ly, come the large canes, of " which they make halberts " and lances; and they have " many grounds planted with " them. The inhabitants of " the city and province are " most of them heathens; and " therefore, in all towns and " villages, are many pagods. " They reckon the months by " moons; and, with great de- " votion, celebrate the feast " called *Houly*, which lasts two " days, at the full moon in " *February:* at this feast they " are all cloathed in a dark " red; and after they have " prayed in the temple, and " made their oblations, they " spend the rest of the time in " dancing by companies, in " the streets, to the sound " of trumpets, visiting their " friends, and eating toge- " ther, every tribe by itself. " The great *mogul*'s revenue " from this country is four or " five millions yearly (37)." Yet, after all, it is far from being certain, whether *Cabul* has any thing to do with the antient province of *Arachosia*, since *Caboulistan* lies beyond *Candahar*, and is generally reckoned part of the *mogul*'s dominions.

(G) The name of this province is differently written, generally *Paropamisus*, sometimes *Parapamisis*; and again *Paropamisis* (38), deriving this denomination from the mountain *Paropamisus*, which is a part of *Taurus*, but was falsly stiled *Caucasus*, to flatter *Alexander the Great*, that it might be said of him that he had passed that famous ridge of mountains. A strange vanity! and scarce to be credited, if it were not supported by the authority of writers of the highest cre-

(37) *Tavern. in Harris's collection, vol.* ii. *p.* 355. (38) *Cellar. geogr. antiq. vol.* ii. *c.* 23. *p.* 719.

dit

BACTRIANA [x] or *Bactria*, now called *Chorassan*, anti- Bactriana.
ently inhabited by the *Salatarae*, *Zariaspae*, *Chomatri*, *Comi*, *Acinacae*, *Tambyzi*, *Thocarae*, a powerful people, and several other nations of less note. It was, in the first ages of the world, a kingdom, and a very famous one too. In later times, it boasted a thousand cities; the chief of these were *Bactra* and *Ebusmi*, both royal cities, as *Ptolemy* tells us, *Maracanda*, and *Charracharta*. Its modern cities of note are also numerous; but we shall not mention them here, because we shall have occasion hereafter to consider this country more particularly.

MARGIANA is bounded on the west by *Hyrcania*; on Margiana
the north by *Tartary*; on the south by *Aria*; and on the east by *Bactria*, now called *Estarabad*. It is divided from *Tartary* by the river *Oxus*, called, by the modern *Persians* [y], *Ruth-khané-kurkan*; and was inhabited antiently by the *Derbicae*, the *Massagetae*, who came hither from *Scythia*, the *Parni*, the *Daae*, and the *Tapurni*. Among its cities of note [z] we may reckon *Alexandria*, one of the six cities of that name in *Persia*, afterwards called *Antiochia*, and, after that, *Seleucia*; *Nigaea*, or rather *Nysaea*, mentioned by *Ptolemy*. As to modern places of note, *Estarabad*, *Amul*, and *Damkau*, deserve chiefly to be mentioned (H).

HYR-

[x] PTOL. l. vi. c. 11.
[z] CLUV. ubi supra.
[y] TAVERN. voy. l. iv, c. 1.

dit (39). The soil of this country, in general, is not over fruitful, the province being full of hills, which, however, by overshadowing the valleys, render them cool and pleasant. We have observed above, that the kingdom of *Candahar* is included within the antient province of *Paropamisus*. This little realm hath for its capital a city of the same name, which is looked upon to be the best fortified place in all this part of *Asia*. As the caravans pass constantly through it, in going to or coming from *India*, it is consequently a place rich, and full of trade. *Tavernier* has given us an ample description of it, at the end of the fifth book of his travels. As to the history of its princes, and of the various fortunes it has sustained, we shall give the reader a distinct view of them, when we have deduced the *Persian* history as low as to the erecting of this little kingdom.

(H) Many antient authors agree in commending the situation of this province, begirt, as it is, with high mountains,

(39) *Strabo, lib.* xi. *p.* 348. *Arrian. expedit. Alex. lib.* v. *c.* 3.

watered

Hyrcania

HYRCANIA [a] is bounded on the north by the *Caſpian* ſea, called ſometimes *Mare Hyrcanum*, from its waſhing the ſhore of this province; on the weſt by *Media*; on the ſouth by *Parthia*; and on the eaſt by *Margiana*, called now *Mazandran*, and including likewiſe the province of *Kylan*. The old inhabitants of this country were the *Maxeræ*, *Aſtabeni*, and *Chrindi*. Its antient capital was called *Hyrcania*, as well as the province; nor has it, at this diſtance of time, much changed its name, ſince it is ſtill named *Hyrcana*. *Sambrace* was likewiſe a conſiderable and very ſtrong place, at the time when *Arſaces* began to lay the foundation of his empire. Modern places of note are *Ferh-abad* [b], a port ſeated on a navigable arm of the *Caſpian* ſea, a fine city, much frequented by *Ruſſian* merchants, as being not above a fortnight's ſail from *Aſtracan*: *Giru*, *Talarapeſet*, *Ciarman*, and *Eſcref*, are alſo places of note in this country (I).

ARIA,

[a] PTOL. l. vi. c. 9. [b] Sir THOMAS HERBERT's travels in HARRIS's collect. vol. i. p. 434.

watered with pleaſant rivers; amongſt the reſt with the noble river *Oxus*, ſo famous in *Greek* and *Latin* authors. It is likewiſe celebrated for its fertility in vines of ſuch an extraordinary ſize, that two men can ſcarce fathom the trunk of one of them, bearing cluſters, ſome of which are two cubits long. *Antiochus Soter* was ſo much pleaſed with the beauty of this country, that he not only built a magnificent city therein, but even incloſed the whole plain, watered by the rivers *Arias* and *Margue*, with a wall 1500 ſtadia in circuit (40). *Eſtarabad*, its preſent capital, is chiefly remarkable for the fine druggets, and other excellent woolen goods manufactured there (41).

country fruitful in wine, wheat, figs, and all other kind of fruits; here-and-there, however, interſperſed with meadows and paſture-lands; and, in ſome places, with the leſs pleaſant proſpect of thick woods, abounding with wild beaſts of almoſt every kind, even to a proverb. As to its preſent condition, nothing can be more amazing than the wide difference there is between the accounts given us by perſons of credit and capacity; and who have had equal opportunities of acquiring a perfect knowlege of the things of which they diſcourſe. The reader will the better judge of this, if he takes the trouble of comparing the following paſſage, extracted from the travels of the duke of *Holſtein*'s embaſſadors, with what we

(I) Antient writers agree, in repreſenting *Hyrcania* as a

(40) *Strabo, lib.* xi. *p.* 355. *& Plin. l.* vi. *c.* 16. (41) *Tavern. vol.* i. *p.* 397.

ſhall

ARIA [c], bounded on the north by *Margiana* and *Bactria*; on the west by *Parthia* and *Carmania the Desert*; on the south by *Drangiana*; on the east by *Paropamisus*, now comprehended under the province of *Chorasan*. It was antiently inhabited by the *Nisæi*, *Astaveni*, *Musdorani*, *Cassiortæ*, *Obares*, *Elymandri*, and the *Borgi*. Its principal cities of old were *Aria*, seated on the river *Arias*, mentioned by *Pliny*, thought to be the same city, which is still famous under the name of *Heri* or *Herat*, rebuilt, and splendidly adorned, by the sultan *Heussien-Mirza*; *Alexandria*, built by *Alexander*, who settled a colony of *Macedonians* therein; *Artacanda*, by *Strabo* [d] called *Artacana*, and *Bitaxa* (K). Aria.

PAR-

[c] PTOL. lib. vi. c. 17.

[d] Geogr. lib. xi. p. 350.

shall hereafter give him from Sir *John Chardin*, in speaking of the air of *Persia*: "It must "be confessed by all those who "have travelled in these parts, "that the province of *Kilan* "is a terrestrial paradise, a- "bounding in silk, oil, wine, "rice, tobacco, lemons, o- "ranges, pomgranates, and "all sorts of other fruits. The "vines (which spread them- "selves with their branches "up the trees), being very ex- "cellent here, are as big in "compass as a man in the "waist. The *Caspian* sea, as "well as the rivers belonging "to this province, afford to "the inhabitants prodigious "quantities of fish, as their "pasture-grounds furnish them "with great store of cattle, "and their forests with veni- "son and wild-fowl; which "makes me admire how *John* "de *Laet*, who follows the "footsteps of *Johannes de Per-* "*sia*, could assert with so "much confidence, that *Mes-* "*sanderan* (part of the pro- "vince of *Kilan*) lies under so "cold a climate, that the fruits "there seldom come to full "maturity; when it is con- "fessed by all that have any "right knowlege of those "parts, that, among all the "provinces of that vast em- "pire, there is none that chal- "lenge prerogative for a tem- "perate and benign air, be- "fore that of *Messanderan*, "which, beyond all dispute, "produces the best fruits of "all *Persia*. *Shah Abbas* was "so well convinced of this "point, that he gave the pre- "ference, in his opinion, to "this province, before any "other of all his dominions; "which made him lay the "foundation of the city of "*Ferabath*, his ordinary resi- "dence, where he died (43)."

(K) It is not easy to determine, whether *Aria* and *Ariana* were the same province; or, if they were not, how they differed. To discuss so per-

(43) *Harris's collect. vol.* ii. *p.* 101.

plexed

Parthia.

PARTHIA [e], bounded on the weſt by *Media*; on the north by *Hyrcania*; on the eaſt by *Aria*; on the ſouth by *Carmania the Deſert*; ſurrounded with mountains, which ſerve for boundaries on every ſide; at this day called *Erak* or *Arak*; and, to diſtinguiſh it from *Chaldea*, which is likewiſe called *Erak*, this is ſtiled *Erac-Agami*. The antient [f] *Parthians* are ſaid to have been originally *Celtes*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel; who, being driven out of their own country, ſettled here, and had this name given them, which, in their own, that is, in the *Celtic* lan-

[e] PTOL. lib. vi. c. 5. [f] CLUV. ubi ſupra.

plexed a queſtion here, and to endeavour to ſolve what to the beſt geographers has appeared an inexplicable doubt, would be at once an act of vanity and raſhneſs. It is better, therefore, to refer the learned reader to the authors cited at the bottom of the page, from whom he may receive all the ſatisfaction the nature of the thing will admit (44). In our deſcription in the text, we have followed *Ptolemy* exactly, as knowing no better guide, though we muſt at the ſame time allow, that ſome things there are in his deſcription of this province, which are not eaſily underſtood, ſuch as the ſeveral fountains from whence he derives the ſtream of the river *Arius*, and the lake which he ſays it forms (45). Of the thirty-five cities mentioned by that author, we cannot find above five or ſix mentioned by any other antient writer; and of theſe the greateſt part are found all together, in a paragraph of *Ammianus Marcellinus* (46). It was antiently a very populous country, though much ſubject to heats, and intermixed with deſerts, heaths, and foreſts, near the mountains: however, where the heat of the ſun is a little rebated, they have very fruitful plains, which, among other things, produce grapes, the wine of which hath ſo ſtrong a body as to keep fourſcore or a hundred years, without diminution of colour or flavour. The antient city of *Aria*, now known by the name of *Heri*, or *Herat*, is ſtill large and populous. Sir *Thomas Herbert*, in his travels, tells us, that, when he was there, he found it under a governor of its own; and adds, that the adjoining country abounds with roſes, of which they make a water much ſtronger in its ſmell than that made in *Europe*. There are likewiſe, ſays another eminent traveller, admirable tapeſtries made in the neighbourhood of this place, ſuch as tranſcend not only the tapeſtries of *Europe*, but even thoſe that come from the reſt of the *Perſian* looms (47).

(44) *Cellar. geogr. antiq. lib.* iii. *c.* 22. *p.* 721. *Caſaub. in Strab. lib.* xv. *p.* 720. (45) *Lib.* vi. *c.* 17. (46) *Ammian. Marcellin. lib.* xxiii. *ſub fin.* (47) *Harris's collect. vol.* i. *p.* 435.

guage, signified *separated*, or *put away*. *Ptolemy* reckons twenty-five large cities within this province; and it must certainly have been very populous, since many cities, and about two thousand villages, are reckoned to have been destroyed by earthquakes. Its capital was *Hecatompylus*, so called from its having an hundred gates, a noble and magnificent place, and so lucky, as some think, to remain still the capital of *Persia*, under the name of *Hispahan*, or rather *Spauhawn*. Modern towns of note are [g] *Toucher-can*, and *Hamadan*, a very considerable place, and especially noted for great herds of cattle fed in its neighbourhood, producing great quantities of butter, cheese, and hides; *Chachan*, *Com*, *Casbin*, &c. (L), and some others less considerable.

PER-

[g] TAVERN. voy. l. iv. c. 1.

(L) The mighty reputation which the kings of *Parthia*, by their military virtues, obtained, will oblige us to speak hereafter of this province more accurately, than in this general description of the *Persian* dominions it was proper for us to do. As to what we have advanced concerning the origin of the *Parthians*, it may not be amiss to give the reader here the words of that author, on whose authority we took it, 'bating that he has confounded the *Scythians* and *Celtes*, or mistaken the one for the other, as shall be further proved in the history of those two nations.

"The *Parthians* (says he) "are also derived from the "*Scythians*; for they were "exiles of that country, as "their very name testifies; "for, in the *Scythian* language, "banished men are called "*Parthians*. These, in like "manner with the *Bactrians*, "being by civil wars driven "out of *Scythia*, first fixed "themselves by stealth in the "country adjoining to *Hyrca-*"*nia*; and afterwards obtain-"ed by force more extended "dominions (48)." Though, in later ages, *Parthia* became the mistress of her neighbours, and shared with *Rome* the empire of the world, yet under the antient *Persian*, and even under the *Macedonian* monarchs, it was so little considered, that it remained an adjunct of *Hyrcania*, and was not made a particular province. It is not easy to fix the derivation of the capital of *Parthia*. In antient time, *Polybius* says, that it was called *Hecatompylos*, because all the roads through the *Parthian* dominions centred here (49). *Curtius* says it was built by the *Greeks*; but by whom, or at what time, he informs us not (50). It should seem, that *Hecatompylos* is rather a *Greek*

(48) *Isidor. origin.* ix. c. 2. (49) *Lib.* x. c. 25. (50) *Lib.* vi. c. 11.

inter-

Persis. Persis [h], bounded on the north by *Media*; on the west by *Susiana*; on the east by the *Carmanias*; on the south by

[h] Ptol. lib. vi. c. 4.

interpretation of the true name of this city, than the real name thereof; but then what name this was in the *Parthian* language, we pretend not to say, it not having been recorded by any author we have met with.

In respect to what has been observed, in the text, of *Spaubawn*'s being founded on the ruins of the antient *Hecatompylos*, there are many authorities to bear us out, though we do not find any certain grounds whereon to found this opiniou (51). It is unanimously acknowleged, that the present city is of no great antiquity; and the two parts into which it is divided preserve the names of two contiguous towns, from the junction of which it is formed: these are *Heider*, and *Neamet-Olahi*. The inhabitants of these places, notwithstanding their neighbourhood, bore a mortal hatred to each other, which they have transmitted to their successors, who, tho' they live in the same city, shew notwithstanding, on all public occasions, a warm and inveterate antipathy one towards the other. Some, indeed, ascribe this enmity to another cause: they say, that *Heider*, and *Neamet-Olahi*, are the names of two princes who reigned antiently over *Persia*, and who divided their subjects into two parties; which are said to have subsisted ever since, not only in *Spaubawn*, but in all the towns of *Persia*. Such as say this, however, own that the city we are speaking of was composed of two distinct towns, called by them *Deredechte* and *Joubare*. It may be wondered, that their magistrates, in the course of ages, have not subdued these unnatural feuds, for which no good reason can be assigned, except that which our author intimates (52); *viz.* the gain which those magistrates made of their frequent quarrels and broils.

It is not very clear at what time the towns before-mentioned were united, or when this city received the name by which it is now known. Some say this happened before the reign of the famous *Timour Beg*, corruptly called *Tamerlane*, who destroyed it twice. Certain it is, that *Spaubawn* owes the glory it now possesses to the great *shah Abbas*, who, after the conquest of the kingdoms of *Lar* and *Ormus*, charmed with the situation of this place, made it the capital of his empire, between the year 1620 and 1628. There is, perhaps, no city in the world,

(51) *Herbert's travels in Harris's collect. vol.* i. *p.* 431. *Holstein embassadors travels in the same collection, vol.* ii. *p.* 79. *Carreri voyag. tom.* ii. *p.* 85.
(52) *Tavernier voyag. tom.* i. *l.* iv. *c.* 5. *p.* 434. *Chardin, tom.* ii. *p.* 6. *Carreri, ubi supra. Le Brun voy. tom.* i. *p.* 197.

the

by the *Perſian* gulf, called now *Pars* or *Phars*; antiently inhabited by the *Meſabatæ*, *Rapſii*, *Hippophagi*, *Suzæi*, *Megores*,

the name of which is ſo differently written as this of the capital of *Perſia* (53). Among *Europeans* it is uſually written *Hiſpahan*, or *Iſpahan*; it is alſo called *Spaha*, *Spachea*, *Aſpahan*, *Izpaan*, and *Spahon*. The *Nubian* geographer calls it *Aſbahawn*; and the *Perſians* themſelves pronounce it as it is written in the text, *Spauhawn*; which orthography we have taken the freedom to introduce, ſince the beſt writers are divided on this head: *Tavernier*, and Sir *John Chardin*, write it *Iſpahan*, Dr. *Gemelli Carreri*, *Spahon*; M. *le Brun*, *Spahan*: but all theſe authors agree, that the inhabitants pronounce it in the manner we have ſpelled it. The etymology of the word is no leſs difficult to be diſcovered, than the manner in which it ſhould be written. Before the time of *Tamerlane*, it is ſaid to have been called *Sipahan*, from the prodigious number of its inhabitants; *Sipe*, in the old *Perſic*, and *Uſbeque* language, ſignifying an army; and the plural thereof, *Sipahan*, conſequently ſignifying armies. Another derivation there is from an *Arabic* word, ſignifying a battalion (54). But it is time to quit theſe dry inquiries for ſomething more uſeful, as well as more entertaining, ſince, in the deſcription of *Perſia*, it would be an unpardonable fault to omit an exact account of its capital, eſpecially as we are ſo well furniſhed with noble materials in the travels of Sir *Thomas Herbert*, the *Holſtein* embaſſadors, M. *Tavernier*, Sir *John Chardin*, Dr. *Gemelli Carreri*, M. *le Brun*, and others. *Chardin*, and *le Brun*, have each of them given us a copious deſcription thereof, adorned with copper-plates; from whence it is as eaſy to form a juſt idea of it, as of *London* or *Paris*. All who ſpeak of *Spauhawn*, are agreed that nothing can be more beautiful in nature than the ſituation thereof: it ſtands in a plain ſpacious and fertile, ſurrounded with mountains, which defend it alike from the ſultry heats of ſummer, and the piercing winds of the winter-ſeaſon. Through this plain run ſeveral rivers, which water *Spauhawn*, and contribute alike to its ornament and uſe. The firſt of theſe is the river *Zenderoud*, over which there are three fine bridges. This river takes its riſe in the mountains of *Jayabat*, three days journey from the city, and is but a ſmall ſtream of itſelf; but *Abbas the Great* cut a chanel, whereby he brought a briſker and more conſiderable ſtream to fall into this river, for the greater convenience of his favourite metropolis; by which contrivance the *Zenderoud* is as broad at *Spauhawn* in the ſpring, as the *Seine* is at

(53) *Holſtein embaſſadors travels. Tavernier voy. ubi ſupra. Carreri, ubi ſupra, p.* 86. (54) *Holſtein embaſſadors travels, ubi ſupra.*

*Megores, Stabæi*, &c. Antient cities of note were *Perſepolis*, the noble metropolis of the antient *Perſian* empire; *Axima*;

*Paris* in the winter. The united waters of theſe rivers are ſweet, pleaſant, and wholſome, almoſt beyond compariſon, as indeed are all the ſprings which are found in the gardens belonging to the houſes of *Spauhawn*. The river brought by *Abbas* into the *Zenderoud* is called *Mahmoud*. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak both of it, and the *Zenderoud*, in another place. Beſides theſe, there are two more ſtreams, which run very near each other, and are both comprehended under the name of *Abcorrenge:* one of theſe is pretty conſiderable, its waters being at all times deep, and, generally ſpeaking, equal; for which reaſon ſeveral attempts have been made to bring it to enter the *Zenderoud*. King *Tahmas*, in the ſixteenth century, expended an exceſſive ſum of money on a project of this ſort, without ſucceſs: *Abbas the Great* did the ſame thing, on another project, but without effect; which did not, however, diſcourage *Abbas* the ſecond from twice endeavouring at the ſame thing, in which likewiſe failing, it is now looked on as a thing impracticable (55). The extent of *Spauhawn* is very great, not leſs perhaps than twenty miles within the walls: theſe are of earth, poorly built, and ſo covered with houſes, and ſhaded with gardens, that, in many places, it is a difficult thing to diſcover them; which is a defect not peculiar to this city, but is common to moſt of the great towns in *Perſia*; whence many travellers have been led to repreſent them as not walled at all. The *Perſians* themſelves are wont to ſay, *Spauhawn niſpe gehon*; i. e. *Spauhawn* is half the world. It is certainly a very large and populous city: but never were there ſeen wider accounts than thoſe which different authors give us of the number of ſouls in this city. Sir *Thomas Herbert* ſays, in his time there were 200,000 (56): ſir *John Chardin* ſays, that ſome have reckoned eleven hundred thouſand (57); but he is himſelf of opinion, that it is not more populous than *London*. At a diſtance the city is not eaſily diſtinguiſhed; for the ſtreets being many of them adorned with plantanes, and every houſe having its garden, the whole looks like a wood. The ſtreets, in general, are neither broad nor convenient, there being three great evils which attend them; the firſt is, that, being built on common ſewers, theſe are frequently broke up, which is very dangerous, conſidering that moſt people ride; the ſecond is, that there are frequent wells, or pits, in the ſtreets, which are no leſs dangerous;

(55) *Chardin voy. tom.* ii. *p.* 2, 3. (56) *Ubi ſupra.* (57) *Ubi ſupra.*

*Axima*; *Marasium*, called now *Marazu*; *Toace*, the capital of a district of the same name; *Pasargada*, a noble

gerous; the third arises from the people's emptying all their ordure from the tops of their houses: this last is indeed, in some measure, qualified by the dryness of the air, and by its being quickly removed by the peasants, who carry it away to dung their grounds. Sir *John Chardin* reckons eight gates; four looking to the east and south, and four to the west and north; *viz.* the gate of *Hassen-Abad*, the gate of *Joubare*, called also the gate of *Abbas*, the gate of *Seidahmedion*, the *Dervazedeulet*, that is, the imperial gate, the gate of *Lombon*, the gate of *Tokchi*, and the gate *Deredechte*: he reckons also six posterns. Other authors say there are ten gates; but it is agreed, that there is no difficulty of entering *Spaubawn* at any hour of the day or night. Whoever has a mind to make himself perfectly master of the names of the streets, and even of the houses of this vast city, may satisfy his curiosity, and be very agreeably entertained, by perusing *Chardin*'s elegant description of it, which is at once pleasant and exact, and equally fitted to amuse and to instruct the reader. The compass of this note will not allow us so much as to abridge his curious account: we shall therefore content ourselves with mentioning only the principal things in *Spaubawn*, as they are described by that gentleman, and M. *le Brun*. To begin then with the royal palace, which is three quarters of a league in circumference; it has six gates; the first called *Ali Kapesie*; that is, the gate of *Ali*; the second, *Haram Kapesie*, or the gate of the seraglio; the third, *Moerbag Kapesie*, the gate of the kitchen; the fourth, *Gandag Kapesie*, or the garden-gate, through which none passes but the king himself, and his kapaters, or eunuchs, who attend his women; the fifth, *Ghajatganna Kapesie*, or the gate of the taylors, because those belonging to the king have apartments near it; the sixth, *Ghanna Kapesie*, or the gate of the secretary. The grandees of the kingdom, when they go to pay their court, generally enter the palace by the two gates first-mentioned. 2. The *Meydoen*, which is one of the principal ornaments of this great city: it is a grand market, 710 paces long from east to west, and 210 broad from north to south: on the south side stands the royal palace, and on the north the *Nachroe-chone*, a building wherein are placed the king's band of music: on one side of the *Mey-doen* stands the mosque *Sjig-lotf-olla*, so called from one of their doctors, who is reputed a saint; it has a fine dome, adorned with green and blue stones incrusted with gold, having on the top a pyramid, on which are placed three balls of the same metal: on the west side

noble city built by *Cyrus*, and honoured with his tomb [1]. As to modern cities, there are many of great note; and, amongst

[1] Tavern. voy. tom. i. l. iv. cap. 1. p. 412.

of the *Mey-doen* stands the royal mosque, extremely magnificent: at some distance from thence appears the gate called *Ali Kapesie*; and between these stand a range of fine buildings, adorned with porticoes, full of shops. The middle space is taken up, in a great measure, with tents, under which all sorts of goods are sold; but these are taken away in the evening, to make room for the guards, who, with their great dogs, attend there all night long: in this space the mountebanks erect stages, distribute their packets, and with their antick tricks divert the populace. In the middle stands a pillar, on the summit of which the prize is placed, when tournaments are celebrated: this prize generally is either a cup of gold, or something of the same value; and none are suffered to contend for it but persons of very high quality. On the feast of *Nouroes*, or the beginning of the year, all the tents are taken away, and every thing is made clear, for the more commodious celebration of the carousals which are then performed in the presence of the king, who is seated in a kind of gallery, or theatre, called *Talael*, very curiously adorned, on the gate of *Ali*. 3. Next to this noble market-place we ought to mention the principal street of *Spahawn*, called *Chiaar-baeg*, i. e. four gardens, one of the grandest ornaments of this city, the shops therein being wonderfully magnificent, and the disposition thereof, in every respect, convenient and pleasant. 4. From thence runs the bridge of *Allawerdie-Chan*, over the river *Zenderoud*, 540 paces long, and 17 broad, built with large stones: it has three-and-thirty arches, some of which are founded on the sand, which is firm and stable; and through these, when it is high enough, the water flows. There are ninety-three niches upon this bridge, some shut, some open; and the corners thereof are flanked with four towers: it has a wall, or parapet, of brick, with openings at certain distances, which afford the finest prospect in the world. In the neighbourhood of this bridge are divers pleasure-houses belonging to the king, and gardens stored with fruit-trees, and adorned with every thing else that can contribute to the making them worthy of their possessor. There are some other bridges, mosques, and public structures, which deserve to be particularized, if this note were not already too long: let us conclude it then with observing, that the citadel, or fortress, called by the *Persians Tabarvek*, is a very mean structure, and in as mean a condition, its walls being in such a ruinous state, that though

amongſt theſe *Schiras*, *Benaron*, *Lar*, *Bender-abaſſi* or *Gombroon*, and *Bender-congo*, are reckoned the moſt conſiderable (M).

SUSI-

though there are ſome cannon mounted upon them, yet they are never made uſe of, from an apprehenſion, that the walls would fall, if thoſe pieces were diſcharged.

(M) This country is very frequently mentioned in antient authors; and therefore we are the better enabled to give an account of its former as well as preſent ſtate (60). Such parts of it as lie towards the north are hilly and barren, bearing neither fruit nor corn ſufficient for the uſe of the inhabitants: ſome emeralds, indeed, are there found, but of no great value. On the coaſt of the *Perſian* gulph the ſoil is as bad, though of a different nature, being hot and ſandy, and producing few other trees than palms: but between theſe there lies a rich and pleaſant region, abounding with corn, fruit, and cattle, and better watered, though but by ſmall rivers, than moſt of the other regions within this wide empire. The entrance of this country is narrow and difficult, defended formerly againſt *Alexander the Great* by *Ariobarzanes*, a noble *Perſian*, who gave a check to that conqueror's progreſs, and immortalized his name by this gallant performance in the ſervice of his country. As to *Perſepolis*, the antient capital of this province, and of the old empire of the *Perſians*, *Diodorus Siculus* informs us, that it was the richeſt city in the world, at the time that it was ſubdued by *Alexander*, whoſe ſoldiers, taking it by ſtorm, put all the men to the ſword, rifled their houſes, and carried off immenſe quantities of gold and ſilver, *Alexander* reſerving to himſelf the treaſures in the citadel, which had been amaſſing there from the time of *Cyrus*, the founder of the *Perſian* empire. If this author's computation be right, he took thence an hundred and twenty thouſand talents of gold: in fine, the ſpoil was ſo great, that the neighbouring countries were conſtrained to furniſh mules and other beaſts of burden, beſides three thouſand camels, to carry it off; for he had conceived ſuch a diſlike to the inhabitants of this city, that he was reſolved to leave them nothing of value; and thus, as the ſame writer obſerves, *Perſepolis*, once ſo famous for its magnificence, became no leſs remarkable for its calamity (61). Among the cities of note at this time, the principal is *Schiras*; which, with the adjacent country, is thus deſcribed by a famous traveller, in his account of the road from *Spauhawn* to the *Indies*: "From thence

(60) *Strab. l.* xv. *p.* 501. *Plin. l.* vi. *c.* 26. *Herod. c.* 125. (61) *Diod. Sic. lib.* xvii. *c.* 68.

Susiana. SUSIANA, bounded on the [k] north by *Assyria*; on the west by *Chaldea*; on the east by *Persia*; on the south by the

[k] PTOL. lib. vi. c. 5.

" *(i. e. Tchelminar)* to *Schiras* " is an hard day's journey, " especially when the snow " melts, for then the road is " like a sea. The city of " *Schiras*, which many will " have to be the antient *Cyro-* " *polis*, the metropolis of the " province of *Persia*, lies in " 78 deg. 15 miles long. and " 29 deg. 36 miles latitude. " It is seated in a plain about " four leagues in extent from " north to south, and about " five leagues from east to " west. Upon the south-east " is a lake of salt-water about " four leagues in compass. " The soil about it is very " good and fruitful, and " famous for the best wines " in *Persia*. The city itself " has nothing handsome in it; " for it looks more like a " ruined town, than a city. " It has no walls, but a bad " ditch, and the houses are " built of earth dried in the " sun, and whitened over with " lime; so that when they are " well moistened with rain, " they often fall down of " themselves; only the col- " lege which *Iman Kouli-Kan* " built, and some of the " mosques, are of brick; and " the best of these mosques, " which is called *Sha Shi-* " *raque*, is kept in something " better repair than ordinary, " out of a particular devo- " tion; but there is nothing " worth taking notice of in " it. On the north-east stands " an high mountain, which is " covered with several sorts " of fruit-trees, of which " there are some oranges, le- " mons, and cypresses, and at " the foot of it a stone bridge, " from whence there is a street " which goes in a strait " line quite through the city. " This street is walled on " both sides, and at certain " spaces are several gates, " which have neat little houses " built upon them, from " which is a pleasant prospect " into the gardens planted " with rows of cypresses. " The streets of *Schiras* are " somewhat narrow; but " there are some fair ones, " having in the midst of " them lovely canals, and ba- " sons of water very plea- " sant. There are a great " many fair covered bazars " or markets, with great " shops, well furnished with " all sorts of *Indian* and *Turk-* " *ish* commodities, and every " commodity has its particu- " lar bazar. In the college " there are professors, who " have salaries for teaching " theology, philosophy, and " medicine; and, 'tis said, it " has sometimes 500 students. " There are in this city three " or four glass-houses, where " they make great and small " bottles, to transport the " sweet waters made in this " city; as also several other " vessels,

the *Perſian* gulf; is believed by ſome to have been the land of *Havilah*, called now *Chuſiſtan*, inhabited by the

" veſſels, to put their pic-
" kled fruits in, which they
" ſend in great quantities into
" *India*, *Sumatra*, *Batavia*,
" and other places. They
" make their glaſs of a white
" ſtone almoſt as hard as
" marble, which they fetch
" from an hill four days
" journey from *Schiras*, and
" 'tis as clear and delicate as
" any glaſs in the world. It
" is wonderful how they blow
" their great bottles called
" *caraba*, which are a finger
" thick, and hold near 30
" quarts of wine. They
" have no manufactures at
" *Schiras*, but a few coarſe
" painted cloths, which are
" uſed only by the meaner
" ſort. On the north-weſt
" ſide is the king's garden,
" called *Bay-ſha*, which is
" indeed well planted with
" fruit-trees, roſes, and jaſ-
" mines; but, for want of
" order, it looks like a wil-
" derneſs. From this garden
" to the hills, is a vineyard
" belonging to ſeveral per-
" ſons, two leagues long, and
" one broad, which is wa-
" tered with the river *Ben-*
" *demir*, which is ſometimes
" dry in ſummer, becauſe it
" never rains there but in
" ſpring and autumn. The
" wines made here are the
" beſt in all *Perſia*, but they
" make no great quantities
" of them, becauſe they dry
" and pickle good part of
" their grapes. 'Tis an ex-
" cellent ſtomach-wine, but
" very ſtrong; ſo that, with-
" out ſpoiling the taſte of it,
" it will carry two thirds of
" water. They ſell their
" wine by weight, and not
" by meaſure; and, putting
" it into cheſts, ſend a great
" deal yearly to *Spauhawn*
" and the *Indies*. The people
" of *Schiras* are very witty,
" and moſt of the beſt poets
" in *Perſia* were born here.
" In an antient moſque here
" lies *Scheich Sadi*, one of the
" beſt of their poets, whom
" they honour as a ſaint.
" The ſoil about this city
" is very good, and pro-
" duces plenty of all things.
" They have all the fruits
" that we have, and oranges
" and lemons in abundance.
" They have vaſt quantities of
" roſes, from which they draw
" ſuch great plenty of roſe-
" water, that they furniſh all
" the *Indies* with it. They
" have a great deal of corn,
" but give much to their horſes
" to be eaten in the blade, be-
" cauſe they ſay, that for want
" of water it would never
" come to maturity. There
" is a great deal of opium
" made at *Schiras*; for round
" about the town are large
" fields ſown with white pop-
" pies: they have alſo ſtore of
" capers, which they ſend in-
" to all parts (62)".

(62) *Tavern. in Harris's collect. vol.* ii. *p.* 344.

two nations following; *viz.* the *Elymæi* and *Cossæi*. Its capital was the famous city of *Susa*, the *Shushan* [1] of the Scriptures; and *Tariana*, by *Ammianus* called *Tarsiana* [m]. The modern towns of note are [n] *Ahawas*, *Scabar*, and *Ram-hormus* (N).

Curdistan *and* Schirwan.

THERE are two other provinces of the *Persian* empire, which need not be described here, because they have been

[1] Dan. viii. 2. Nehem. i. 1. Esth. i. 2. CELLAR. geogr. antiq. lib. iii. c. 19. p. 684. [m] Apud [n] TAVERN. voyag. ubi supra.

(N) *Susiana*, as described by *Ptolemy*, includes the province stiled *Elymais* (63); which *Pliny* also observes to have lain within the bounds of this province, and to have been severed from it by the river *Eulæus* (64). It received its name from *Susa*, the capital thereof, once the royal seat of the *Persian* kings, who were wont to reside one part of the year here, and the other at *Ecbatan*. *Pliny* says, that it was founded by *Darius* the son of *Hystaspes* (65): but this is not to be taken strictly; for certain it is, that the *Darius* he speaks of could only be its restorer, since *Strabo* positively affirms, that it was built by *Tithonus* the father of *Memnon* (66); and *Herodotus* long before says, that *Susa* was called the city of *Memnon* (67). It is difficult to determine whether in pleasantness, magnificence, or strength, this noble city excelled: seated it was, as sacred and profane authors agree, on the river *Ulai*, or *Eulæus*, called also the *Choaspes*, or rather on the confluence of these two rivers; for the *Eulæus* and the *Choaspes*, meeting at *Susa*, run together in one stream; and are afterwards stiled sometimes by one name, sometimes by the other. As to its beauty, *Diodorus* affirms, that, when *Alexander* seized the palace here, he took possession of the noblest mansion in the universe. Here were preserved the records of the *Persian* empire; and here were laid up the treasures of the kingdom, that they might be made use of on any emergency, and not be squandered away at the will of the prince. *Alexander* took from hence nine thousand talents of coined gold, and forty thousand talents of gold and silver bullion (68). The modern name of this celebrated city differs not much from that by which it was formerly called, the city of *Shustern* being by some travellers conceived to be built at least very near the place where *Susa* of old stood (69).

(63) *Cellar. geogr. antiq. lib.* iii. *c.* 19. 5. 2. *p.* 682. (64) *Hist. nat. lib.* vi. *c.* 27. (65) *Ubi supra.* (66) *Geogr. l.* xv. *p.* 500. (67) *Terpsich. c.* 54. (68) *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xviii. *c.* 66. (69) *Tavern. voyag. tom.* i. *l.* iv. *c.* 1.

treated

treated of elſewhere already. Theſe are *Curdiſtan* [o], containing the antient *Aſſyria*, and *Schirwan* [p], of old ſtiled *Media*. A famous modern traveller [q] tells us, that there are reckoned, in the dominions of *Perſia*, upwards of five hundred conſiderable places, walled towns, and caſtles, about ſixty thouſand villages, and forty millions of ſouls.

*Climate.* As to the air and climate of this country, conſidering the great extent thereof, it cannot be otherwiſe than varied, according to the ſituation of the ſeveral parts thereof, ſome being frozen with cold, and others burnt with heat, at the ſame time of the year. The air, where-ever it is cold, is dry; but, where it is extremely hot, it is ſometimes moiſt. In order to give the reader a juſt notion of this, it will be neceſſary to obſerve, that all along the coaſt of the *Perſian* gulf, from weſt to eaſt, to the very mouth of the river *Indus*, the heat is, for four months, ſo exceſſive, that even thoſe, who are born in the country, unable to bear it, are forced to quit their houſes, and retire to the mountains; ſo that ſuch as travel in theſe parts, at that ſeaſon, find none in the villages, but wretched poor creatures, left there to watch the effects of the rich, at the expence of their own health. The extreme heat of the air, as it renders it inſupportable, ſo it makes it prodigiouſly unwholſome, ſtrangers frequently falling ſick there, and ſeldom eſcaping. The eaſtern provinces of *Perſia*, from the river *Indus* to the borders of *Tartary*, are ſubject to great heats; but not quite ſo unwholſome as on the coaſts of the *Indian* ocean, and *Perſian* gulf: but, in the northern provinces, on the coaſt of the *Caſpian* ſea, the heat is full as great, and, though attended with moiſture, as unwholſome as on the coaſt before-mentioned. From *October* to *May*, there is no country in the world more pleaſant than this; but the people carry in their faces indeleble marks of the malign influence of their ſummers, looking all of them of a faint yellow, and having neither ſtrength nor ſpirits, though, about the end of *April*, they abandon their houſes, and retire to the mountains, which are five-and-twenty or thirty leagues from the ſea. In a word, the unhealthineſs of this place is ſo notorious, that, when a perſon is ſent to the government of *Keilan*, it is generally looked on as a kind of diſgrace; and the people at *Spauhawn* are apt to aſk, whether he has robbed or

[o] Cluver. geograph. l. v. c. 14. Tavern. ubi ſupra.
[p] Cluver. ubi ſupr. Tavern. ubi ſupr. [q] Chardin voy. tom. iii. p. 4.

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murdered to deſerve ſuch a commiſſion. But this moiſtneſs in the air is only in theſe parts; the reſt of *Perſia* enjoys a dry air, the ſky being perfectly ſerene, and hardly ſo much as a cloud ſeen to fly therein. To ſay the truth, the purity of this element is the greateſt bleſſing the inhabitants enjoy, deriving from thence a clear and florid complexion, together with an excellent habit of body. It rains ſeldom; but it does not follow, that the heat admits of no mitigation: for, in the night, though not a cloud be ſeen, the ſky being ſo clear, that the ſtars alone afford a light ſufficient to travel by, yet there is a briſk wind, which laſts till within an hour of the morning, and gives ſuch a coolneſs to the air, that a man may diſpenſe with a tolerable warm garment. The ſeaſons in general, and particularly in the middle of this kingdom, happen thus; the winter, beginning in *November*, and laſting till *March*, is very ſharp and rude, attended with froſt and ſnow; which laſt deſcends in great flakes on the mountains; but never on the plains. There are mountains, three day journey to the weſt of *Spauhawn*, on which the ſnow lies for eight months of the year. It is ſaid, that they find there white worms as big as one's little-finger, which, if cruſhed, feel colder than the ſnow itſelf. From the month of *March* to that of *May*, there are briſk winds; from *May* to *September*, the air is ſerene and dry, refreſhed by pleaſant gales, which blow in the night, at evening, and morning; and, in *September* and *November*, the wind blows as in ſpring. It is to be obſerved, that, in ſummer, the nights are about ten hours long, the twilight being very ſhort; which, joined to the coolneſs of the night, renders the heat of the day ſo moderate, that this ſeaſon is as ſupportable at *Spauhawn* as at *Paris*. The great dryneſs of its air exempts *Perſia* from thunder and earthquakes. In the ſpring indeed there ſometimes falls hail; and, as the harveſt is then pretty far advanced, it does a great deal of miſchief. The rainbow is ſeldom ſeen in this country, becauſe there riſe not there vapours ſufficient to form it; but, in the night, there are ſeen rays of light ſhooting through the firmament, and followed, as it were, by a train of ſmoke. The winds, however briſk, ſeldom ſwell into ſtorms or tempeſts; but, on the other hand, they are ſometimes poiſonous and infectious on the ſhore of the gulf, as all travellers agree (O). THERE

(O) As to the air and clime of *Perſia*, we have chiefly followed the ſo often commended Sir *John Chardin*, but never without

THERE is perhaps no country in the world, which, generally speaking, is more mountainous than *Persia*; but these mountains are far from being advantageous, since *Mountains*

without comparing what he says with what is said by other writers the most esteemed on the same subject. M. *Tavernier* and he both agree in reporting, that at *Spaubawn* it is usual to inquire whether a man has robbed or murdered, who is sent to *Keilan* (70): which makes it the more strange, that intelligent persons, who have also been on the spot, should report directly the contrary, as has been remarked in a former note: yet after all, some account may be given of this matter; nay, it is to be hoped, such a one as will satisfy even a critical reader. There are a few months in the year, in which the account given by *Olearius* is still found strictly true; but, alas! the rest of the year the people are in a wretched condition, fly from their habitations, and scarce know where to seek for rest. It was in the best season of the year, that the *Holstein* embassadors, and their retinue, crossed this country: and thus, it seems, it came to pass, that they represented it as a paradise, not suspecting that at another season of the year it could be so intolerable a place as it really is. As to the insupportable heat at *Gambroom*, all authors are agreed about it. M. *Tavernier* says, that people often find themselves struck by a south wind in such a manner, that they cry, I burn; and immediately fall down dead (71). M. *le Brun* says, that he was greatly incommoded therewith while he was there; and that the people assured him, that the weather was at some times so excessively sultry, as to melt the seals of letters. At this time the people go in their shirts, and are continually sprinkled with cold water; nay, the interpreter belonging to M. *le Brun*, and his company, had a well, in which he passed some part of the day. Among the inconveniencies consequent from this malign disposition of the air, one of the most terrible is the engendering in the arms and legs a kind of long small worms, which are not to be withdrawn without great danger of breaking them; upon which a mortification ensues. Our author last-mentioned had therefore just reason to say, that a severer punishment could not be inflicted even on a heinous offender, than the leaving him in such a place as this: and yet, as he observes, there are many people of worth and good sense, who, for the sake of acquiring large fortunes in a short time, hazard themselves here, but rarely live to enjoy the riches which they have got (72).

(70) *Chardin. tom.* iii. *p.* 7. *Tavern. tom.* i. *liv.* iv. *c.* 1. *p.* 414.
(71) *Tavern. tom.* i. *liv.* v. *c.* 23. *p.* 764.
(72) *Le Brun voyag. tom.* ii. *p.* 322.

many

many of them yield neither ſprings nor metals, and but a few of them are ſhaded with trees. It is true, that many of them are ſituated on the frontiers, and ſerve as a kind of natural baſtions or ramparts to this vaſt region; and, it is very likely, contribute, in other places, to make the country wholſome, by ſheltering the valleys under them from exceſſive heat. On ſome of theſe hills there is found a kind of mineral ſalt, which is ſold very cheap [r]. As for particular mountains, we have already mentioned moſt of them, which deſerved to be taken notice of, in our deſcription of the ſeveral provinces of *Perſia*.

*Rivers.* In reſpect to rivers, it has been already obſerved, that, except the *Araxis*, there is not one navigable ſtream in all this country. There are indeed, in moſt of its provinces, ſome little rivers, which run ſhort courſes, and would be more conſiderable than they are, if, through want of water, the inhahitants were not forced to divert their ſtreams by ſmall chanels, in order to fructify their grounds. An eminent traveller informs us, that this was practiſed anti-ently much more than of late years; and that from hence, in a great meaſure, ariſes the mighty difference between the productions of antient and modern *Perſia*. He affirms, that a *Perſian* of great quality, and who was perfectly acquainted with this matter, informed him, that, within the ſpace of twenty-four years, no leſs than fourſcore chanels had been choaked up, and loſt, in the territory of *Tauris* [s]. As to ſeas, the northern provinces of the *Perſian* empire lie on the *Caſpian* lake or ſea; of which an account has been already given at the beginning of this volume [t]. On the ſouth, the *Perſian* ſhore is waſhed by the *Indian* ocean, and by the waters of the *Perſian* gulf, or gulf of *Balſora*, flowing out of the *Indian* ocean near the iſle of *Ormus*, from the ſouth-eaſt to the north-weſt, having *Perſia* on the eaſt, and *Arabia* on the weſt, it runs as high as the antient *Chaldea*, where it receives the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris*, united in one ſtream; and very few rivers of note beſides. It may not be amiſs to take notice here, that the gulf is ſometimes ſtiled the *Red* ſea, as well as the gulf of *Aden* (P).

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[r] Tavern. voy. tom. i. l. iv, c. 1. p. 416. [s] Tavern. voyag. ubi ſupra. [t] Pag. 9, & ſeqq.

(P) As we have remarked, that there is not above one navigable river in *Perſia*, the reader need not be ſurpriſed, that

AFTER this account of mountains and rivers, and after affirming, that there are many of the former, and but a very

*Soil.*

that we ſay ſo little of the ſeveral ſtreams which water that country; one of them we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of under the head of natural rarities; but the river *Araxes* deſerves to be further conſidered, on account of the miſtakes which ſome writers have been guilty of in relation thereto, occaſioned chiefly by the giving this name to two different rivers. *Olearius* gives us a very diſtinct account of this matter, which we ſhall therefore recite in his own words: "The 17th we croſſed the famous river of *Aras* (*Araxes*) "by the means of a bridge of "boats near *Tzanat*: *Q. Curtius* ſpeaking of this river in "two different paſſages, and "in a different ſenſe, has not "a little puzzled the antient "hiſtorians and geographers, "who, for the moſt part, put "it in the ſame province, but "can't agree in the deſcription "of its courſe; for *Q. Curtius*, "in his fifth book, puts it in "*Perſia*, and ſays its courſe "is to the ſouth; whereas, in "his ſeventh book, he makes "it paſs through *Media*, and "diſembogue itſelf into the "*Caſpian* ſea: *Strabo* is no "leſs dubious; and *Raderus*, "endeavouring to diſſolve this "knot, by aſſerting that the "river *Medus* before it is join-"ed with *Araxes*, has its courſe "to the ſouth, and afterwards "exonerates itſelf into the "*Caſpian* ſea, is fallen into a "groſs miſtake; for how is it "to be conceived, that the "river ſhould make its way "through the vaſt mountain "*Taurus*, which is ſo many "leagues in breadth, and di-"vides not only all *Perſia*, but "even *Aſia* itſelf, and ſo con-"tinue its current from *Perſe-*"*polis* to the *Caſpian* ſea? The "foundation of the whole "miſtake lay here, that there "are two rivers which bear "the name of *Araxes*, in *Per-*"*ſia*, one in *Media*, the other "in *Perſis*: to the laſt, which "waſhes the walls of *Perſe-*"*polis* (now called *Schiras*), "*Q. Curtius* has left the right "name of *Araxes*; but has "taken the liberty to impoſe "the name of *Tanais* upon "the *Iaxartes*, which paſſes "through *Scythia*, as he has "given the name of *Caucaſus* "to the eaſtern branch of the "mountain *Taurus*; but, with "what reaſon, I am not able "to determine. That which "paſſes through *Perſis* is by "the *Perſians* called *Bend-*"*Emer*, from a ſignal miracle "there performed by *Ali*; "and diſembogues into the "ocean in the *Perſian* gulf: "that which we ſpeak of "now, keeps its antient "name, and riſes out of the "mountains of *Armenia*, be-"hind the great *Ararat*; and, "being joined by many other "rivers, the chiefeſt whereof "are *Karaſu*, *Senki*, *Kerni*, "and *Arpa*, it turns its cha-"nel, near *Karaſu*, deep into "the country; and afterwards,

"near

very few to be met with of the latter, the reader will easily comprehend, that the soil cannot be generally rich or fruitful,

" near *Ordabath*, falls with a " great noise, which is heard " two leagues thence, in the " plain of *Mokan*. Its course " there is very slow, and, af- " ter having received into its " chanel, about 12 leagues " above *Tzanat*, the river " *Cur* or *Cyrus* (as large a " river as itself, coming north- " ward out of *Georgia*), it " exonerates itself into the " *Caspian* sea. This sufficiently refutes *Ptolemy*, and " those who follow his foot- " steps, who make the *Araxes* " and the *Cyrus* fall by two " different chanels into the " *Caspian* sea. Thus they " would have *Cyropolis* called " *Scamachie*, which *Maginus* " would infer from the de- " grees of latitude given by " *Ptolemy*. But, according to " that supposition, these two " rivers must not be placed " above, but below the city, " towards the south, it being " certain, that when we tra- " velled in those parts, we " found the conflux of those " two rivers at 39 deg. 54 " min. and the city of *Sca-* " *machie* at 40 deg. 50 min. " which is 13 leagues thence, " and under another meridian. " Neither is there any other " river within 19 days journey " of *Scamachie* on either side, " which bears the least com- " parison in bigness, or other- " wise, to this river (73)."

We should not have introduced so long a quotation, if it had not been a matter of consequence, as will appear in the subsequent history, where this account will serve to rectify some points, which have hitherto confounded even the best authors. It is but just to add, that M. *Le Brun*, in his travels, confirms precisely what this author has said (74). As to the *Persian* gulf, it is not to be questioned, but that the antients stiled it, as well as the gulf of *Arabia*, the *Red* sea; what renders it most remarkable now, is its pearl-fishery, of which no doubt the reader will expect some account. They fish for them in many places of the gulf, but especially about the islands of *Bahamin*. This fishery produces a prodigious quantity of pearl; Sir *John Chardin* says, more than a million in a year: the largest weigh generally from ten to twelve grains; and, if by chance any are taken of greater weight, the fishers are directed, under great penalties, to bring them to the king's exchequer, which, it is however believed, they do not always do (75). This fishing is performed by divers, who being carried down to the bottom of the sea in five fathom water, by the weight of a stone fixed to their toes, they

(73) *Embassadors of Holstein's travels, in Harris's collect. vol.* ii. *p.* 104.
(74) *Voyag. tom.* ii. *p.* 158. (75) *Chardin, tom.* ii. *p.* 31.

pick

ful, but, on the contrary, ſandy and barren. However, here-and-there the valleys are fruitful, and pleaſant enough. The earth, in ſome places, is ſandy and ſtony; in others heavy and hard; but every-where ſo dry, that, if it be not watered, it produces nothing, not even graſs. Rain is not wholly wanting; it rains however very ſeldom, and not enough to keep even the beſt lands in a condition of bearing corn or fruits, without further help; and, even in the winter, the beams of the ſun are ſo briſk and ſo drying, that the rain has not much effect: but, wherever the ſoil is ſufficiently moiſtened, either by natural or artificial means, it bears wonderfully well. If it ſhould be aſked, how this deſcription ſuits with what we find recorded in antient authors of the luxury and profuſeneſs of the *Perſians*; ſuch a queſtion is capable of various anſwers: for, firſt, *Perſia* is not now near ſo much peopled as it was heretofore; and conſequently there cannot be ſo great a number of labourers, which muſt cauſe barrenneſs in a country, that produces nothing without cultivation. Again, it may be ſaid, that the alteration of government, and of religion, has, in a great meaſure, produced this difference: the antient kings of *Perſia* were mild and beneficent to their ſubjects; whereas the *Mohammedan* princes have been always proud, overbearing, and cruel. According to the opinion of the *Perſees* or *Gaurs*, it was meritorious to render barren fields fertile; whereas the *Perſians*, like other *Mohammedans*, are ſatisfied with what good things they find, and will not give themſelves the trouble to labour for poſterity. They look upon life as a great road, wherein men ought to content themſelves with ſuch things as fall in their way; and, in conſequence of ſuch notions, there is no great wonder, that ſterility has enſued, and that modern travellers do not ſpeak in the ſame language with *Quintus Curtius*, *Ammianus Marcelli-*

pick up there all the ſhells they can ſee, as faſt as they can; and put them into a baſket they carry down with them on purpoſe; and then riſe up again to take breath, and refreſh themſelves with a pipe of tobacco: thoſe who are in the boat pull up the baſkets: the divers work but from one to eleven, and from eight to three. They fiſh for pearls from the end of *June* to the end of *September*: beſides the pearl-oyſters, they catch others in this ſea, excellent for eating (76).

(76) *Tavern. in Harris's collect. vol. ii. p. 314.*

nus,

*nus*, and other ſuch-like authors. Sir *John Chardin* [t] therefore delivers it as his opinion, that, if the *Turks* were to inhabit this country, it would grow ſtill poorer than it is; whereas, if the *Armenians* or the *Perſees* were to become maſters thereof, it would, from their induſtry, quickly recover its antient fertility. It muſt not however be imagined, that there is not ſtill, at this day, the ſame variety, in point of fruitfulneſs, among the provinces of this extenſive country, as heretofore. *Media*, *Iberia*, *Hyrcania*, *Bactria*, are now, in a great meaſure, what they were, and ſurpaſs moſt of the other provinces in their productions. All along the coaſts of the *Perſian* gulf, the ſoil is ſtill more barren, cattle leſs plenty, and every thing in a worſe condition, than any-where elſe. Before we part with this ſubject, we think proper to remark, that the *Perſians* are ſo ſenſible of the ſnow's fertilizing their land, that they examine very curiouſly how high it riſes every year, there being a ſtone on the top of a mountain, four leagues from *Spauhawn*, between two and three feet high, over which when once the ſnow riſes, the peaſant, who firſt brings the news to court, receives a conſiderable reward for his pains [u]. But it is now time for us to ſpeak more particularly of the productions of the earth.

*Trees.*

AMONG the trees that are moſt common in *Perſia*, we may reckon the plantane, the willow, the fir, and cornil, by the *Arabs* called *ſeder*, and *conar* by the *Perſians*; from whence probably came the *Latin cornus*, and thence our cornil. It is a received opinion here, that the plantane has a ſingular virtue againſt the plague, and all other infectious diſeaſes; and they poſitively aſſert, that there has been no contagion at *Spauhawn* ſince the planting vaſt numbers of theſe trees in its ſtreets and gardens. The tree, which bears gall-nuts, grows in ſeveral parts of *Perſia*; but particularly in *Kourdeſtan*. The trees, which produce gums, maſtich, and incenſe, are found very commonly in moſt parts of *Perſia*; that however, which bears incenſe, is particularly found in *Carmania the Deſert*, reſembling, in form, a large pear-tree: turpentine-trees, and almond-trees, with the wild-cheſnut, are common. The tree which bears manna, is alſo frequent; but there are ſeveral ſorts of manna in *Perſia*: the beſt is of a yellowiſh colour, and of a large grain. It comes from *Nichapour*, which is a part of *Bactria*. There is another ſort, called

[t] Voyag. tom. iii. p. 11. [u] TAVERN. voyag. tom. i. l. iv. c. 1. p. 414.

the

the manna of tamariſk, becauſe it is gathered from that tree. All the different kinds of manna are uſed to the ſame end in medicine, and are therefore gathered with like care, being eſteemed a valuable commodity, as well as one eaſily diſpoſed of. The herbs in *Perſia*, eſpecially ſuch as are aromatic, exceed thoſe of other countries: roots, pulſe, and ſallading are larger, fairer, and better-taſted, than elſewhere, and are eaten raw, without danger of their creating any crudities in the ſtomach. Moſt of our *European* roots, greens, *&c.* flouriſh here in great perfection; and they would certainly be more cultivated than they are, if, as in *Europe*, men were, by religion, reſtrained from eating fleſh. As to drugs, *Perſia* produces as many as any country in *Aſia*; for, beſides manna, caſſia, ſena, the *nux vomica*, common in moſt provinces, gum ammoniac, by the *Perſians* called *ouſcioc*, is found in abundance on the confines of *Parthia*, towards the ſouth. Rhubarb grows commonly in *Coraſſon*, or the antient *Sogdiana*; but it is not ſo good as that which is brought from the country of the *Tartars*, between the *Caſpian* ſea and *China*; and, for this reaſon, they endeavour to confound both under the name of *Rivend-tchini*, i. e. rhubarb of *China*: in *Coraſſon* they eat it commonly, as we do beet-roots. The poppy of *Perſia* is eſteemed the fineſt in the world, not only in reſpect to its beauty, but becauſe its juice is by far ſtronger than the juice of the ſame plant elſewhere. The *Perſians* call this juice *afioun*; from whence our word opium: the beſt is made in the territory of *Lingan*, ſix miles from *Spauhawn*; though others prefer the *afioon* of *Cazaron*, which is towards the *Perſian* gulf, as being leſs apt to ingender crudities in the ſtomach. Tobacco grows all over *Perſia*, eſpecially about *Hammadan*, which is the antient *Suſa*, and in *Courdeſtan* near the *Perſian* gulf, which is eſteemed the fineſt. The *Perſians* themſelves however, who are great ſmokers, prefer what they call *tambacou Ingleſi*, or *Engliſh* tobacco, to their own; but Sir *John Chardin* ſays, that this tobacco, which was no other than *Braſil*, being kept at too high a price, the demand for it is now quite loſt. Saffron is cultivated in many provinces, and eſpecially about the *Caſpian* ſea, and in the neighbourhood of *Hammadan*, and is much eſteemed. The plant, by the *Perſians* called *hiltet*, and ſuppoſed to be the laſerpitium or ſilphium of *Dioſcorides*, from whence drops the aſafetida, is common every-where; but abounds moſt in *Sogdiana*: there are two ſorts of it, the white and black: the white is the leaſt eſteemed, be-

*Herbs and drugs.*

cauſe leſs ſtrong than the black. This juice or gum is, all over the eaſt, called *king*; and the *Indians* conſume vaſt quantities of it, mixing it in all their ragouts and ſauces. It has by far the ſtrongeſt odour of any thing hitherto diſcovered, ſince places, where it has been kept, will retain its ſcent for whole years; and the veſſels, in which it is tranſported to *India*, are ſo thoroughly impregnated therewith, that no other goods can be put on board them, without acquiring its ſcent, however carefully packed. Mummy of both ſorts is a great *Perſian* commodity: the firſt is taken from embalmed bodies, or ſuch as are dried in the ſands; the other is a precious gum, which diſtils out of a rock. There are two mines or ſources of it in *Perſia*, the one in *Carmania the Deſert*, in the country of *Sar*, which is the beſt; for it is certain, that there is no bruiſe, cut or wound, which a drachm of this excellent gum will not cure in twenty-four hours. The other mine is in *Coraſſon*: the rocks, from whence it diſtils, belong to the king, and all that iſſues from thence is for his uſe. They are incloſed with walls, the gates of which are ſecured by the ſeals of the five principal officers in the province. Once a year each mine is opened in their preſence, and all the mummy that is then found, or at leaſt the greateſt part of it, is ſent to the king's treaſure. It derives its name from the *Perſian* word *moum*, which ſignifies literally an unguent. The *Hebrews* and *Arabs* make uſe of the ſame term. The *Perſians* ſay, that the prophet *Daniel* taught them the uſe and preparation of mummy. Cotton is very common over all *Perſia*; but there is a tree, which ſomewhat reſembles it, but is by far more rare, which produces a ſort of ſilk, very fine and ſoft, and of which many uſes are made. Galbanum is likewiſe common in this country, together with the vegetable alkali; and many other drugs, which do not deſerve to be mentioned here [u].

*Fruits.* In ſpeaking of the fruits of *Perſia*, melons certainly claim the firſt place. They have above twenty ſorts of them here; the firſt are called *guermec*, i. e. forced by heat. They are round and ſmall, a ſpring fruit, inſipid in the mouth, and conſequently no-way pleaſant. The people, however, fanſy them prodigiouſly wholſome, and, on their firſt coming in, eat, for a fortnight or three weeks together, twelve or thirteen pound-weight each day; nay, an author of good credit, and a phyſician, ſays, that ſome

[u] Tavern. voyag. tom. i. l. iv. c. 2. p. 418. Chardin, tom. iii. p. 12. Carreri, tom. ii. p. 209.

eat

eat thirty pounds of them at a meal, without feeling any inconvenience therefrom. For four months in the year, in which melons are plenty, the common people eat hardly any thing elſe; and Sir *John Chardin* ſays, that they eat more of them in *Spauhawn* in a day, than throughout all *France* in a month. The beſt grow about a little borough called *Craguerde*, on the borders of *Tartary*, from whence, though it be thirty days journey, they are brought to *Spauhawn*, for the uſe of the king. The people in general are ſo fond of melons, that they take great pains to preſerve them in certain repoſitories, during the laſt months of the year, and even till they are again in ſeaſon. After the melon, the raiſin deſerves our notice, of which there are twelve or fourteen ſorts in *Perſia*. The moſt eſteemed are the violet, the red, and the black: they are ſo large, that one of them is a good mouthful. They preſerve grapes all the winter in *Perſia*, putting them up in paper-bags on the vines, in order to preſerve them from the birds. In *Courdeſtan*, and about *Sultania*, where they have abundance of violets, they mingle their leaves with the dry raiſins, which at once give them a fine taſte, and render them more wholſome. The beſt grapes, in the neighbourhood of *Spauhawn*, are found on the vines belonging to the *Gaurs*, or antient *Perſians*; for they, being permitted by their religion to drink wine, take the more pains in cultivating theſe trees, which, for the ſame reaſon, are neglected by the *Mohammedan Perſians*. The dates of *Perſia* are, without compariſon, the richeſt in the world, their ſyrup being ſweeter, and more pleaſant, than virgin-honey. The beſt grow in *Courdeſtan*, *Siſtan*, about *Perſepolis*, and the ſhore of the *Perſian* gulf; and particularly at *Jaron*, a town in the road between *Schiras* and *Lar*. Strangers, however, ought to eat very moderately of this fruit, otherwiſe it is apt to overheat the blood ſometimes to ſuch a degree, as to create ulcers; but the inhabitants never feel any ſuch inconvenience. Dates grow in cluſters on the palm-tree, which is the higheſt of all fruit-bearing trees, and has no branches but at the very top. It produces fruit at fifteen years growth, and continues bearing till it is two hundred years old. All our *European* fruits grow in great perfection here: their apricots are excellent, and of ſeveral ſorts: nectarines and peaches weigh ſometimes ſixteen or eighteen ounces each; they break eaſily, and, what is very extraordinary, the ſtone opens at the ſame time the peach is broken, and diſcovers a kernel extremely white, and of a taſte the moſt delicious that can be imagined.

gined. The *Perſian* pomgranates grow of ſeveral colours, in the higheſt perfection, ſome of them weighing a full pound. To ſum up all, it may not be amiſs to mention the particular places where the ſeveral kinds of fruit are held moſt excellent: apples and pears grow to the higheſt perfection in *Iberia*; dates in *Carmania*; pomgranates about *Schiras*; oranges in *Hyrcania*; and all ſorts in *Bactria*, which produces finer and fairer fruit, than any other country in the world; but it is particularly renowned for its onions, at once prodigiouſly large, and ſweet as apples. Piſtaches, almonds, hazels, filberts, and figs, abound here likewiſe; and Sir *John Chardin* tells us, that, at an entertainment near *Spauhawn*, he ſaw fifty different kinds of fruit provided for one deſſert [w].

*Grain.* THE grain moſt common in *Perſia* is wheat, which is wonderfully fair and clean. As for barley, rice, and millet, they only make bread of them in ſome places, as in *Courdeſtan*, when their wheat-bread is exhauſted before the return of harveſt. They do not cultivate in this country either oats or rye, except where the *Armenians* are ſettled, who make great uſe of the latter in *Lent*. Rice is the univerſal aliment of all ſorts of people in *Perſia*: for this reaſon they are extremely careful in its cultivation; for, after they have ſown it in the ſame manner with other grain, they, in three months time, tranſplant it, root by root, into fields which are well watered, otherwiſe it would never attain that perfection, in which we find it there, ſince it is ſofter, ſooner boiled, and more delicious to the taſte, than the ſame grain in any other part of the world. It may be, its taſte is, in ſome meaſure, heightened by a practice they make uſe of to give it a gloſſy whiteneſs, *viz.* by cleanſing it, after its being beaten out of the huſks, with a mixture of flour and ſalt [x].

*Flowers.* THERE are in *Perſia* all the ſorts of flowers which are to be found in *Europe*, but they are not equally common in all the provinces of this empire; for there are fewer ſorts of them, and fewer of each ſort, in the ſouthern provinces than in the reſt, exceſſive heat being more deſtructive to them than froſt; which is the reaſon that in *India* they have fewer than in *Perſia*, and that thoſe in *Perſia* have more vivid and delightful colours than thoſe either in *India* or *Europe*. *Hyrcania*, in this reſpect, excels the

[w] CHARDIN. tom. iii. p. 23. TAVERN. voyag. tom. i. l. iv. c. 2. p. 418. CARRERI, tom. ii. p. 209. [x] CHARDIN. ubi ſup. p. 101.

reſt

reſt of *Perſia* as much as *Perſia* does other countries. There are there whole foreſts of oranges, the jeſſamin ſingle and double; and there all the flowers we have in *Europe*, with many we have not, are profuſely ſcattered by nature. The moſt eaſtern part of this country, which is called *Mazanderan*, is a perfect parterre: from *September* to the end of *April*, the whole country is covered with flowers as with a carpet, and the fruits are then in their beſt ſeaſon, the exceſſive heat, and the malignity of the air, deſtroying them in ſucceeding months. Towards *Media*, and on the ſouthern frontiers of *Arabia*, the fields are adorned with tulips, anemonies, ranunculuſes, of the brighteſt red, all ſpringing of themſelves: in other places, as in the neighbourhood of *Spauhawn*, jonquils grow wild, and ſubſiſt all the winter. To recite all that is ſaid on this ſubject, by ſuch as have travelled through *Perſia*, would not be agreeable to the deſign of this work: let us content ourſelves therefore with adding, that roſes of uncommon beauty are frequent here, the buſhes bearing often three different-coloured roſes on one branch, *viz.* yellow, yellow and black, and red. *Pietro della Valle*, who reports that the *Perſians* are wont to make uſe of art in dying their roots, in order to give different colours to their flowers, is, in this circumſtance, contradicted by Sir *John Chardin*, who affirms, on the contrary, that their gardeners have little or no ſkill; and that the nobility of *Perſia* are ſo far from being curious in ſuch things, that they take no pleaſure in walking in their gardens, however beautifully and richly adorned; but content themſelves with ſingling out ſome ſpot or other, on their firſt coming in, where they ſit down, and ſmoke, and drink coffee, as long as they remain there [y] (Q).

[y] CHARDIN, tom. iii. p. 26. TAVERN. tom. i. l. iv. c. 2. p. 420. CARRERI, tom. ii. p. 3. LE BRUN, tom. i. p. 227.

(Q) Though there is ſcarce a province in *Perſia*, which does not produce wine, yet the wine of ſome provinces is much more eſteemed than the wine of others; but *Schiras* wine is univerſally allowed to be the very beſt in *Perſia*; inſomuch that it is a common proverb there, that to live happily one muſt eat the bread of *Yezd*, and drink the wine of *Schiras*. They do not make uſe in this country of wooden veſſels, as we do, for keeping their wine; but preſerve it in earthen veſſels, which they take care to have well glazed, otherwiſe they would imbibe a great quantity

*Metals or Minerals.*

METALS of all ſorts are frequently found in *Perſia*, eſpecially of late years; and ſince the reign of *Abbas the Great*, who was at immenſe pains to ſearch them out, and to make the beſt uſe of mines where-ever they were diſcovered, iron, copper, and lead are become very common; but of gold and ſilver there are no mines open at preſent. As *Perſia* is a very mountainous country, and as thoſe mountains produce ſulphur and ſaltpetre, if the inhabitants of this country were as active and inquiſitive as amongſt us, there is no doubt to be made, but that gold and ſilver both might be found in ſome part or other of the *Perſian* dominions. In the country of *Guendamon*, near a town called *Kervan*, four leagues from *Spauhawn*, there is a ſilver mine, which has been formerly wrought; but, through the ſcarcity of wood, its produce has never equalled its expence; and it is therefore become a proverb in *Perſia*, to ſignify an unlucky undertaking, *that it is like the mine of* Kervan, *where they lay out* ten *to receive* nine. There were alſo ſilver mines in *Kirman* and *Mazanderan*, but they are now abandoned for the ſame reaſon. Mines of iron are found in *Hyrcania*, in the northern *Media*, in *Parthia*, and *Bactria*; but it is not ſo pliable as ſome *European* iron. This may be owing indeed to the unſkilfulneſs of their workmen, and may be likewiſe the reaſon why the ſteel that is made from it (and which ſome of our travellers have improperly called their mines of ſteel, there being no mines of that metal, but it being all done by art) is there ſo brittle and uſeleſs, Sir *John Chardin* tells us, that it is not worth above ſixpence a pound; and is ſo full of ſulphur, that if you caſt ſome of the filings of it into the fire, they make a report as loud as gunpowder. It is fine and cloſe, and almoſt as hard as a diamond; but, on the other hand, it is ſo very brittle, that the *Perſian* artiſts, who know not how to correct this, are able to make no very valuable inſtruments thereof. It has moreover this ill quality, that, by giving it too fierce a fire, it may be burnt and deſtroyed. The *Perſians* call both this, and the ſteel of the *Indies*,

of the wine. Theſe pots are ſet in very handſome order in their caves or cellars; theſe too being as much adorned as ſuch places will admit of, and have always a reſervoir of water in the middle of them, that upon occaſion people may be entertained there, and drink wine out of the reach of the ſun (77).

(77) *Tavern. tom.* i. *l.* iv. *c.* 2. *p.* 420.

ſteel

ſteel of *Damaſcus*, in order to diſtinguiſh it from *European* ſteel. Copper is found in greateſt quantity at *Sary* in the mountains of *Mazanderan*; there are alſo mines of it in *Bactria*, and towards *Caſbin*; it is however poor, and not fit for uſe, till mingled with either *Swediſh* copper, or copper of *Japan*. The lead mines are towards *Kirman* and *Yeſde*. Minerals are alſo found in *Perſia* in vaſt abundance; ſulphur and ſaltpetre are taken out of the mountain of *Damavend*, which ſeparates *Hyrcania* from *Parthia*. Salt is made here by nature without the leaſt aſſiſtance of art, as are alſo ſulphur and alum. There are two ſorts of ſalt in *Perſia*, that found on the earth, and rock-ſalt; nothing is more common than to meet in this country with plains, ſometimes ten leagues in length, covered intirely with ſalt, and others covered in like manner with ſulphur or alum. In *Media*, and at *Spauhawn*, the ſalt is dug out of mines, and is as hard and firm as fire-ſtone; nay, in *Carmania the Deſert*, the people actually uſe it as ſuch in building their houſes. Marble, free-ſtone, and ſlate, are found in great plenty about *Hamadan*: the marble is of four colours, white or ſtatuary, black, red and black, and white and black. The beſt is found about *Tauris*; it is almoſt as tranſparent as cryſtal; its colour is white, mingled with a pale-green; but it is ſo ſoft, that ſome have queſtioned whether it be really a ſtone or not. In the neighbourhood of the ſame city they find azure; but it is not ſo good as that of *Tartary*. In *Hyrcania*, and eſpecially in *Mazanderan*, the *petroleum* or *naphthe* is met with, of two ſorts, black and white; but the richeſt mine in *Perſia* is the *turquoiſe*. There are two ſorts of this precious ſtone, one at *Nichapour* in *Coraſſon*, and the other in *Phirous-Cou*, or mount *Phirous*, between *Hyrcania* and *Parthia*, four leagues journey from the *Caſpian* ſea. This mountain derives its name from an antient king of *Perſia*, who ſubdued this country, and in whoſe time the mine was found; nay, the very ſtones carry his name alſo: for, though we call them *turquoiſes*, becauſe they come from the true and proper *Turky*, yet, throughout the eaſt, they are ſtiled *phirouze*. They have, of late years, diſcovered another mine of the ſame ſort of ſtones; but they are by no means ſo valuable. They are commonly known amongſt us by the name of *turquoiſes* of the new rock, to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe taken out of the antient mines, which belong intirely to the king, who, after ſelecting the moſt beautiful, ſells the reſt to merchants. The reaſon why theſe late-diſcovered

turquoiſes are leſs valued than thoſe of the old mines, is, becauſe they are leſs beautiful in their colour; and what colour they have is not thoroughly fixed; but grows paler by degrees, and at laſt wears almoſt quite out [z].

*Beaſts tame and wild.*

THE horſes of *Perſia* are the moſt beautiful in the eaſt, though they are not ſo much eſteemed as thoſe of *Arabia*. They are higher than our ſaddle-horſes, and their limbs as well-proportioned as can be imagined. Though there are great numbers of them, yet, conſidering how much they are uſed, and the great demand made for them by the ſubjects of the mogul on one ſide, and of the grand ſignior on the other, they are held at a very great price, a fine horſe being ſometimes valued at a thouſand crowns. Next to horſes, we may reckon mules, which are much eſteemed here, and are very fine; and, next to theſe, we may juſtly place aſſes, of which they have, in this country, two ſorts, the firſt bred in *Perſia*, heavy and doltiſh, as aſſes in other countries are; the other originally of an *Arabian* breed, the moſt docile and uſeful creature of its kind in the world. Theſe are uſed wholly for the ſaddle, and are very frequently adorned with fine accoutrements, becauſe of their eaſy manner of going, and their being very ſure-footed. The clergy, that have not great benefices, affect to ride much on theſe *Arabian* aſſes; and, on this account, theſe animals are alſo kept at an high rate, a good aſs being worth at *Spauhawn* twenty-five piſtoles. Camels are numerous in *Perſia*, and ſo much in eſteem, that they are called *kechty-krouch-konion*, i. e. the ſhips of the land, becauſe the inland trade is carried on by the help of theſe camels, as the foreign by ſhips. To deſcribe this animal particularly here, would be improper, ſince they are rather more in uſe among the *Arabians* than among the *Perſians*: we ſhall only obſerve, that the *Perſians* make uſe of three ſorts, a ſmaller, a larger, and a ſwifter kind of camel than are common elſewhere. The largeſt camels will travel with a load of twelve or thirteen hundred weight: the ſwifter kind of camel is called *revatrie*; i. e. *the goer*; becauſe they trot as faſt as an horſe can gallop. It is worthy of notice, that theſe creatures are managed intirely by the voice, thoſe who direct them making uſe of a kind of ſong; and according as they keep a quicker or ſlower time, the camel moves brisker, or at its ordinary pace. As beef is little eat in *Perſia*, their oxen are generally employed in

[z] CHARDIN, tom. iii. p. 28. TAVERN. tom. i. l. iv. c. 2. p. 221. CARRERI, tom. ii. p. 212.

plough-

ploughing, and other sorts of labour. Hogs are no-where bred in *Persia*, if we except a province or two on the borders of the *Caspian* sea. Sheep and deer are very common throughout all *Persia:* and, as to the former, sir *John Chardin* assures us, that he has seen flocks of them, which covered four or five leagues of pasturage. As to beasts of chace, they are not so common here as in most of the countries of *Europe*, because it is, generally speaking, devoid of woods; but in *Hyrcania*, which abounds with them, deer of all sorts, and gazels, are found in great abundance. The gazel is a creature common throughout the east; and so many of them have been brought into *Europe*, that they need not any description. As to wild beasts, there are not a great number of them in this country, for the same reason which has been before assigned, with respect to beasts of chace, except in *Hyrcania*, where, in the woods, there are great numbers of lions, bears, tygers, leopards, &c. so that the antients spoke very truly of *Hyrcania*, when they called it the country of wild beasts. One thing, however, is to be remarked, that neither here, nor throughout all *Persia*, are there any wolves; but the chakal, or jackal (a creature which makes a terrible noise, and which many good writers take for the *hyæna*), is common every-where; and has this peculiar quality, that it tears up dead bodies, if the graves are not carefully watched. As to insects, the dryness of the air prevents our having much to say about them: there are, however, in some provinces, prodigious numbers of locusts, or grashoppers, which come in such clouds as to obscure the air. In certain parts of the *Persian* dominions, they have large black scorpions, so venomous, that such as are stung by them die in a few hours: in others, they have lizards frightfully ugly, which are an ell long, and as thick as a large toad, their skins being as hard and tough as that of the sea-dog: they are said to attack and kill men sometimes; but that may be doubted. Among the reptiles of this country there is a long worm, called by the inhabitants *hazar-pey*; i. e. *thousand feet:* its whole body is stuck with small feet, with which it runs prodigiously fast; it is longer and smaller than a caterpiller; and its bite is dangerous, and even mortal, if it gets into the ear [a].

*Birds.*

There are in *Persia* all the several sorts of fowl which we have in *Europe*, but not in such quantities, because

[a] Chardin, tom. iii. p. 32. Tavern. tom. i. l. v. c. 3. p. 423. Carreri, tom. ii. p. 215.

they

they are chiefly bred and taken care of by the *Armenians*, who have frequently capons fatted to such a degree, that they are killed for nothing but their grease. There are, however, vast number of pigeons wild and tame; and as the dung of pigeons is the best manure for melons, they keep great numbers of them all over the kingdom; so that it may be on just grounds presumed, that no country in the world has such a number of pigeon-houses: they are most of them six times as large as any we have in *Europe*, built of brick, and plastered on the outside, every thing being disposed in the most convenient manner possible, for the preservation of these creatures. In the neighbourhood of *Spauhawn* they reckon more than three thousand of these pigeon-houses, chiefly erected for the preservation of the dung, which is sold for about three-pence the dozen pound: the *Persians* call this manure *tchalgous*; i. e. *enlivening*. It is a great diversion among the lower sort of people, in town and country, to catch pigeons, though it be forbidden; for this purpose, they have pigeons so taught, that, flying in one flock, they surround such wild ones as they find in a field, and bring them back with them to their masters. People who follow this trade are called *kefter-perron*, or pigeon-stealers; and there are some so addicted to it, that they will lie out whole days, in the very depth of winter, in order to carry on this foolish and wicked employment; for, under the notion of wild pigeons, they take every body's pigeons they can find. The partridges of this country are the largest and finest in the world, being generally of the size of our fowls. As to water-fowl, they have geese, ducks, cranes, herons, and many other sorts: but they are more plenty in the northern than the southern provinces. The singing-birds here are of the same kinds we have in *Europe*; the nightingale is heard there all the year, but chiefly in the spring; martlets, which learn whatever words are taught them; and another bird of the same size, called by them *noura*, which chatters continually, and repeats very pleasantly whatever it hears. As to birds of a larger size, the most considerable is the pelican, by the *Persians* called *tacab*, i. e. water-carrier, and also *misc*, i. e. sheep, because it is as large as one of those animals. Its feathers are white and soft, like those of a goose; its head is much larger in proportion than its body, and its beak from eighteen to twenty inches long, and as thick as a man's arm; under this beak it has a sack or pouch, in which it preserves a quantity of water, for moistening its food; it usually rests this

long

long beak on its back, which would otherwiſe incommode it very much: the pelican lives chiefly upon fiſh, in taking of which it ſhews an admirable contrivance, by placing its beak in ſuch a manner, under the water, as to catch them as it were in a net: when it opens its throat, the paſſage is large enough for a lamb: it is called the water-carrier, becauſe in *Arabia*, and other places, where water is hard to be had, it makes its neſt at a great diſtance from ſtreams, or wells, foreſeeing, as is ſuppoſed, that there will be leſs danger of diſturbance in ſuch places, though this ſituation obliges the bird to fly ſometimes two days journey for a ſupply of water for her young, which ſhe brings in the ſack before-mentioned; and hence the fables of the antients, of the pelican's tearing her breaſt open to feed her young. There are in *Perſia* various birds of prey; and, in the mountains, about fifteen or twenty leagues from *Schiras*, there are ſome of the largeſt and fineſt in the world: the people take great pains in teaching them to fly at game; and the king has generally eight hundred of theſe birds, each of which has a perſon to attend it. The *Perſian* lords are likewiſe great lovers of falconry, and even the common people practiſe it much; for neither this, nor ſhooting, nor hunting with dogs, is forbid to the meaneſt man in *Perſia* [b].

*Fiſh.* We ſhall divide the fiſhes of *Perſia* into freſh and ſalt-water fiſh: As to the firſt, they are not very plenty, becauſe there are no great rivers in *Perſia*; however, there are of theſe three kinds, thoſe of the lakes, of the rivers, and of the *keriſes*, or ſubterraneous paſſages. Thoſe in the lakes are carps and ſhads; the river-fiſh is chiefly barbel, which is alſo the ſort of fiſh commonly met with in the ſubterraneous chanels; they are very large, but by no means good, and their eggs are particularly dangerous; which is generally attributed to their never beholding the light of the ſun, but living altogether in theſe foul and cold ſtreams. There are, in the river at *Spauhawn*, a great number of crabs, which crawl up the trees, and live night and day under the leaves whence they are taken, and are eſteemed a very delicious food. As to ſea-fiſh, no country is better ſerved; the *Caſpian* ſea, as we have ſeen before, contains very fine fiſh on one ſide, and the *Perſian* gulf, on the other, is believed to have more fiſh in it than any other ſea in the world. They fiſh there twice a day, morning and

[b] Chardin, tom. iii. p. 38. Tavern. tom. i. l. iv. c. 3. p. 225. Carreri, tom. ii. p. 214.

evening;

evening; and ſuch fiſh as are not ſold by ten o'clock in the morning, or before ſun-ſet, are thrown back into the ſea. There are taken, on the coaſts of this gulf, a ſort of fiſh, for which they have no particular name; its fleſh is of a red colour, very delicious; and ſome of them weigh two or three hundred pounds: its fleſh will take ſalt, like beef, but it cannot be kept long, becauſe the ſalt in this country is very corroſive: for which reaſon, whenever they intend to keep fiſh or fleſh, the inhabitants content themſelves with drying it, either in the air, or by the help of ſmoke [c].

*Natural rarities.*

As we have now examined the productions of the air, earth, and waters of *Perſia*, we are next to ſpeak of the natural rarities which are to be found in this large empire. Of theſe, the firſt we are to take notice of is a certain poiſonous ſhrub, or plant, by the *Arabians* called *chark*, by the *Perſians gulbad-ſamour*, i. e. the wind-poiſoning flower; it flowers like the thiſtle, and has pods filled with a thick white liquor, of the conſiſtence of cream, ſharp and ſour to the taſte: it is affirmed, that where-ever the wind blows over a number of theſe plants, as it does frequently in *Carmania the Deſert*, it thence contracts a poiſonous quality, which proves mortal to the next that reſpires it [d]. There is likewiſe another ſhrub in the ſame country, *viz. Carmania the Deſert*, ſingularly noxious; it is called *kerzehre*, i. e. aſſes poiſon, becauſe thoſe creatures are apt to eat of its fruit, which generally proves mortal. The very water that waſhes its roots is likewiſe held to be poiſonous. The trunk of this ſhrub is as large as a man's leg, and it ſometimes grows to the height of ſix feet; its bark is remarkably rough, and of a bright green colour, its leaves perfectly round, with a riſing point in the middle; it bears a ſort of flower exactly reſembling the roſe, of a kind of fleſh-colour: whence it is apprehended, that the *Greeks* called it *rhododendron*. The *Arabians*, as well as the *Perſians*, call it the gall, or poiſon of an aſs. Some are of opinion, that it is the nerium of our herbaliſts, and the ſame plant that is called in *French roſage* [e]. The goats, both wild and tame, which feed on the ſhore of the *Perſian* gulf, afford the bezoar ſo much eſteemed in medicine; but the very beſt is taken out of theſe creatures, in the province of *Coraſſon*, or *Bactria*; and is thought to excel by far the bezoar of *Golchonda*, and the reſt of the *Indies*. The na-

[c] Chardin, tom. iii. p. 44. Tavern. tom. ii. l. iv. c. 11. p. 424. Carreri, tom. ii. p. 210. [d] Chardin, tom. iii. p. 13. [e] Ubi ſupra.

turaliſts

turaliſts in *Perſia* give it as their opinion, that the more dry and hard the food is on which the animal lives, the more ſalutiferous and efficacious the bezoar found in it proves. *Coraſſon*, and the coaſts of the *Perſian* gulf, are allowed to produce the dryeſt herbage in the world. It is no fable what has been reported, as to the formation of bezoar; for there is generally found in the core of ſuch ſtones one or more pebbles, a little ſprig of bramble, or other buſh, ſometimes a thorn-ſtick, *&c.* round which, by a continual acceſſion of matter, the ball of bezoar conglomerates, and is formed: this ſtoneis here found in ſheep, as well as in goats; but it is not ſo in the *Indies*. Its very name is of oriental extract, and ſhould be wrote *pe-zaor*, i. e. poiſon-killing; for the eaſtern people held it heretofore to be one of the ſtrongeſt counter-poiſons: quacks, however, were thoſe who commended it moſt; and its virtues were rather taken upon truſt, than ſupported by experience: the number of the credulous being great, raiſed its price very high; but of late years it is much ſunk in its reputation, as well in the eaſt as in *Europe*, it being now regarded chiefly as a ſudorific, and even reckoned no very extraordinary thing in that claſs. The manner of giving it in *Perſia* is thus; they either ſcrape or powder it, and put about two or three grains for a doſe, into a ſpoonful of roſe-water: while it was dear it was often counterfeited; and the materials made uſe of to this end were, generally ſpeaking, ſome alexipharmic powders, mingled with reſin and *Spaniſh* wax. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that the poliſh which bezoar-ſtones generally have, is artificial; for when they are taken out of the creature, their outſide is of a rough greeniſh hue, juſt as the ſtone appears within [f]. The *abmelec*, or *eater of locuſts*, or graſhoppers, is a bird which better deſerves to be deſcribed, perhaps, than moſt others of which travellers have given us an account, becauſe the facts relating to it are not only ſtrange in themſelves, but ſo well and ſo diſtinctly atteſted, that, however ſurpriſing they may ſeem, we cannot but afford them our belief. The food of this creature is the locuſt, or graſhopper: it is of the ſize of an ordinary hen, its feathers black, its wings large, and its fleſh of a greyiſh colour; they fly generally in great flocks, as the ſtarlings are wont to do with us: but the thing which renders theſe birds wonderful is, that they are ſo fond of the water of a certain fountain in *Coraſſon*, or *Bactria*, that where-ever

[f] CHARDIN, tom. iii. p. 19.

that

that water is carried, they follow; on which account it is carefully preſerved; for where-ever the locuſts fall, the *Armenian* prieſts, who are provided with this water, bring a quantity of it, and place it in jars, or pour it into little chanels in the fields: the next day whole troops of theſe birds arrive, and quickly deliver the people from the locuſts [g] (R). The river *Mahmoudker*, i. e. *Mahmoud the deaf*, is a ſurpriſing natural rarity. At ſome diſtance from *Spauhæwn* there is a range of rocks, plain and equal for a conſiderable ſpace, except that here and there they have openings, like the embraſures in baſtions, through which

[g] CHARDIN, tom. iii. p. 40. TAVERN. tom. i. lib. iv. c. 3. p. 426.

(R) Sir *John Chardin* has given us, in his deſcription of *Perſia*, the following paſſage from an antient traveller, in relation to this bird (77). "In *Cyprus*, about the time "that the corn was ripe for "the ſickle, the earth pro- "duced ſuch a quantity of "cavalettes, or locuſts, that "they obſcured ſometimes the "ſplendor of the ſun. Where- "ever theſe came, they burnt "and eat up all; for this "there was no remedy, ſince, "as faſt as they were de- "ſtroyed, the earth produced "more: GOD, however, raiſ- "ed them up a means for "their deliverance, which "happened thus. In *Perſia*, "near the city of *Cuerch*, there "is a fountain of water, "which has a wonderful pro- "perty of deſtroying theſe in- "ſects; for a pitcher full of "this being carried in the "open air, without paſſing "through houſe or vault, and "being ſet on an high place, "certain birds which follow "it, and fly and cry after the "men who carry it from the "fountain, come to the place "where it is fixed. Theſe "birds are red and black, and "fly in great flocks together, "like ſtarlings; the *Turks* and "*Perſians* call them *muſulinans*. Theſe birds no ſooner "came to *Cyprus*, but they "deſtroyed the locuſts with "which the iſland was in- "feſted; but, if the water be "ſpilt or loſt, theſe crea- "tures immediately diſap- "pear; which accident fell "out when the *Turks* took "this iſland; for one of them "going up into the ſteeple of "*Famaguſta*, and finding "there a pitcher of this wa- "ter, he, fanſying that it con- "tained gold of ſilver, or "ſome precious thing, broke "it, and ſpilt what was there- "in; ſince which the *Cypriots* "have been as much tor- "mented as ever by the lo- "cuſts 78)."

(77) *Voyag. de Villamont, p.* 97. *ap. Chardin, tom.* iii. *p.* 40. (78) *Voyag. de Villamont, p.* 97. *ap. Chardin, tom.* iii. *p.* 40.

the

the winds pass, with surprising velocity: through these rocks falls the river we mentioned into a noble bason, partly wrought by the water itself, and partly formed by art. As one ascends the mountain, certain natural chinks shew the water at the bottom of it, like a sleeping lake, covered with rocks and mountains: it is thought to be of unfathomable depth; and, when stones are thrown into it, they cause a most amazing noise, which almost deafen the hearers; whence this river is supposed to derive its name. After its descent from the bason before-mentioned, it rolls along the plain, till at last it falls into the river *Zenderoud*. Some are of opinion, that this river does not derive its water from springs, but from the snow on the tops of the mountains, which, melting gradually, distils through the chinks of the rocks, into the vast lake before-mentioned: and this, they think, is in some measure proved from the acrimonious taste of these waters, which is, however, lost, after it joins the *Zenderoud* [h]. Under a certain mountain called *Tagterustan*, so called from the ruins of a building on the summit thereof, supposed to have been erected by the great *Rustan*, there runs a grotto, which deserves a place among the natural rarities of *Persia*. From the top of this grot there distils through the whole mountain, in two or three places, fresh water, which, falling into proper receptacles, forms two or three distinct streams, which issue from thence to water the plain. In this grotto, about the beginning of *April*, a great number of *Indians* assemble, to celebrate a feast in honour of an hermit or saint of theirs, who lived long here; and the whole cave is full of shreds or rags of people's garments, who have come hither to be cured of their diseases, and have found relief. Not far from hence there is a mountain, where they pick up a sort of blue stones, very hard and shining, which they make use of in adorning their mosques, tombs, and other public buildings. We might add a multitude of other articles of this nature, if the description of *Persia* did not already begin to swell under our hands; though we have used all the caution in our power to prevent its containing any thing which may not be useful and instructive, as well as entertaining, to the reader. Let us now pass to the artificial rarities of the country.

*A description of Persepolis.*

To begin then with the antient *Persepolis*, the ruins of which still testify the truth of what some antient writers have affirmed, that, in the times of its prosperity, it was Persepolis.

[h] Chardin, tom. ii. p. 2.

one of the moſt auguſt cities in the world (*plate* I. *and* II.); when we conſider all things, when we compare the deſcriptions of travellers with each other; when we conſider what is recorded of other cities, and what is ſtill to be ſeen of thoſe that were moſt famed; we ſhall be induced to confeſs, that the *Perſian* empire, in all its grandeur, could boaſt of nothing more glorious, nor have left any thing more aſtoniſhing to poſterity, than the venerable ruins of this city. Should we pretend to give a full account of theſe noble remains, it would extend much farther than it is reaſonable this chapter ſhould go. We are writing a geographical deſcription of *Perſia*, in which we ought to omit nothing that may give the reader a diſtinct idea of this country, or which may give him a clearer light into the hiſtory which is to follow; but, in doing this, we are to remember, that this geographical deſcription, and this hiſtory, are but ſections of a far greater work; and therefore we muſt have a care, that it be of a piece, and not reſemble a ſtatue, with the body and arms of a man, and the hands, or even the fingers, of a giant. For this reaſon, we ſhall contract the many and diffuſive accounts, which have been given us by eye-witneſſes of theſe noble remains, into ſuch a compaſs, as may give our readers an idea of their grandeur and magnificence, and ſhew them, at the ſame time, how uſeful fine draughts, and exact relations, of them may be towards ſettling many points of antient hiſtory, and giving us juſt notions of the ſpirit and genius of that nation, whoſe metropolis this was. In doing this, we ſhall not involve ourſelves in the diſputes of travellers, or attempt to decide, whether *Le Brun* be in the right in his criticiſms, or whether they be not rather invectives againſt Sir *John Chardin*. Our buſineſs is to give a ſuccinct detail of what has been ſaid of *Perſepolis* by authors antient and modern; and, as to what is controverted among them, we ſhall give it in a note (S), to avoid both the

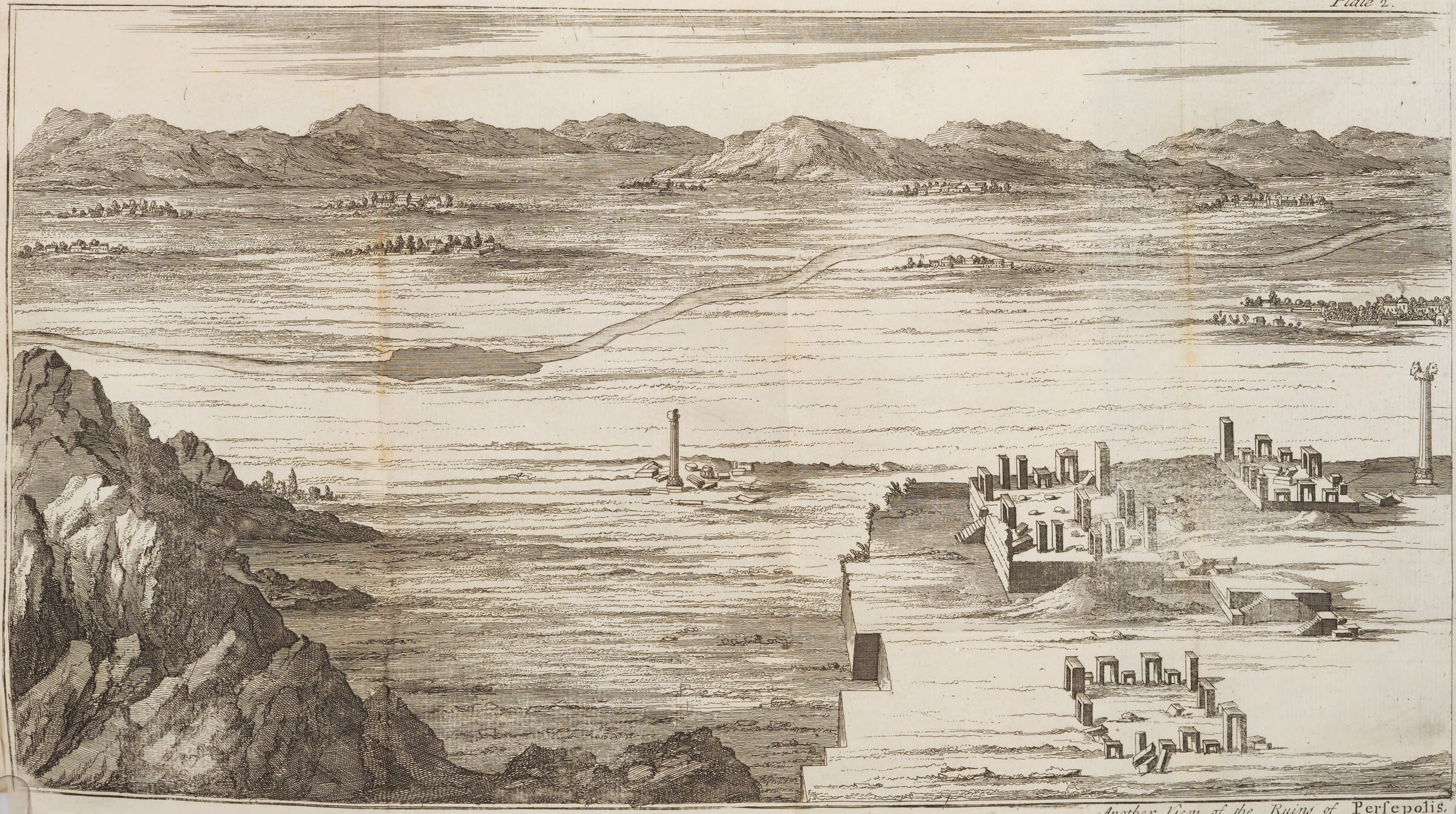
(S) In order to give the reader ſome idea of the difficulty we have met with in collecting this article, we ſhall here inſert a conciſe account of ſuch authors as have written on this ſubject, and whoſe deſcriptions we have peruſed. The firſt is Sir *Thomas Herbert*, who, in his travels, has a long relation not only of what himſelf ſaw at *Perſepolis*, but of what has been ſaid by antient authors on that head. He has given us alſo a ſpecimen of the characters which are to be ſeen in the tablets belonging to theſe ruins, which agrees perfectly well with the drawings of *Le Brun*.




A View of the Ruins of Persepolis as Taken from the Plain N.º 1; 1. the two Beast at the Head of the Grand Staircase 2, 2. the Pilasters in Which are the 2 Win



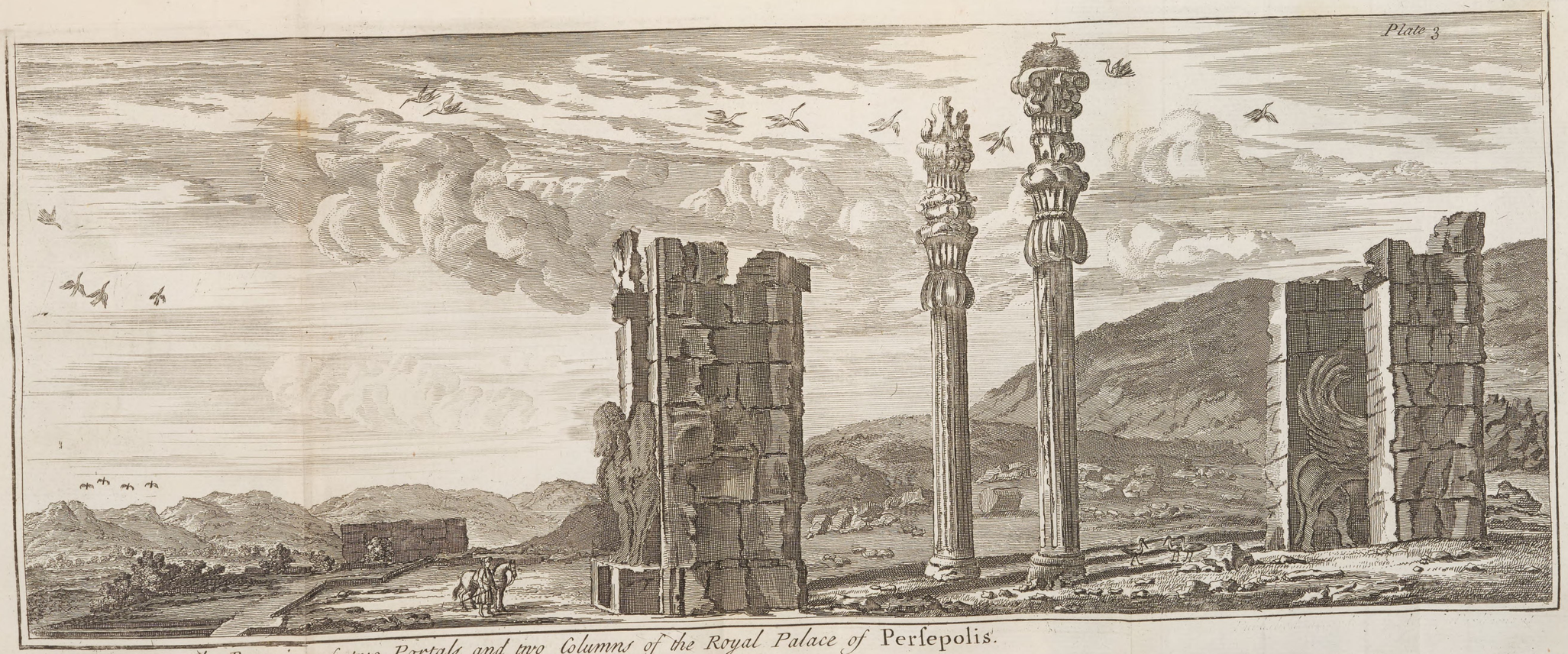
ged Beasts fronting the Hill 3 & 4 the Tombs of the Persian Kings. 5 the Grand Staircase. 6. Great and Small Pillars and Pillasters.



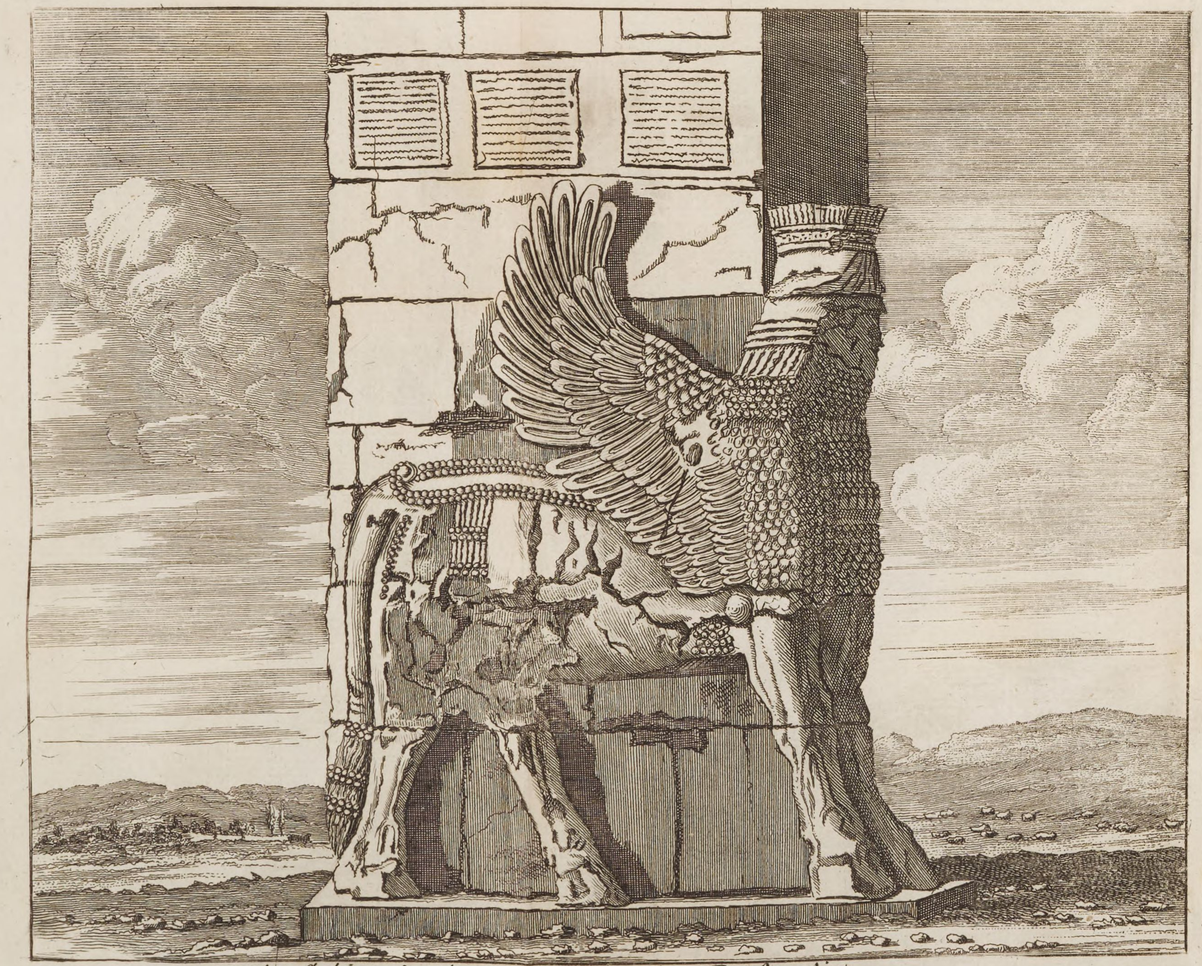
*Another View of the Ruins of* Perſepolis.



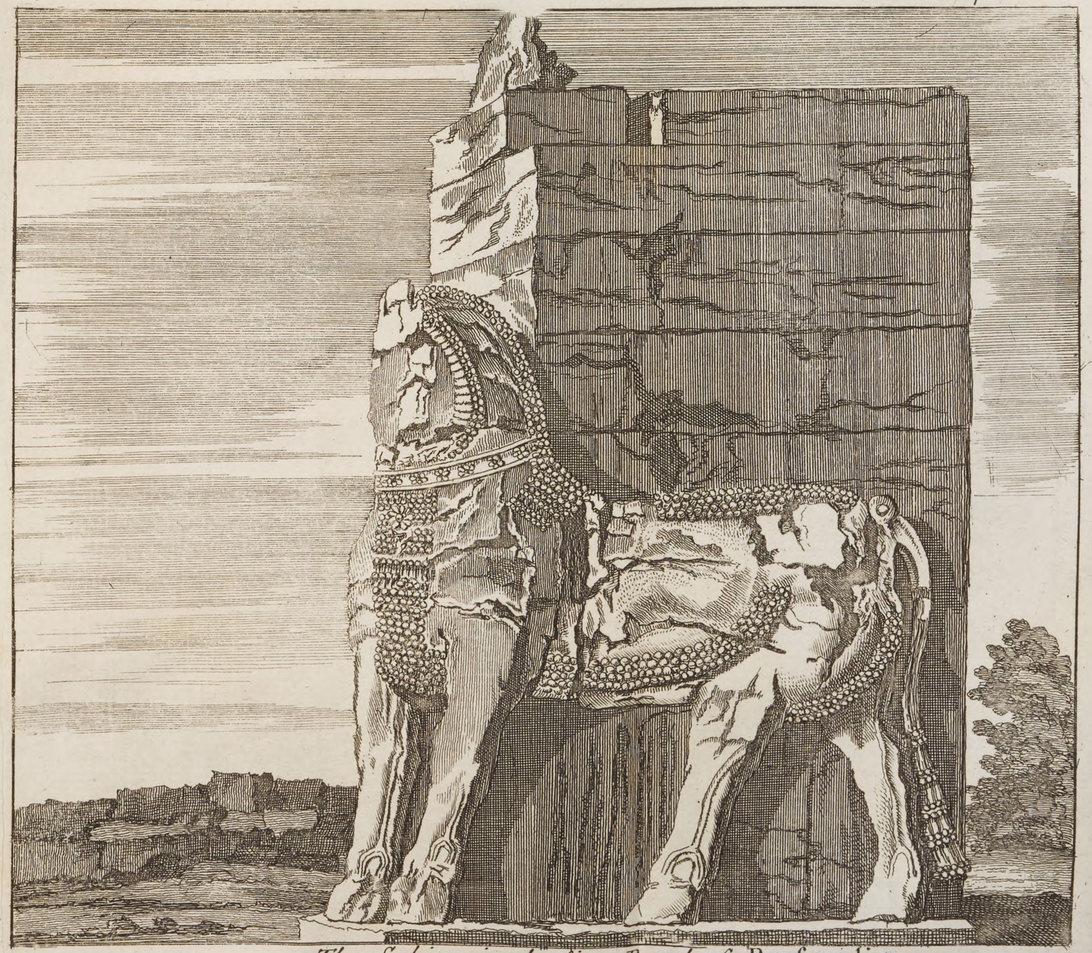
with a view of the River Araxis.



*The Remains of two Portals and two Columns of the Royal Palace of* Perſepolis.

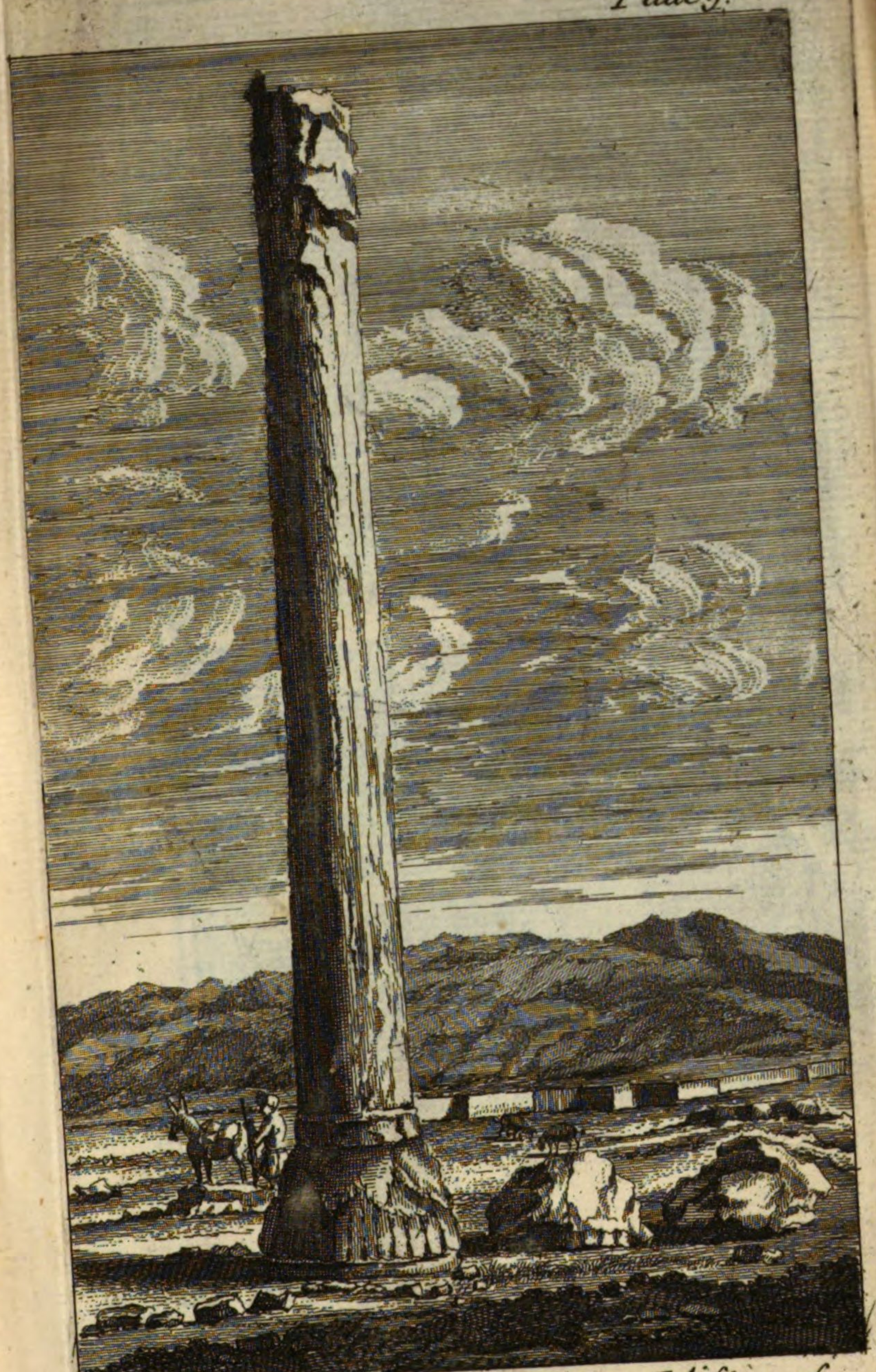


*The Sphinx in the second Portal of* Perſepolis.



*The Sphinx in the first Portal of* Perſepolis.

Plate 5.



*A Column before the Lofty Edifice of*
Perſepolis.

Pl. [illegible]



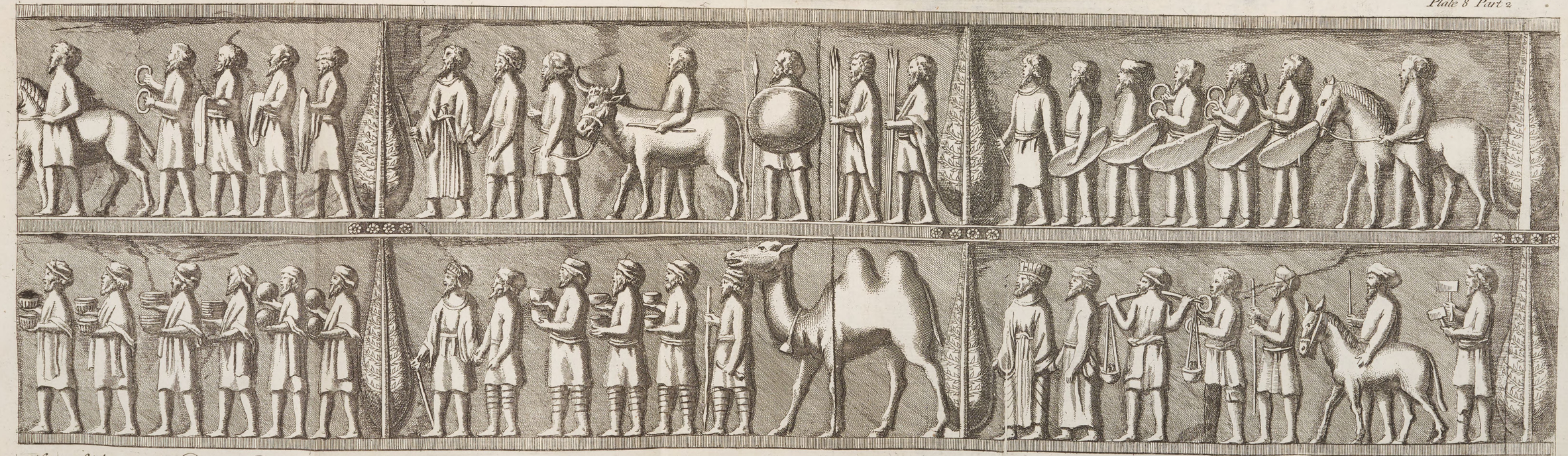
*Hieroglyphics and Characters on the West Side of the* Stair Case *of* Perſepolis.



*Figures upon the Windings of the* Stair-Case, *on the East Side.*—



*Figures upon the Windings of the* Stair-Case, *on the*



*West Side, in the Royal Palace of* Perſepolis.



*Portals on the West Side of the Royal Palace of* Perſepolis.



*The remains of a Portal before the Lofty Edifice of* Perſepolis.

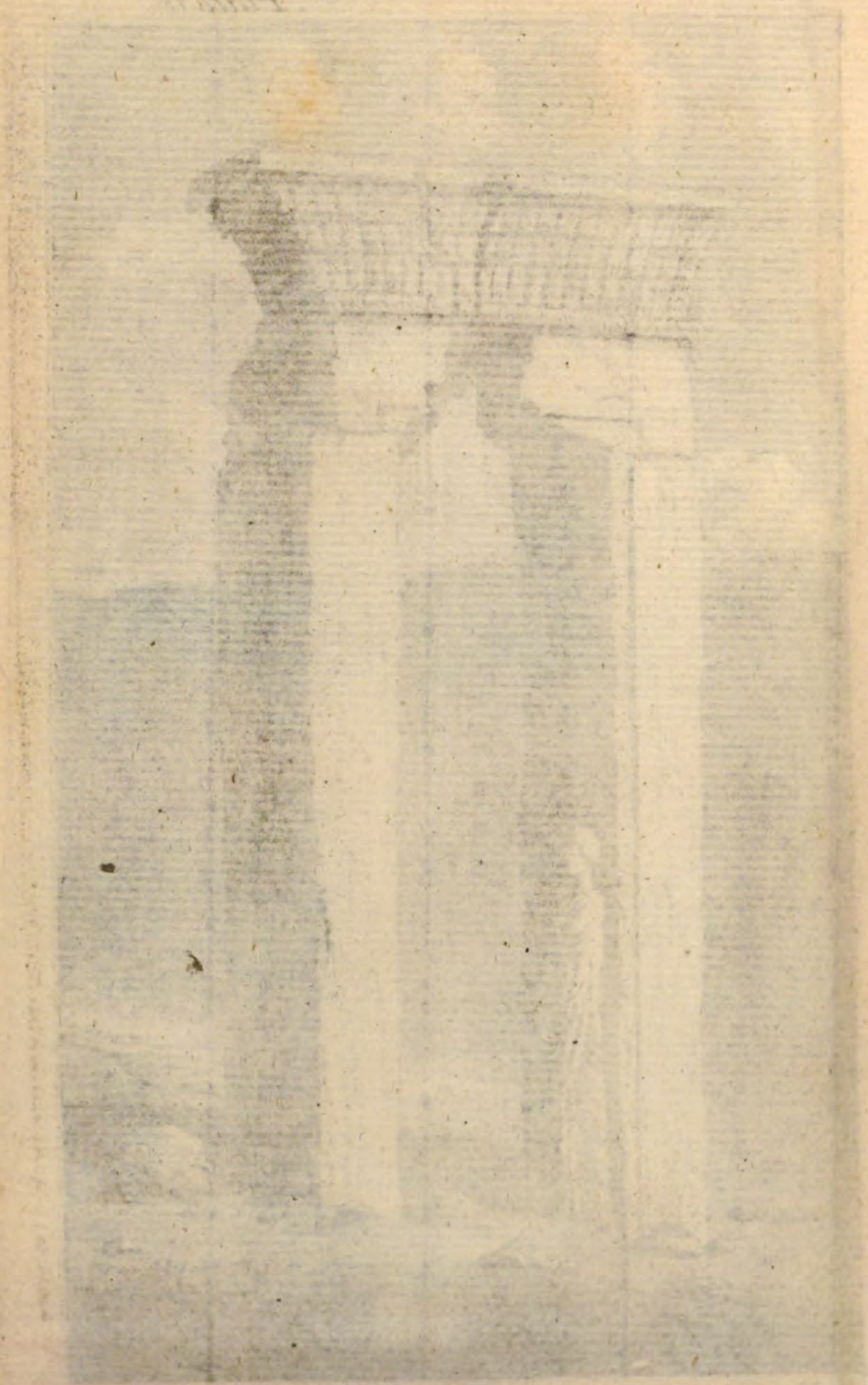


Plate 12.



*A Portal of* Perſepolis.

Plate 9



*A Piece of the Side of a Window fill'd with Characters.*

Plate 13



*A Portal of* Perſepolis.

Plate 14.



Plate 17

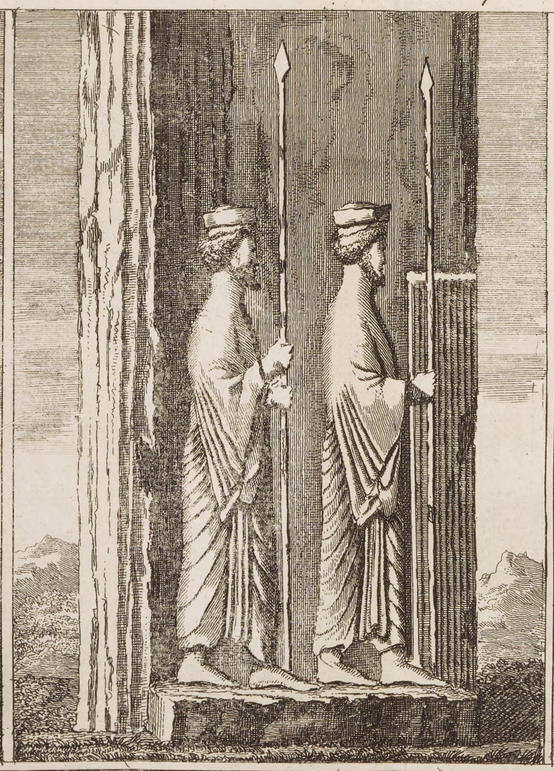


Plate 16



Plate 15



*Other Pieces of the Pilasters.*

Plate 20



Plate 18



Plate 19



*Different Pieces of the Pilasters of* Perſepolis.



*Figures on the* Pilaſter *of a Portal.*—

Plate 21.

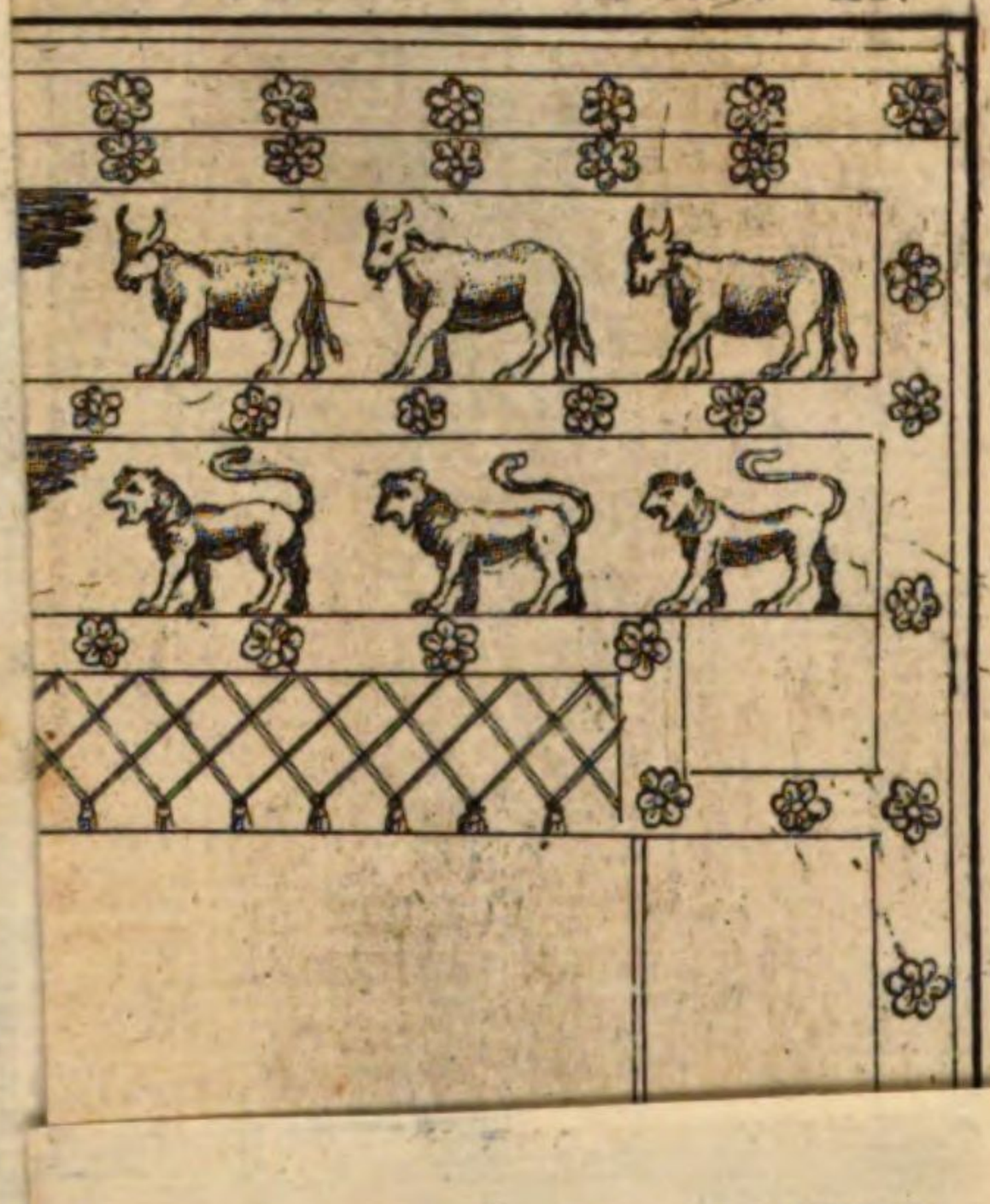


Plate 22.



A Pilaster of the Portal with a number of Figures on it.

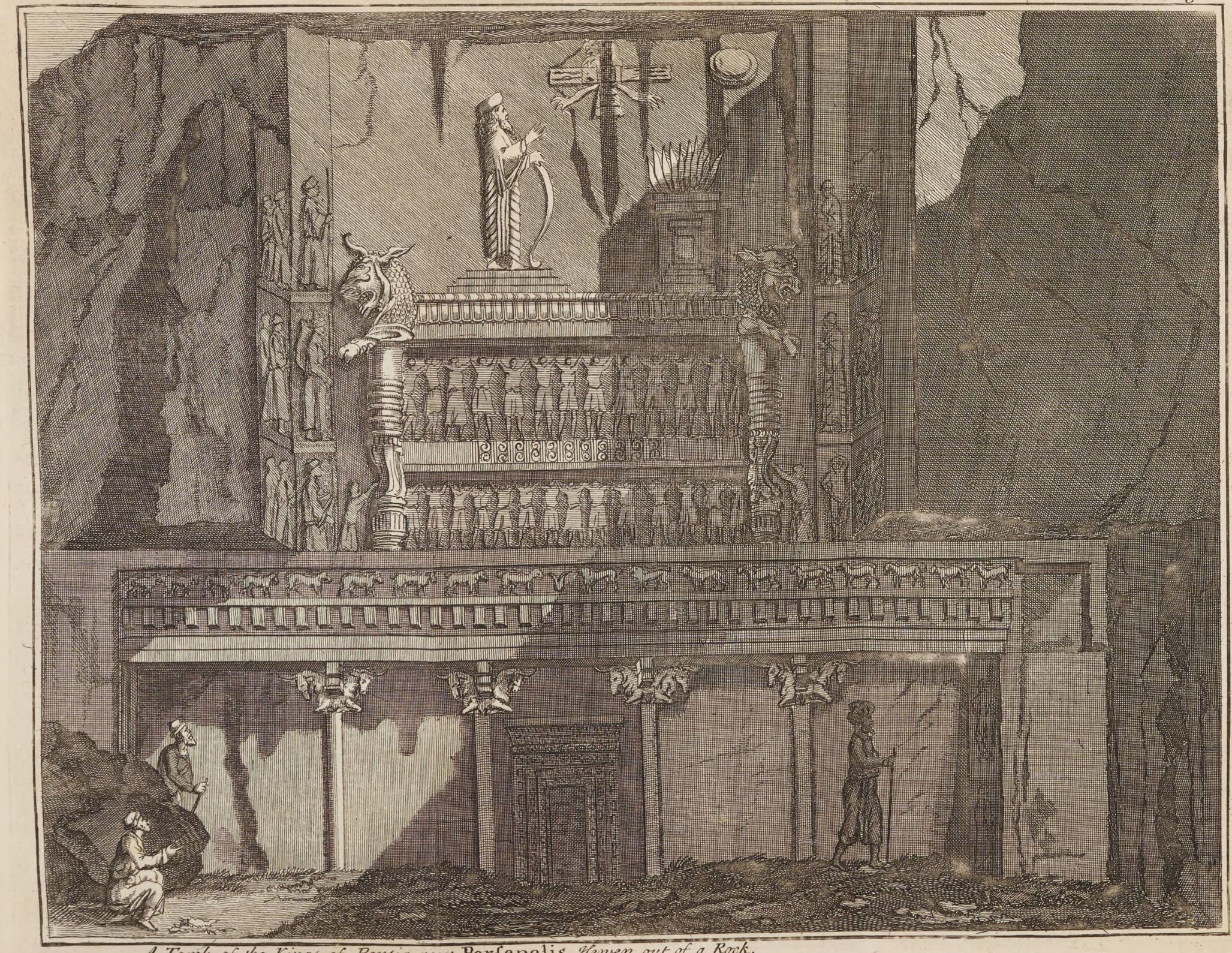
Plate 23.



Part of a Pilaster.



*The Inside of a Tomb near* Perſepolis, *belonging to ye Kings of* Perſia



*A Tomb of the Kings of Persia near* **Perſepolis**, *Hewen out of a Rock.*

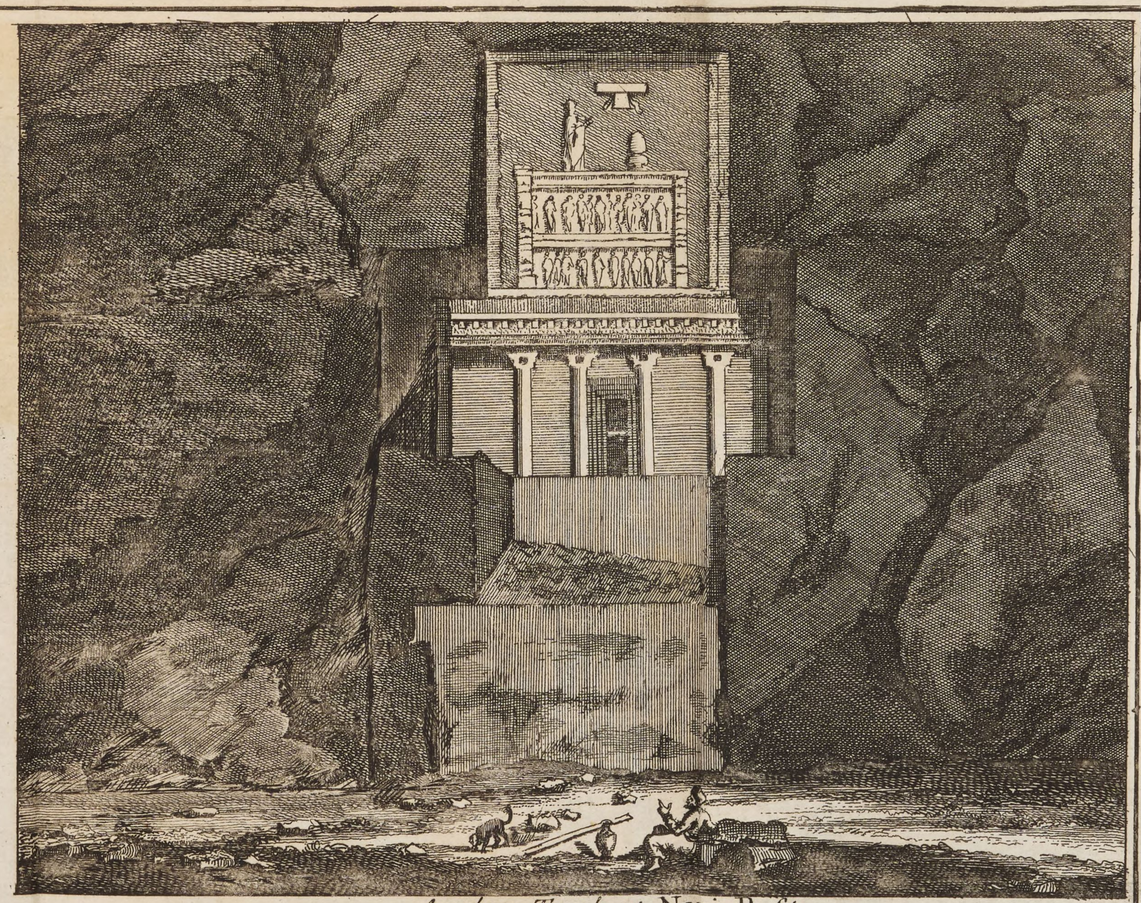


Plate 27



*Tombs at* Naxi Rustan *within two Leagues of* Persepolis.

Plate 28.



*Another Tomb at* Naxi Rustan.



*Figures between the above Tombs Hewen out of a Rock.* Plate 26



*Figures half buried. Ditto.* Plate 25



*Prince* Rustan *& another on Horseback.* Plate 24

Plate 30



*Two Small Square Edifices near the Tombs.*

the ſwelling of the deſcription, and interrupting the thread of the hiſtory.

THE

*Brun*. He has likewiſe inſerted his conjectures concerning theſe antiquities, which are neither improbable nor injudicious; but as we ſhall be obliged to mention moſt of theſe from M. *Le Brun*, it would be unneceſſary to trouble the reader with them here: we ſhall therefore only add to what we have already ſaid concerning the remarks of our worthy countryman, that the draught which he has left us of theſe ruins, is far from being exact, and can hardly be ſaid to bear any reſemblance to the accurate deſcriptions of *Chardin* and *Le Brun* (79). Prior in point of time to Sir *Thomas Herbert*, but far inferior to him in every other reſpect, is the conciſe deſcription of theſe remains of antiquity, given by our countryman Mr. *Geofry Ducket*, who, in 1658, paſſed this way. The main of what he ſays may be reduced to this, that *Perſepolis* was 12 miles broad from gate to gate: whether this deſerves any credit, or whether it was the ſlip of an inadvertent author, or credulous relator, we will not pretend to determine (80). *John Albert de Mandelſloe*, who obſerved theſe ruins in the year 1638, has left us a better deſcription of them than moſt of the writers who went before him; and as there is ſomething very plain and inſtructive in what he writes on this ſubject, it cannot but be agreeable to the reader to compare what he has ſaid with what we have recorded in the text. *The foundation or ground-work on which this vaſt ſtructure was erected, is raiſed 22 geometrical feet, having, at each of its four corners, a pair of ſtairs of white marble, of 95 ſteps, ſo flat and broad, that twelve horſes may go up conveniently together in a breaſt. Before you come to the main body of the ſtructure itſelf, you paſs through a ſquare, where you ſee the ruins of a wall, and the remainders of two great gates, each of which have an horſe harneſſed and ſaddled after a very antic manner, carved on one ſide, and on the other two creatures reſembling an horſe, except that they have wings on each ſide; and the head is crowned, and like that of a lion. On the one ſide you ſee the ruins of 19 pillars of white and black marble, the leaſt of which are 8, and ſome 10 ells high, without the baſes; but whether they had been intended for the ſupport of ſome large hall, or were built purely in the air, is not to be diſtinguiſhed at this time.* The ſame author, ſpeaking of ſome unintelligible characters engraven on a ſquare pillar, tells us, there are twelve lines of them ſo well proportioned, and

(79) *Sir Thomas Herbert's travels, in Harris's collect. vol.* i. *p.* 429.
(80) *Account of Mr. Geofry Ducket's travels, in Harris's collect. vol.* i. *p.* 526.

*The plain of* Perse-polis.

THE plain, in which this famous city stood, is one of the finest in *Persia*, and indeed in all the east. Its length is

nicely engraven, that they carry not in them the least mark of barbarity, but seem rather to have been wrought in a nice well-judging age: he complains of the rudeness of the inhabitants, who, without the least regard to so noble and so antient a palace, carry away large quantities of marble, and other stone, for the quicker dispatch of common and private buildings; he also deplores the want of perfect draughts of these wonderful fragments of the antient magnificence of *Persia* (81). Sir *John Chardin*, in the year 1674, took a view of these ruins, and examined them with great care and pains, as appears from the large and particular account of them inserted in the second volume of his travels. It is true, M. *Le Brun*, who stayed there a much longer time than he, and who had consequently a better opportunity of studying and describing what he saw, than this gentleman had, attacks him very warmly on the head of his description; but whoever reads, with calmness and candour, what Sir *John Chardin*, with great perspicuity, and without the least affectation of learning, has delivered on this head, will be of opinion, that, how much nicer and more exact soever the descriptions of M. *Le Brun* may be, yet both the narration and the cuts of Sir *John Chardin* are excellent in their kind, and serve to communicate to us a multitude of useful particulars, which are nowhere else recorded (82). Dr. *Gemelli Carreri* has written a whole chapter, under the title of *A description of the palace of* Darius, *and the ruins of the antient* Persepolis: it is concise, as all his descriptions are; and the observations he makes, are short and weighty, according to the custom of *Italian* authors. He has illustrated his narration with a few prints, which serve to give a competent idea of the magnificence of this antient city, and to demonstrate the conformity there is between the several accounts of these ruins, coutained in the works of intelligent writers (83). M. *Le Brun*, who arrogates to himself a great superiority over all the writers on this subject, spent a long time in surveying, measuring, and drawing views of these fragments of antiquity: he has taken up more than thirty folio pages in describing what he saw, and remarking on the intentions of those who designed the several figures, of which he has given us copies, which are certainly very useful, as well as very beautiful ornaments to his book. Besides, he has written a long dissertation on the difference between his account

(81) *J. A. Mandelsloe's travels, in Harris's collect.* (82) *Chardin. voyag. tom.* ii. *p.* 140—197. (83) *Carreri voyag. tom.* ii. *p.* 246.

and

is eighteen or nineteen leagues; its breadth in ſome places two, in others four, and, in ſome, ſix. It is watered by the great river *Araxes* or *Bendemir*, and by a multitude of rivulets beſides. Within the compaſs of this plain, there are between a thouſand and fifteen hundred villages, without reckoning thoſe in the mountains, all adorned with pleaſant gardens, and planted with ſhady trees. The entrance of this plain, on the weſt ſide, has received as much grandeur from nature, as the city it covers could do from induſtry or art. It conſiſts of a range of mountains, ſteep and high, four leagues in length, and about two miles broad, forming two flat banks, with a riſing terrace in the middle, the ſummit of which is perfectly plain and even, all of native rock. In this there are ſuch openings, and the terraces are ſo fine, and ſo even, that one would be tempted to think the whole the work of art, if the great extent, and prodigious elevation thereof, did not convince one, that it is a wonder too great for aught but nature to produce. Undoubtedly theſe banks were the very places, where the advanced guards from *Perſepolis* took poſt, and from which *Alexander* found it ſo difficult to diſlodge them. One cannot from hence deſcry the ruins of the city, becauſe the banks are too high to be overlooked; but one can perceive, on every ſide, the ruins of walls, and of edifices, which heretofore adorned the range of mountains, of which we are ſpeaking.

and that of Sir *John Chardin*, wherein the antiquities of *Perſepolis* are farther explained (84). From theſe materials a very copious deſcription, and very curious obſervations, might have been thrown together; eſpecially when we conſider, that, beſides travellers, ſeveral other writers of great eminence, have left us their thoughts on this ſubject; ſuch as the moſt judicious Dr. *Hyde*, in his learned book of the religion of the antient *Perſians*; wherein he has explained, with great knowlege and learning, ſome of the enigmatical figures repreſented on the walls and pillars of theſe antient buildings (85); but it is our buſineſs to hint only where the curious and inquiſitive reader may be informed at large, as to all the extraordinary particulars relating to theſe monuments of the *Perſian* glory, our deſcription being no more than the outlines of a regular diſſertation on this head; for which, what has been ſaid above, and what we have advanced in this note, will, we hope, ſerve for a ſufficient apology.

(84) *Le Brun voyag. tom.* ii. *p.* 285. (85) *Hyde hiſt. relig. vet. Perſ. p.* 344.

On the weſt, and on the north, this city is defended in the like manner; ſo that, conſidering the height and evenneſs of theſe banks, one may ſafely ſay, with a late ingenuous traveller, that there is not in the world a place ſo fortified by nature [k]. The antient palace of the kings of *Perſia*, called by the inhabitants *Chil-minar*, i. e. forty columns, is ſituated at the foot of the mountain; the walls of this ſtately building are ſtill ſtanding on three ſides; and it has the mountain on the eaſt. The front is in extent ſix hundred paces from north to ſouth, and three hundred and ninety from eaſt to weſt, quite to the rock, without any ſtair-caſe on that ſide, till one comes to the mountain, where, by the help of certain ragged ſtones, it is eaſy to get to the loweſt part of the wall, where it is not above eighteen feet ſeven inches in height, and, in ſome places, not ſo high. This curtain is four hundred and ten paces in length on the north, and one-and-twenty feet high in ſome places; but in moſt thirty, quite to the mountain, where is ſtill a corner of a wall, and in the middle an entrance, by which one may get up to the top, by broken pieces of the rock. One finds alſo, before the weſt ſide, ſeveral rocks, which riſe towards the north, till they are even with the wall, appearing like a kind of platform, extending eighty paces before it. It ſeems as if there had been a ſtair-caſe antiently on this ſide, and ſome buildings without this curtain, the rocks being very ſmooth in many places. On the top of this edifice, there is a platform of four hundred paces, which extends, in the middle of the front wall, quite to the mountain. Along this wall, and all the three ſides, runs a pavement of two ſtones joined together, which fill up a ſpace eight feet broad; ſome of theſe ſtones are eight, nine and ten feet long, and ſix in breadth; but the reſt are ſmaller. The principal ſtair-caſe is not placed in the middle of the front, but much nearer the north end than the ſouth, being ſix hundred paces diſtant from this, and only an hundred and ſixty-five from that. This ſtair-caſe is compoſed of two flights of ſtairs, forty-two feet aſunder at bottom. Its depth is twenty-five feet ſeven inches to the wall, from whence proceed the ſteps, which are as long as the ſtair-caſe is deep, within two inches. Each of theſe ſteps is four inches high, and fourteen in breadth; ſo that nothing can be more commodious: there are fifty-five on the north ſide, and fifty-three on the ſouth; but the latter are not ſo whole

[k] Chardin, tom. ii. p. 141. Le Brun, tom. ii. p. 261.

as

as the former. Aſcending thus high, one meets with a landing-place, fifty-one feet four inches broad, proportioned exactly to the breadth of the ſtair-caſe: the ſtones of this landing-place are of an extraordinary ſize. The two flights of the ſtair-caſe are ſeparated by the wall of the front, but in ſuch a manner, that they decline from each other from the bottom up to the middle, and incline towards each other from the middle to the top; which has a wonderful effect on the eye, and ſuits perfectly well with that magnificence which reigns throughout every other part of the building.

The upper-part of this ſtair-caſe conſiſts of forty-eight ſteps on one ſide, and on the other, ſome of which are damaged, notwithſtanding they are cut in the rock. At the top of theſe there is another landing-place, between the flights of ſtairs, ſeventy-five feet broad, paved with great ſtones, ſome thirteen or fourteen feet long, and ſeven or eight broad [1] (T).

To

[1] Le Brun, ubi ſupr. Chardin, ubi ſupr.

(T) In the deſcription in our text, we have adhered pretty cloſely to M. *Le Brun*; and that for many reaſons: Firſt, becauſe his profeſſion, which was that of a painter, rendered him more capable of deſcribing minutely, and of deſigning exactly, all the wonders of *Perſepolis*, than any former traveller, whom either buſineſs or curioſity had led that way. Secondly, this gentleman had, as we have more than once hinted, determined with himſelf to conſider more attentively, and to examine more nicely, theſe relics of *Perſian* architecture, than any other author had done. Thirdly, he had not only all the authors we have mentioned in our laſt note, but Monſ. *Chardin*'s curious plans, to direct him, and, it may be, to correct him, in his notions on this head. Fourthly, there is ſuch an agreement, in material points at leaſt, between his accounts and thoſe of *Chardin*, notwithſtanding his affecting, on all occaſions, to quarrel with that gentleman's ſentiments, that we did not think it at all neceſſary to trouble the reader with any particulars of a diſpute of no great importance in itſelf, and which, though proſecuted with warmth, ſeems to have been commenced out of vanity. It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that the fame of theſe ruins has for the two or three laſt centuries been ſo great, and the deſires of the virtuoſi to ſee exact plans of them ſo ſtrong, that ſome have ventured to publiſh the conceptions of their own brains for the antiquities of *Chelminar*. Such was the view of *Perſepolis* ſent into the world by *Sebaſtian Serlio*, an *Italian* architect, in his account of noble buildings antient and

*The ruins of* Persepolis.

To speak now of what is to be seen when one is amongst these ruins: the first thing that salutes the eye in a strait line, forty-two feet distant from the front before-described, are two great porticoes, and two columns (*plate* III.). The pavement of the first is much damaged by time; and the second is sunk five feet lower than the former. These porticoes are twenty-two feet four inches in depth, and thirteen feet four inches in breadth. One sees, in the front of each pilaster, a large figure cut in bas-relief, twenty-two feet in length from its fore to its hind feet, and fourteen feet and an half high. The heads of these animals are intirely destroyed; their breast and feet project from the pilaster; and their bodies are very much damaged. Those of the first portico front towards the stair-case, and those of the second, which have wings on their bodies, towards the mountains. One sees, above the pilasters, certain characters; but they are so small, and so high, that one can make nothing of them (*plate* IV.). The first portico is still thirty-nine feet high, and the second twenty-eight.

modern, since therein are found just forty columns, adorned with chapiters of the *Corinthian* order, which no traveller ever had the happiness to see. In the voyages of *John Struys*, amongst a multitude of other strange things, and temerarious assertions, we have a wild description of these ruins, and a wilder plan, said in the title-page of the book to be drawn by the author's own hand; which, if it were, he certainly drew by guess, since it is not only quite different from the plans published by others, but contains also such palpable mistakes as never could have been committed by an eye-witness of these noble works, especially one who looked on them with a design of describeing them to the rest of mankind. We are not, however, to fansy, that where-ever travellers differ in their accounts, one of them must be mistaken. M. *Le Brun* and Sir *John Chardin* vary very little in what they say relating to the pillars yet standing at *Persepolis*; but there is a confiderable difference, on this head, between what they say, and what we find recorded in the writings of *Figuera*, *Herbert*, and *Thevenot*; all of whom testify nearly to the same point. Time, and the barbarity of the modern *Persians*, who make very little account of these ruins, have made considerable alterations since they were first described; and it is very probable, that whoever sees them twenty years hence, will find them not exactly answerable to what is said of them by M. *Le Brun* (86).

(86) *Chardin voyag. tom.* ii. *p.* 152.

eight. The baſes of the pilaſters are five feet two inches high. The figures are not carved out of one ſtone, but out of three joined together for that purpoſe. In their preſent condition, it is not eaſy to decide what they were intended for, though many authors have given the world their conjectures, of which the reader will find ſome account in the authors cited at the bottom of the foregoing pages, will judge for himſelf which is the moſt probable of thoſe taken notice of there.

THE two columns, which ſtand between the two porticoes, are more intire than any other part of the ruins. They are of white marble, fluted, and wonderfully beautiful, that is, as to their chapiters, and other ornaments; for, as to their baſes, they are covered with earth. They are twenty-ſix feet from the firſt portico, and fifty-ſix from the ſecond, fourteen feet in circumference, and fifty-four high. There were certainly two others between theſe and the laſt portico, of which there are ſtill ſome remains, great pieces of marble lying about half-buried in the earth. Fifty-two feet from the laſt-mentioned portico ſouthward, there is a large ciſtern, cut out of a whole ſtone, twenty feet long, ſeventeen feet five inches broad, and three feet above the earth. From thence to the wall, there is a ſpace of about an hundred and fifty paces, in which one finds nothing but broken pieces of ſtone, and the remains of a column, which appears to have been unfluted, and therein differs from all the reſt. It is about two feet in compaſs, and twelve and an half long (*plate* V.). From it to the mountain, there is nothing to be met with, but wild heaps of broken ſtones.

TURNING from theſe porticoes to the ſouth, one ſees, at the diſtance of an hundred and ſeventy-two feet, another ſtair-caſe, conſiſting of two flights of ſteps, in the ſame manner as the former, one fronting towards the eaſt, the other towards the weſt. The wall is ſtill about ſix feet ſeven inches high; but, in the middle, it is almoſt intirely ruined. The extent of the eaſt flight of ſtairs is eighty-three feet; and it is evident enough from the lowermoſt of them, that they were adorned with figures in bas-relief. On the top of the ſtair-caſe are ſtill ſome foliages viſible, with figures, in bas-relief, of a lion tearing a bull, larger than the life (*plate* VI.). The ſtair-caſe is half-buried in earth; and one ſees certain ſmall figures on the wall on both ſides. The weſt flight conſiſts of twenty-eight ſteps; the other, having ſuffered more by the acceſſion of the earth, has now but eighteen, each ſeventeen feet long,

three inches high, fourteen inches and an half broad. There are many of these, towards the top, broken, and two or three intirely destroyed, though cut out of the rock. At the end of the landing-place from this stair-case, there is another front, whereon there are three rows of small figures, one above another. Of the first row there is nothing now to be seen, but the parts below the girdle, the rest being destroyed by time. The second row, which is the best preserved, has, notwithstanding, received great injuries: and, as to the third, there is nothing now above ground, but their heads. These figures are two feet nine inches high; and the wall, of which there are still five feet three inches above ground, is ninety-eight feet in extent, from the first step to its left corner, where there is another stair-case, the steps of which are exactly of the same size with those before-described. From what remains of the inner wall, it appears, that it was also covered with small figures. At the end of the stair-case, there is another wall, which extends ninety feet beyond the landing-place. The corner turns a little to the south, and goes no farther, because the earth is there at the same height. Returning to the west flight of steps of the stair-case before-mentioned, we meet with a wall forty-five feet in length beyond the bottom of the stair-case, with an interval of sixty-seven feet to the west front. This side, like the former, is adorned with three rows of figures, and a lion tearing a bull, or an ass, with an horn in its forehead. Between these animals and the figures, there is a square space, filled with characters, of which the highest are quite effaced. The figures on this side are fairer than on the other, the ground being less elevated: there are twenty-five steps here. As for the figures on the stair-case, we refer the reader to the plates VII. and VIII. The wall, beyond the stair-case, is unadorned with figures.

At the step of the stair-case, between the two flights of stairs, there is an open place, paved with very large stones, between the stair-case and the first columns, which are twenty-two feet and two inches distant. They stand in two rows, each consisting of six columns, of which there is only one remaining intire; eight bases and some broken pieces of the rest. There are six rows of columns, seventy feet eight inches distant from these, each row consisting of six columns. These thirty-six columns are twenty-two feet two inches from each other, as the former are. There are still seven of these intire, with the bases of all the rest; but much broken and defaced. Of those which are left, there is one of the first row, one of the second, two of the third,

third, and one of each of the reſt. One finds, between theſe columns and thoſe before-mentioned, ſeveral large ſtones, heretofore part of ſome ſubterraneous building. Seventy feet eight inches weſt from theſe columns, towards the front of the ſtair-caſe, there were twelve columns more, diſpoſed in two rows, of which there are only five remaining. The baſes of ſeven more are viſible; and the ground is covered with the ruins of thoſe which are decayed. One can diſcover, however, among the fragments of thoſe ornaments, which lie half-interred, that each of theſe columns was ſurmounted by the figure of a camel kneeling (*plate* I. *p.* 96.) To the ſouth of theſe columns ſtands the edifice moſt elevated of any in theſe ruins; but it is neceſſary for us to obſerve, that, on the eaſt, there are ſtill diſcernible two rows of columns, conſiſting of ſix each, of which the baſes of four or five remain ſtill above the earth; and, in all appearance, theſe were oppoſed to other rows of columns, which were in the front. Advancing ſtill towards the mountain, one finds the ruins of many buildings, conſiſting of windows, ſome of them filled with characters (*plate* IX.); paſſages, portals, *&c* (*plates* X. XI. XII. XIII.). The porticoes are adorned with figures: and theſe ruins take up a great ſpace. But, to return to the edifice before ſpoken of: it extends an hundred and eighteen feet from the columns; and the wall of its front is yet five feet ſeven inches high, compoſed of one row of ſtones, ſome of which are eight feet broad, extending, from eaſt to weſt, an hundred and thirteen feet. There are, before the edifice, certain ſtone foundations ſtill viſible; but, what end they ſerved, cannot be gueſſed, ſince there is no ſtair-caſe on this ſide. This wall is adorned with no ſort of ornament, as the reſt are. There are however two ſtair-caſes, one on the north, the other on the ſouth ſide; but almoſt intirely ruined. On the landing-place, however, we ſtill diſcover the remains of porticoes, which an earthquake threw down. All the reſt of the building, which conſiſts of great and little porticoes, is intirely ruined: the ground, covered with the fragments, is about an hundred and forty-ſeven feet in length, and nearly ſquare. On the north, there are two porticoes, and three niches or windows walled up; and, on the ſouth, a portico, and four windows open. There are two other porticoes, which are not covered, on the weſt, with two openings; and a third to the eaſt, with three niches of windows walled up. Six of theſe openings are without cornices; and there remains but half an one to the eaſt. One ſees, under the two porticoes on the north, on each ſide, the figure of a man, and two

women, from the knees upwards, their legs being covered with earth; under one of thoſe, on the weſt-ſide, there is the figure of a man, fighting a bull, which has an horn in its forehead; the man holds this with his left-hand, and ſtrikes a poniard into the belly of the beaſt with his right: on the other ſide the figures are the ſame, excepting only, that the man holds the horn with his right hand, and ſtabs the beaſt with his left. In the ſecond portico there is the figure of a man holding and ſtabbing a beaſt, reſembling either a deer or a lion, by ſuch an horn in its forehead, and with wings upon its back (*plate* XIV.). Under the portico to the north, the ſame figures are viſible; only the man combats here a true lion, which he holds by the mane with his right hand, and ſtabs with his left (*plate* XV.): theſe figures have half their legs buried under the earth. On both ſides of the portico towards the ſouth, there is the figure of a man, with an ornament on his head, reſembling a crown, attended by two perſons, one of whom holds an umbrella over his head, and the other has ſome enſign of authority in its hand (*plate* XVI.). Above theſe figures are three niches full of characters. On the pilaſters of the firſt portico, which are out of their places, and lie near the flight of ſtairs laſt-mentioned, there are two men, each armed with a lance, which the one holds with both hands, the other only in his right (*plate* XVII.). One alone of theſe is intire. There are other pieces of pilaſters, ſcattered up-and-down with various figures (*plate* XVIII. XIX. XX.), ſome of them very remarkable for the number of figures they contain, exhibiting, as ſome ſuppoſe, a royal audience, where the king appears ſitting on his throne, with a footſtool, a perſon with a kind of umbrella over his head, a petitioner before him, and his guards, with ſhields, lances, &c. attending him (*plates* XXI. XXII. XXIII.). Behind this edifice, one finds another of much the ſame kind, except that it is thirty-eight feet longer, with a nich or window blocked up, and another open, with two ſtones ſtanding up, one on the right-hand, the other on the left. Of theſe, that towards the eaſt is broken; the other, towards the weſt, is ſtill twenty-eight feet high. There are, on the top of this ſtone, three niches or tablets, full of characters, and a fourth below, which ſeems to have been cut after the reſt. The like inſcriptions are ſeen in the niches or windows before-mentioned, each tablet conſiſting of one ſtone only. To the ſouth there are two flights of ſtairs, the one to the eaſt, the other to the weſt; but of theſe only five ſteps are remaining; and, on the wings, as well on the wall, which ſeparates them, there are ſtill

vi-

viſible ſome ſmall figures and foliages, though half-buried in the ground. An hundred feet from thence, to the ſouth, the laſt ruins are found of theſe edifices, conſiſting chiefly of porticoes, and incloſed ſpaces of ground; and, between theſe two heaps of ruins, another ſtair-caſe, of which only ſeven ſteps are remaining; which ſerve, however, to ſhew, that antiently they were adorned with figures and foliages. On the eaſt ſide of this ſtair-caſe, there are certain ſubterraneous paſſages, in which the inhabitants imagine great treaſures are hid. M. *Le Brun* entered them, as ſeveral travellers have done before; but was quickly obliged to return, without making any diſcoveries, the paſſages being ſo narrow, and ſo dark and moiſt, that it was impoſſible to go far. However, even theſe experiments are ſufficient to ſhew, that the conjectures of the inhabitants are very indifferently founded, ſince, from the ſtructure of theſe vaults, we are left to judge, they were rather intended for carrying off water, or ſome ſuch-like purpoſe, than to be made repoſitories of the royal treaſures [m].

As to the conjectures of the learned concerning theſe remains of the magnificence of antient times; the proceſſions delineated on the walls; the vaſes in the hands of many of the figures; the ſeveral tablets of unknown characters; and the many hieroglyphical repreſentations which are ſtill ſeen in theſe ruins; have led ſome great men into an opinion, that this antient ſtructure was a temple, dedicated to the deities worſhiped in *Perſia*. Others, with much greater reaſon, have delivered it as their ſentiment, that theſe ruins are the ſad remains of the antient palace of *Perſepolis*, which they think ſtrongly confirmed by the deſcriptions, left us by antient authors, of that noble pile of building. As to the figures in proceſſion, thoſe who adhere to this notion ſay, that they repreſent a birth-day feaſt of one of the *Perſian* emperors, when his courtiers were wont to bring him preſents. As to the inſcriptions, they are, generally ſpeaking, illegible even by the *Perſees* or antient *Perſians* themſelves; ſo that hardly any argument can be deduced from them. The hieroglyphics might as well ſerve for ornaments to a palace, as to a temple; and, it may be, were ſome of the ſpoils of *Egypt*, brought thence by *Cambyſes*'s army. However this be, certain it is, that the habits of theſe figures agree perfectly well with the deſcriptions of the old *Median* and *Perſian* robes, as they are recorded in *Greek* writers. On the whole, therefore,

[m] Le Brun, vol. ii. p. 268,

it

it may be preſumed, that, whatever this edifice was, it was actually erected by the kings of the firſt race, ſince nothing ſeen there carries the aſpect of later times; but whether *Cyrus* was the founder, or whether this palace was begun by *Darius*, and finiſhed by *Xerxes*, is a point not eaſily, if at all, to be determined. From a view of the figures viſible on the walls, pillars, *&c.* it ſeems probable to us, that they were enigmatical repreſentations, at leaſt for the moſt part, of the courſe of the heavenly bodies, and of the effects produced by them. But of this, and of the reaſons which incline us to believe it, we ſhall take occaſion to diſcourſe more largely in our ſection on the religion of the antient *Perſians*. The traditions of the natives, in reſpect to theſe antiquities, are generally repreſented, by travellers, as confuſed, extravagant, and not to be depended on. This may, however, in ſome meaſure, ariſe from their want of acquaintance with oriental hiſtory, which is not always ſo fabulous and incoherent, as it is repreſented to be. There is, and there ever will be, a wide difference between the narrative ſtile of theſe eaſtern nations, and that in uſe amongſt us. But, as we ſhall elſewhere ſhew, even in reſpect to theſe ruins, certainty may be deduced, as well from the hyperbolical relations of eaſtern writers, as from the artful memoirs of ſome of our weſtern hiſtorians (V).

At

(V) In this note we intend to examine, in as ſhort a compaſs as poſſible, what antient writers have delivered concerning the city and palace of *Perſepolis*. To begin then with what is ſaid by *Diodorus Siculus* (87) on this ſubject: He relates, that, after paſſing the river *Araxes*, *Alexander* met with near 800 *Greeks*, moſt of them old men, ſome having their hands, others their feet, ſome their ears, and ſome their noſes, cut off, which had been done by the *Perſians* of that diſtrict. This ſight ſo incenſed him againſt the inhabitants of *Perſepolis*, that he called, ſays our author, the *Macedonians* together, and told them, " That *Perſepolis*, the metro- " polis of *Perſia*, had, of all " the cities of *Aſia*, done moſt " miſchief to the *Grecians*; " and therefore he gave it up " to the plunder and ſpoil of " the ſoldiers, except the king's " palace. This was the rich- " eſt city of any under the " ſun; and, for many ages, " all the private houſes were " full of all ſorts of wealth, " and whatever was deſire- " able. The *Macedonians*, " therefore, forcing into the " city, put all the men to the " ſword, and rifled and car- " ried away every man's " goods and eſtate; amongſt

(87) *Hiſtor. l.* xvii. *c.* 7.

" which

AT two leagues diſtance from theſe ruins, there is a famous mountain, ſeated between two of the fineſt plains in

" which was abundance of " rich and coſtly furniture, " and ornaments of all ſorts. " From this place were hur- " ried away, here-and-there, " vaſt quantities of ſilver and " gold, great numbers of rich " garments, ſome of purple, " others embroidered with " gold; all which became a " plentiful prey to the rave- " nous ſoldiers. And thus " the royal ſeat of the *Perſians*, " once famous throughout the " world, was now expoſed to " ſcorn and contempt, and " rifled from top to bottom. " For though every place was " full of rich ſpoil, yet the " covetouſneſs of the *Maceda-* " *nians* was inſatiably ſtill " thirſting after more. And " they were ſo eager in plun- " dering, that they fought " one with another with drawn " ſwords, and many who were " conceived to have got a " greater ſhare than the reſt, " were killed in the quarrel. " Some things, that were of " extraordinary value, they " divided with their ſwords, " and each took a ſhare; " others in rage cut off the " hands of ſuch as laid hold " upon a thing that was in " diſpute. They firſt raviſhed " the women, as they were in " their jewels and rich attire, " and then ſold them for " ſlaves: ſo that by how " much *Perſepolis* excelled all " the other cities in glory and " worldly felicity, by ſo much " the more was the meaſure of " their mifery and calamity. " Then *Alexander* ſeized up- " on all the treaſures in the " citadel, which was a vaſt " quantity of gold and ſilver, " of the public revenues that " had been heaping up, and " depoſited there, from the " time of *Cyrus* the firſt king " of *Perſia*, to that day; for " there were found an hundred " and twenty thouſand talents, " reckoning the gold after the " rate of ſilver. Part of this " treaſure he took for the uſe " of the war, and ordered " another part of it to be " treaſured up at *Suſa*. To " this purpoſe, he ordered, " that a multitude of mules, " both for draught and car- " riage, and three thouſand " camels, with pack-ſaddles, " ſhould be brought out of " *Babylon*, *Meſopotamia*, and " *Suſa*; and with theſe he " conveyed all the treaſures " to the ſeveral places he " had appointed. For, by " reaſon of his great hatred " to the inhabitants, he was " reſolved not to truſt them " with any thing, but utter- " ly to ruin and deſtroy *Per-* " *ſepolis*: of whoſe palace, in " regard of its ſtately ſtruc- " ture, we conceive it will " not be impertinent, if we " ſay ſomething. This ſtate- " ly fabric, or citadel, was ſur- " rounded with a treble wall: " the firſt was ſixteen cubits " high, adorned with many " ſumptuous buildings, and " lofty turrets. The ſecond

" was

in the world, and which, by the inhabitants, is called by several names; sometimes they stile it *Kabreston-Gauron*, i. e.

" was like to the first, but as " high again. The third was " drawn like a quadrant four- " square, sixty cubits high, all " of the hardest marble, and " so cemented as to continue " to the latest time. On the " four sides are brazen gates, " near to which there are cur- " tains, or palisades, of the " same metal, twenty cubits " high; these were raised as " well to strike the beholder " with terror, as for the " strength and security of the " place. On the east side of " the citadel, about four hun- " dred feet distant, stood a " mount, called the *Royal* " *mount*; for here are the se- " pulcres of the kings, many " apartments, and little cells, " being cut into the midst of " the rock; into which cells " there is made no direct pas- " sage, but the coffins, with " the dead bodies, are, by " machines, hoisted up, and " so let down into these vaults. " In this citadel were many " stately lodgings, both for " the king and his soldiers, of " excellent workmanship, and " treasury - chambers, most " commodiously contrived for " the laying up of money. " Here *Alexander* made a " sumptuous feast for the en- " tertainment of his friends, " in commemoration of his " victory, and offered magni- " ficent sacrifices to the gods. " At this feast were entertain- " ed women, who prostituted " their bodies for hire, where " the cups went so high, and " the reins were let so loose to " drunkenness and debauch- " ery, that many were both " drunk and mad. Among " the rest, there was at that " time a curtesan called *Thais*, " an *Athenian*, that said, *Alex-* " *ander* would perform the " most glorious act of any " that ever he had done, if, " while he was feasting with " them, he would burn the " palace, and so the glory " and renown of *Persia* might " be said to be brought to no- " thing in a moment by the " hands of women. This " spreading abroad, and com- " ing to the ears of the young " men (who commonly make " little use of reason when " drink is in their heads), one " of them presently cried out, " *Come on, bring us fire-brands*; " and so incites the rest to fire " the citadel, to revenge that " impiety the *Persians* had " committed in destroying the " temples of the *Grecians*. At " this others, with joy, set " up a shout; but said, that " so brave an exploit belong- " ed only to *Alexander* to per- " form. The king, stirred up " at these words, embraced " the motion; upon which as " many as were present, left " their cups, and leaping " from the table, said, they " would now celebrate a " victorious festival to *Bacchus*. " Hereupon multitudes of " firebrands were presently got " together, and all the women

" that

i. e. the sepulcres of the *Gaurs*; sometimes *Nachs-Rustan*, the pictures of *Rustan*; and sometimes *Takt-Rustan*, i. e.

" that played upon musical in-
" struments, which were at
" the feast, were called for;
" and then the king, with
" songs, pipes, and flutes,
" bravely led the way to this
" noble expedition, contrived
" and managed by this whore,
" *Thais*, who, next after the
" king, threw a firebrand
" into the palace. This pre-
" cedent was followed by the
" rest; so that, in a very short
" time, the whole fabric, by
" the violence of the fire, was
" burnt to ashes." We have transcribed this long passage, to avoid a multitude of quotations; since several authors have either copied *Diodorus*, or the authors made use of by him. *Plutarch*, in his life of *Alexander*, gives us an account of this transaction, little different from that which we have just seen: indeed he speaks less confidently of the story of *Thais* than *Diodorus* does; whence some have suspected the truth of it, and whether *Thais* had any concern therein, or no. *Arrian* says, that *Alexander* seized at *Passargadon* on the money which had been laid up there by *Cyrus*; and then adds, " The royal palace of the *Per-*
" *sian* monarchs he burnt,
" much against the will of
" *Parmenio*, who intreated him
" to leave it untouched, not
" only because it was impro-
" per to despoil and destroy
" what he had gained by his
" valour, but that he would
" thereby disoblige the *Asia-*
" *tics*, and render them less
" benevolent to him; for they
" would then suppose, that he
" would not keep *Asia* in his
" possession, but abandon it as
" soon as it was conquered
" and laid waste. To which
" *Alexander* made answer, that
" he was resolved to avenge
" the antient injuries his coun-
" try had received from the
" *Persians*, who, when they
" arrived with their army in
" *Greece*, subverted *Athens*,
" burnt their temples, and
" committed many other bar-
" barous devastations there.
" But this, in my opinion,
" seems to have been no pru-
" dent or politic action of *A-*
" *lexander*, and was no revenge
" upon the *Persians* at all (88)."
*Strabo* speaks very concisely on this subject; his words are these: " *Alexander* destroyed
" the temple of *Persepolis*, in
" revenge of the injuries done
" the *Greeks*, whose cities and
" temples the *Persians* had for-
" merly destroyed with fire and
" sword (89)." *Curtius* has nothing singular upon this head, except the following observation: " The city of
" *Persepolis* was so far from
" being rebuilt, that, unless
" the river *Araxes* ran near it,
" there had not been the least
" sign left to have guessed
" where it stood; that it was

(88) *Exped. Alex. lib.* iii. *c.* 18.

(89) *Geogr. lib.* xv. *p.* 730.

" situated

i. e. the throne of *Rustan*. This *Rustan*, as we have observed before, is the *Hercules* of the east, or rather the *Amadis*;

"situated twenty stadia from "the banks of this river, the "inhabitants rather believe, "than know with any certain-"ty (90)." In this point, however, he seems to have been mistaken; for, first, he is the only author who says, that *Persepolis* was ruined. *Diodorus* says indeed, that it was plundered; but, as to burning and destroying, what he relates is confined to the palace: besides, after the death of *Alexander*, he informs us, that *Antigonus*, taking five thousand talents of silver out of the treasury at *Ecbatana*, marched into *Persia*, and, after twenty days, arrived at its capital *Persepolis* (91). *Arrian* also speaks of this city, as still standing after the destruction of the palace; and, if we may believe the author of the book of *Maccabees*, it continued a great and noble city. What he says on this subject, stands thus in our translation: "A-"bout that time came *Antio-*"*chus*, with dishonour, out of "the country of *Persia*: for "he had entered the city call-"ed *Persepolis*, and went about "to rob the temple, and to "hold the city: whereupon "the multitude, running to "defend themselves with their "weapons, put them to flight; "and so it happened, that *An-*"*tiochus*, being put to flight "of the inhabitants, returned "with shame (92)." In the first book of *Maccabees*, there is still a more extraordinary passage, in respect to the point before us: "About that time, "says the author, king *Antio-*"*chus*, traveling through the "high countries, heard say, "that *Elymais*, in the country "of *Persia*, was a city greatly "renowned for riches, silver, "and gold: and that there was "in it a very rich temple, "wherein were coverings of "gold, and breast-plates and "shields, which *Alexander*, son "of *Philip*, the *Macedonian* "king, who reigned first a-"mong the *Grecians*, had left "there. Wherefore he came "and sought to take the city, "and to spoil it; but he was "not able, because they of the "city, having had warning "thereof, rose up against him "in battle: so he fled, and "departed thence with great "heaviness, and returned to *Ba-*"*bylon* (93)." That by *Elymais* the author meant *Persepolis*, we have all the reason in the world to believe, since we are certain, that the latter is only a *Greek* appellation, and not the true name of the city; nor, in all probability, did the *Greeks* ever commit the *Persian* name thereof to writing. One thing we will venture to observe here, which has not hitherto been remarked by any author; it is this: *Persepolis*, or *Persæpolis*,

(90) *Curt. lib.* v. *c.* 7. (91) *Diod. Sic. lib.* xix. *c.* 3. (92) 2 *Mac. c.* ix. *ver.* 1, 2. (93) 1 *Mac. c.* vi. *ver.* 1.—4.

signifies

*dis*; for the ſtories they tell of him are alike fabulous and romantic. Our buſineſs, however, is not with them, but with the mountain, which is an intire rock, harder and capable of a better poliſh than marble: it is levelled by art; its ſides are perfectly perpendicular, ſo that it looks like a large wall; and upon it there are figures repreſented in bas-relief, with great ſkill and beauty. The firſt of theſe, which is about the height of a pike from the ground, repreſents a combat between two knights, mounted on horſeback, each of them having an iron mace in his left-hand: he on the right has a bonnet on his head, and holds out in his right-hand a large ring of iron, of which the other knight ſeems to take hold with his right-hand. All theſe figures, as well of horſes as of men, are gigantic: and, as to the meaning of the piece, if we truſt tradition, and the *Perſian* poets, it is thus to be underſtood: they ſay, that one of theſe cavaliers was *Ruſtan*, or *Ruſtem*, the ſon of *Sal* the white, the ſon of *Sam*, the ſon of *Noramon* king of the *Indies*; the ſecond *Ruſtan*, or *Ruſtem*, the ſon of *Tahmour* king of *Perſia*. Theſe two princes are ſaid to have been engaged in long and bloody wars, and at laſt to have agreed to determine their quarrels by a combat: the manner in which this was to be performed was thus: one extended a ring of iron in his right-hand, which the other laid hold of, it being previouſly agreed, that whoever could wrench from the other this iron ring, ſhould be eſteemed the conqueror, and ſhould be obeyed for the future by him who loſt it. They ſay too, that the king of *Perſia*, who is the perſon repreſented by the figure having a long beard, vanquiſhed the king of the *Indies* in this engagement. Beſides this ring and mace, theſe combatants have iron bullets, hanging by chains at the ſides of their horſes, which, it is to be ſuppoſed, they let fly at each other, in the ſame manner as peaſants ſometimes fight with their flails (*plate*

ſignifies in *Greek* no more than the city of the *Perſians*. *Elymais* ſignifies the ſame thing, as alſo *Phars-abad*, which Sir *John Chardin* conjectures to be its antient name in the *Perſic* tongue: hence, therefore, we may, with probability, conclude, that its moſt antient name was *Elymais*, derived from the antient name of *Perſia*, *Elam*; that, in proceſs of time, when *Perſia* was called *Pharas*, this city might be ſtiled *Pharas-abad*; and that the *Greeks* might tranſlate either of theſe appellations into their own language by the word *Perſepolis*: all which we ſubmit to the curious and inquiſitive reader.

XXIV.). Near this figure there are two others (*plate* XXV. XXVI.): but, as to their repreſentation, it is impoſſible to ſay any thing with certainty, ſince we are furniſhed with no lights by antient writers, and the traditions of the modern *Perſians*, on ſuch ſubjects, are little to be depended on; though, to ſay the truth, the common people in *Perſia* are rather more modeſt than elſewhere; for, when they are asked about the meaning of theſe figures, they generally ſay, GOD knows: nay, their men of learning content themſelves with affirming, that they relate to the antient heroes of their country, without pretending to enter into particulars.

*Tombs at* Naxi Ruſtan.

At a ſmall diſtance from theſe figures is the firſt tomb. At ſixty paces from this tomb there is another; thirty paces from thence a third; and, at the diſtance of an hundred paces, a fourth; which is the laſt (*plate* XXVII. XXVIII. XXIX.). Not far from theſe tombs are two ſmall edifices (*plate* XXX.). Near the third tomb are two inſcriptions; one fifteen lines in length, in the character made uſe of in the inſcriptions at the palace of *Perſepolis*. There are many other curious repreſentations carved on this mountain, ſome perfectly whole and ſound, others much defaced, either through the injuries of time and weather, or the brutal zeal of the *Mohammedans*, who make it a piece of high merit to deſtroy all kind of imagery [n]. Should we run into a long diſcourſe on the conjectures which have been, or may be made, in relation to theſe ſepulcres, it would certainly lead us far out of our road, and turn very little to the improvement of the reader. On the whole, therefore, we ſhall content ourſelves with ſaying, that theſe ſtupendous monuments of antient magnificence are ſufficient to fill us with high ideas of the wiſdom and ſublime genius of the antient *Perſians*, before ſuperſtition and ſlavery took place (X).

THE

[n] Vide CHARDIN, tom. ii. LE BRUN, tom. ii.

(X) Beſides the tombs ſpoken of above, there are two near the ruins of the palace of *Perſepolis*, which, Sir *John Chardin* ſays, appeared to him the moſt curious remnants of antiquity which he beheld there. They are about ſix hundred paces from the columns; and, in order to reach them, there is a neceſſity of climbing three hundred paces up the rock. Theſe monuments are cut and hollowed into the rock. The one is on the north, over againſt the great ſtair-caſe of the palace; the front is ſeventy-two feet broad, and its height about one hundred and thirty (*plate* XXXI.). The plat-

THE great perfection which appears in theſe antient works, and thoſe of *Perſepolis*, leaves us no room to doubt,

platform is ſquare, and like the landing-place of a ſtair-caſe; it is about four feet deep, and is cut into the mountain: on each ſide there are ſix figures finely cut, and exactly reſembling thoſe in the proceſſion; in the wall of the palace there are four columns fronting the ſpectator, and exactly in the middle there appears a door; but it is only the figure of a door cut in the rock, and does not ſeem ever to have been deſigned for a paſſage into any cavity behind it. Over this there is another fine piece of workmanſhip, full of figures; and, on the ſummit, there appears an altar, with fire burning on it, and a reverend perſon holding a bow in his hand, kneeling on a kind of aſcent, over againſt it, as if at his devotions. In the corner of the piece, there is a round figure, which ſeems to repreſent the ſun; and in the middle, as if in the air, there is a ſmall figure of the ſame perſon, whom we ſee praying below, as if he were aſcending into the heavens. The other tomb, which is on the eaſt ſide, differs not much from this which we have deſcribed (*plate* XXXII.). It has four columns, a falſe door, and over it an altar with fire, and a prince or high-prieſt praying before it, with the decorations that have been mentioned before. Some inconſiderable differences there are in the architecture, and in the diſpoſition of things, in this ſecond tomb; but we do not think them of conſequence to be mentioned here. Sir *John Chardin* tells us, that the inhabitants of the country ſay, that *Nembroth*, or *Nimrod*, was buried in the firſt, and *Darab*, i. e. *Darius*, in the ſecond; but he thinks the firſt fabulous. And, as to *Darius* being interred here, he owns, it is, in ſome meaſure, warranted by the account given us by *Arrian*, that *Alexander* cauſed the body of that unfortunate prince to be embalmed, and to be ſent to his mother, that ſhe might cauſe it to be interred in the tomb of his anceſtors. It is allowed, that the ſepulcres of the kings of *Perſia* were at *Ecbatana* in *Media*; and that at the time *Alexander* ſent back *Darius*'s body, that country was new-conquered, and in great diſorder. It is not impoſſible therefore, that his mother might cauſe him to be buried at *Perſepolis*. However, Sir *John Chardin* himſelf is of opinion, that the thing was otherwiſe, and that theſe tombs were actually cloſed up before the reign of *Darius* (94). It is the firm opinion of the preſent inhabitants of *Perſia*, that in theſe tombs, and alſo in thoſe deſcribed in the text, there are concealed great quantities of treaſure, and valuable

(94) *Chardin voyag. tom.* ii. *p.* 166.

doubt, that those who were the authors of them, might, if they had so pleased, have left marks of their skill and genius

effects. It must be said in favour of this vulgar notion, that it has antiquity on its side; since we know, that when *Alexander* conquered this country, it was expected that mighty sums would be found in the tomb of *Cyrus* (95). As on the other hand, we know that *Josephus* (96) reports a mighty mass of money to have been laid up in the sepulcre of *David*. As we are writing here a note only, and not a dissertation, we shall not expatiate further upon this subject, but confine ourselves to these very tombs in the mountain of *Nachs-Rustem*. It is certain, that not only the common people, but people of distinction and learning, concur in believing, that there are vast heaps of gold, silver, and other rich things, contained in these repositories of the dead; but at the same time they affirm this, they assert, with equal confidence, that the passages within the tombs form a kind of labyrinth, out of which a man can hardly ever find his way; so that many have perished in search of these supposed mountains of riches. Sir *John Chardin*, however, tells us a story of one who actually found and bore away some of these shining spoils: he had it from the mouth of the bailiff of *Mirkaskoun*, a little town in the neighbourhood of *Persepolis*. This man informed him, that about two hundred years before, when this country was subject to a prince of its own, who resided at *Schiras*, the farmer of his revenues, in this part of the country, having dissipated his effects, and not being in a condition to pay what was due from him to the royal treasury, was under the greatest dejection of mind, on the receipt of a message from the grand vizier, threatening him, in case he did not make a speedy payment, with a cruel death, and with the selling of his wife and children for slaves, in order to produce the sum he was in arrear. The poor man, distracted with fear, and knowing not which way to turn, was thinking of laying violent hands on himself; but, checking this thought on a sudden, he said in his mind, Why should I destroy myself, without attempting to throw off this load of misfortunes by some other means? In yon house of idols (so the *Mohammedans* call all places where there are figures in bas-relief) every body agrees there are vast quantities of wealth concealed: why should not I go look for it? If I succeed, I shall not only pay the king, but have wherewithal to live splendidly myself all the rest of my days; and, on the other hand, if I perish, I perish; death is the same thing in those

(95) *Arrian. expedit. Alex. lib.* vi. *ult.* *Strab. geogr. lib.* xv. *c.* 730.
(96) *Antiq. lib.* vii. *c.* 15.

tombs

nius in other parts of this empire alſo; or, at leaſt, that their ſucceſſors might have done ſomething in the ſame way. We have already put ourſelves under ſuch reſtrictions as forbid a prolix proſecution of this hint; and therefore we ſhall content ourſelves with remarking here, that M. *Le Brun* takes notice, in his travels, of ſome remains of antiquity, which he, with two *Engliſh* gentlemen, ſaw near a mountain, a league and an half from *Schiras*, on the left of the plain. There ſtood here a moſque, called the moſque of the mother of *Solomon*, ſquare, and about twenty paces from one corner to the other, having three porticoes, exactly reſembling thoſe at *Perſepolis*; the firſt on the eaſt, the ſecond on the north-weſt, and the third on the north-eaſt: they are eleven feet high, and have on each pilaſter the figure of a woman as big as the life, with ſomething in her hand, in the ſame attitude with the figures on the wall, at *Perſepolis*. North-eaſt from this ruined moſque, the ſame author ſays, there are ſeen on the ſide of the rock nine ſmall figures, much damaged by time, and only half of them appearing above-ground; and, on the north-weſt, a ſtone of prodigious magnitude, repreſent-

tombs as here. Having taken this reſolution, he provided himſelf with lights, and with ſome proviſions, and then eſſayed to enter the tombs: in this exploit he was ſo lucky, that he fell into a path which led him to a large ſquare room full of pieces of gold; of which he took as many as he could carry away, and returned home on the fourth day. But as the ſum he brought back, was not quite ſufficient to pay his debts, he determined to make another experiment, which proved as unfortunate as his firſt had been happy; for, by ſome means or other loſing his way, he periſhed in the mountain, and was never heard of more. Many travellers have taken great pains themſelves, and, where their ſpirits have failed, have hired others to attempt the finding out the rooms which are ſaid to be in this mountain; but moſt of them have toiled in vain, tho' not all; for *Pietro della Valle*, an author worthy of credit, affirms, that he ſaw a ſquare room built in the form of a tower, cloſe on all ſides, except a door which was almoſt at the top, and altogether inacceſſible; this he took to be a ſepulcre. Sir *John Chardin* could find nothing like it, but he declares, he does not doubt the fact; and tells us farther of his own knowlege, that theſe ſubterraneous paſſages are really very perplexed, frequently croſs each other, and are full of moiſt vapours, which quickly extinguiſh the lights (95).

(95) *Chardin voyag. vol.* ii. *p.* 171.

ing a caſk, or tun. All the ground thereabouts is covered with ſtones, and moſt of the pilaſters are out of their places; which could not poſſibly have happened but by an earthquake: the cornice, however, of the middle one, is very little damaged. A quarter of a league farther, are ſeen the ruins of that wall which antiently ſurrounded this moſque. And about a league from the moſque, the ſame gentleman tells us, that he ſaw ſeveral figures cut in the rock, divided into three tables: the firſt table contains three figures, one of which is repreſented leaning with its hand on a great ſword: the ſecond repreſents a man with ſomething not unlike a turban on his head: the third figure has a mitre on its head, and like the firſt, leans its hand on the guard of a great ſword. They are very much broken and damaged, ſo that it is difficult to deſcribe them particularly [k]: for which reaſon we may ſuppoſe the author has omitted the deſcriptions of the other two tables. If we may be allowed to found any thing on the repreſentations given us in the prints of this accurate traveller, we may ſay with ſome aſſurance, that theſe figures are neither ſo old, nor executed near ſo well, as thoſe on the mountain of *Nachs-ruſtem*, which they reſemble much more than any thing which is to be ſeen at *Perſepolis*. M. *Le Brun* ſpeaks frequently of the traditions of the inhabitants, relating to ſuch things as theſe: but there is no neceſſity of examining their accounts here, ſince we ſhall be obliged to give an ample account of theſe matters when we come to ſpeak of the *Perſian* hiſtory, as written by oriental authors. In the mean time, the reader will be pleaſed to obſerve, that the foregoing relation is a direct proof of the opinion we advanced, that, on a ſtrict inquiry, many more fragments of antiquity might be found in *Perſia*, than thoſe hitherto deſcribed, and ſo highly magnified.

[k] Le Brun voyag. vol. ii. p. 299.

SECT.

## SECT. II.

### *Of the antiquity, government, customs, arts, learning, and trade, of the antient* Persians.

THE *Persians* were, without all doubt, a very antient nation. Their country was first peopled by *Elam*, or, as *Josephus* calls him [a], *Elymus*, the son of *Shem*; whence *Persia* is constantly called by the sacred writers *Elam*: nor does it appear, that it was known to the *Jews* before the captivity, by any other name. The descendants of *Elam* settled first in that province, which from them was called *Elymais*; and, by degrees, as their numbers increased, spread themselves into *Susiana*, and other adjoining provinces, as appears from *Daniel*, who places *Susa*, the metropolis of *Susiana*, in the province of *Elam* [b] (A). All the *Greek* interpreters by *Elam* understand *Persia*, and, in the *Acts*, the *Persians* are called *Elamites* [c]. Whence it is probable, that they were descended from *Elam*, of whom both the country and inhabitants borrowed their name. How this name was changed into that of *Persia*, we have already shewn [d]. *The origin of the* Persians.

THE government of *Persia* was monarchical, and the crown hereditary. The kingdom of *Elam* seems to have been pretty powerful, even in the time of *Abraham*; for *Chedorlaomer*, king of *Elam*, who was contemporary with that patriarch, is said in Scripture to have invaded the *Zamzummims* and *Emims*, who were of a gigantic race, and to have taken and pillaged the cities of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*; tho' he was at last overthrown by *Abraham*, who came to the rescue of *Lot*, whom the *Elamite* had taken prisoner [e]. In the time of *Jeremiah*, *Elam* must have been a great and potent kingdom, as is plain from the prophecy where he foretels the increase of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s dominions; and *Their government*,

[a] JOSEPH. antiquitat. c. 8. [b] Dan. viii. 2. [c] Acts ii. 9. [d] Vid. sup. p. 50. [e] Gen. xiv. 5. Deut. ii. 20, 21.

(A) *And I saw in a vision*, says the prophet (*and it came to pass, when I saw that I was at* Shushan *in the palace, which is in the province of* Elam), *and I saw in a vision, and I was by the river* Ulai. *Shushan* is, without doubt, the city of *Susa* in *Susiana*, which stood on the river *Eulæus*, or, as the prophet stiles it, *Ulai*.

particularly, that he ſhould ſubdue *Elam*, a kingdom on the river *Ulai*, to the eaſtward of the *Tigris* (B).

*The majeſty of their kings.*

BUT, to ſpeak here of *Perſia* as the ſecond of the four great empires (for, of the kings who preceded *Cyrus*, we ſhall have occaſion to give ſome account hereafter); the *Perſian* monarchs were under no controul, but governed by their own arbitrary will and pleaſure: they were revered by their ſubjects like deities on earth, none daring to appear before their throne, without proſtrating themſelves on the ground, with a kind of adoration. *Sperchies* and *Bulis*, both *Lacedemonians*, refuſed to comply with this ceremony, as did alſo, according to *Juſtin* [f], *Conon* the *Athenian*; and *Iſmenias* the *Theban* declined it, as we read in *Ælian* [g], by letting his ring drop from his finger, and then throwing himſelf on the ground to take it up: *Timagoras*, as we read in *Valerius Maximus* [h], was put to death by the *Athenians* for paying this veneration to a *Perſian* monarch. In the time of *Apollonius* none were allowed to appear before the king, who had not done the ſame honours to his image. While they were in the king's preſence, they were to hold their hands, ſo long as their audience laſted, within their ſleeves; for neglecting this ceremony, *Antoſaces* and *Mitræus* were put to death, as we read in *Xenophon*, by *Cyrus* the younger. None were ſuffered to enter the royal palace without the ſovereign's leave, except the princes who ſlew *Smerdis:* all others, of what rank ſoever, before they ſet foot in the palace, were obliged to acquaint the king by a meſſenger, that they deſired to attend him, and wait his royal pleaſure. What reſpect and obedience his vaſſals paid him, we learn from *Herodotus*, who tells us, that *Xerxes* being once in

[f] JUSTIN. l. vi. [g] ÆLIAN. var. hiſtor. l. i. c. 21.
[h] VALER. MAXIMUS, l. vi. c. 3.

(B) *Behold, I will break the bow of* Elam, *the chief of their might. And upon* Elam *will I bring the four winds from the four quarters of the heaven, and will ſcatter them towards all thoſe winds, and there ſhall be no nation whither the outcaſts of* Elam *ſhall not come. For I will cauſe* Elam *to be diſmayed before their enemies, and before them that ſeek their life; and I will bring evil upon them, even my fierce anger, ſaith the Lord; and I will ſend the ſword after them, till I have conſumed them. And I will ſet my throne in* Elam, *and I will deſtroy from thence the king and his princes, ſaith the Lord* (1).

(1) *Jerem.* xlix. 35, *& ſeqq.*

great

great danger by ſea, many, at the king's deſire, ſtrove who ſhould be the firſt in leaping over-board, to lighten the veſſel, and ſave their prince's life, at the expence of their own [i]. They all lived in no leſs dread of the king's wrath than of the anger of the gods: whence they looked upon the incurring of his diſpleaſure as the greateſt misfortune that could befal them in life; and were ready, at the leaſt intimation given them by their prince, to become their own executioners. The crown was hereditary, and beſtowed on the eldeſt of the deceaſed king's lawful children. In long or dangerous expeditions, to avoid all conteſts, the heir apparent was named by the reigning king, before he ſet out on his journey or march. The new king was crowned at *Paſargada*, or, as *Pliny* calls it, *Paſagarda* [k], by the prieſts, who bore a great ſway in the court of *Perſia*. This ceremony was performed in the temple of the goddeſs of war, where the king uſed, firſt of all, to cloathe himſelf with the garment which *Cyrus*, the founder of the *Perſian* monarchy, had worn before he was raiſed to the throne. Being thus attired, he uſed to eat ſoure figs, with a ſmall quantity of turpentine, and drink a cup full of ſour milk; then [l] the tiara, or crown, was placed on his head by one of the grandees, in whoſe family that right was hereditary, and deemed all over *Perſia* the greateſt honour a ſubject could enjoy. The king's tiara was by a peculiar name called *cidaris*, being a kind of turban riſing up with a ſharp point, without bending; whereas the other *Perſians* wore their turbans bending downwards to their foreheads, in token of ſubjection: however, the deſcendants of thoſe, who, with *Darius* the ſon of *Hyſtaſpes*, ſlew the uſurping *Mage*, were allowed to uſe a tiara bending to the middle of their head, and not, as that of the other ſubjects, reaching down to their eye-brows. Round the tiara the king wore a purple and white band, or diadem; for nothing elſe is meant by the word *diadem*, in the antient writers, but a band of this nature wreathed round the forehead [m]. This tiara, with the purple and white band, is the only enſign of royalty we find among the *Perſian* kings of the firſt dynaſty. The king's birthday was kept as ſacred, and celebrated with public ſports in the utmoſt pomp and magnificence. His death was bewailed by ſhutting the tribunals of juſtice for five days:

[i] Herodot. l. viii. c. 118. [k] Plin. l. vi. c. 26. [l] Plut. in Artaxerx. [m] Drus. obſervat. l. xii. c. 12. Bris. l. i. p. 44.

and that fire which was worſhiped in families as a houſhold-god, was, on that occaſion alone, extinguiſhed [n]. The kings abode was, according to the ſeaſon, 7 months at *Babylon*, three at *Suſa* (C), and two at *Ecbatan* [o]: whence they are compared by *Ælian* [p] to cranes; and by *Ariſtotle* to the *Scythian Nomades*, who, by often ſhifting their abode, always enjoyed a temperate ſeaſon. They likewiſe removed to *Paſargada*, and ſometimes to *Perſepolis*; which, at laſt, became their ordinary reſidence. The king's court,

[n] Diodor. Sicul. lib. viii. [o] Zonar. annal. lib. i.
[p] Ælian. hiſt. natur. lib. ii. c. 3.

(C) *Suſa*, called in Scripture *Shuſhan*, was the metropolis of the province *Suſiana*. It was built on the banks of the river *Eulæus*, called by *Daniel Ulai*, by *Memnon*, as ſome ſay, the ſon of *Tithonus*, who was ſlain by the *Theſſalians* in the *Trojan* war (2). *Strabo* (3), and *Pauſanias* (4), compare the walls of *Suſa* even with thoſe of *Babylon*. *Caſſiodorus* tells us, upon what authority we know not, and therefore give him no credit, that the walls of this city were cemented with gold. *Polycletus*, as we read in *Strabo* (5), would make us believe, that it had no walls; which is no leſs improbable, conſidering the kings of *Perſia* reſided there three months in the year, and that great part of the treaſures were lodged in it, as *Diodorus* informs us (6). It was called *Suſa*, from the many lilies which grew in that neighbourhood, ſays *Stephanus*, and in the *Perſian* language bore that name. It is alſo called *Memnonia* by *Herodotus* (7), and others, from its founder *Memnon*. In Scripture it is conſtantly named (8) the palace; but, beſides the king's palace, there was, without all doubt, a city, as is plain from all the profane writers. The city was ſheltered by a high ridge of mountains from the northern winds, which rendered it very agreeable during the winter; but in ſummer the heat was ſo parching, that the inhabitants were forced to cover their houſes, as *Strabo* writes, with earth two cubits deep (9). *Suſa* was, in antient times, a wealthy and magnificent city: *Alexander* found in it fifty thouſand talents of gold, beſides jewels of an ineſtimable value, and an immenſe quantity of gold and ſilver veſſels. Here *Ahaſuerus* kept his great feaſt, which laſted one hundred and eighty-three days. It lies now in ruins, and is known, as *Tavernier* informs us, by the name of *Schouſter*, or *Suſter*.

(2) *Strabo*, *l.* xv. *p.* 500. (3) *Strabo*, *ubi ſupra*. (4) *Pauſan. Meſſen. c.* 31. (5) *Ubi ſupra*. (6) *Diodor. Sic. l.* xvii. *c.* 66. (7) *Herodot. l.* v. *c.* 54. (8) *Dan.* viii. 2. *Nehem.* i. 1. *Eſth.* i. 2. (9) *Strabo*, *l.* xv. *p.* 503.

or

or palace, had many gates, and each gate a body of guards, whoſe duty it was not only to defend the king's perſon, but to inform him of whatever they ſaw, or heard done, in any part of the kingdom: whence they were called, ſome the king's ears, others, as *Ariſtotle* [q] informs us, the king's eyes. To theſe meſſengers were ſent from the moſt remote provinces of the empire, when any thing happened worthy of the king's knowlege; and beſides, they received immediate intelligence of any ſudden commotion by means of fires, which were always ready at ſmall diſtances from each other, and lighted when occaſion required: ſo that they could, in one day, receive notice of any tumult, rebellion, or invaſion, in what part ſoever it happened of that vaſt empire.

THE king's palace was deemed ſacred, and reſpected as a temple. It was extremely magnificent, and furniſhed with utenſils of ineſtimable value. The walls and roofs of the rooms were all covered with ivory, ſilver, amber, or gold. The throne was of pure gold, ſupported by four pillars, richly ſet with precious ſtones. The king's bed was likewiſe of gold; and *Herodotus* [r] mentions a plane-tree and vine of gold, preſented to *Darius* by *Pythius* a *Lydian*, who, after the king of *Perſia*, was accounted the richeſt man in the world (D). The body and branches of this vine, ſays *Athenæus* [s], were enriched with jewels of great value; and the cluſters of grapes were all precious ſtones, which hung over the king's head as he ſat on the throne. At his bed's head ſtood always a cheſt or coffer, containing five thouſand talents, which was called the king's bolſter; and another at his feet, with three thouſand talents [t]. Adjoining to the king's palace were large gardens

*The king's palace deſcribed.*

[q] ARIST. l. de mundo. [r] HERODOT. l. vii. c. 27.
[s] ATHEN. l. xii. Vide BUDÆUM de aſſ. l. iv. [t] BUDÆUS, ubi ſupra.

(D) *Pythius*, if we believe *Herodotus* (10); entertained, at *Cælene* in *Phrygia*, *Xerxes* and all his army, as he was marching againſt *Greece*; and moreover offered him, towards the charges of the war, two thouſand talents of ſilver, and three millions nine hundred ninety-three thouſand pieces of gold, all bearing the ſtamp of his father *Darius*. *Xerxes*, with no leſs generoſity, not only refuſed the treaſures offered him, but ordered ſeven thouſand *Darian* pieces, or *Darics*, to be given to *Pythius*, as a reward of his affection and good will; nor did he leave *Cælene* till the ſum was paid.

(10) *Herodot. l.* vii. *c.* 27. *& ſeq.*

and parks, stocked with all sorts of game for his diversion. *Tully* tells us, out of *Xenophon* [u], that *Cyrus* planted and cultivated one of these delicious gardens with his own hand. *Alexander* enriched them with trees and plants out of *Greece*. The *Persian* kings drank no other water but that of the river *Choaspes*, which was carried about with them in silver vessels whithersoever they went [w] (E). They drank only *Calybonian* wine, made at *Damascus* in *Syria*; and touched no bread but what was of the wheat of *Assos* in *Phrygia*; and their salt was brought from *Egypt*. The magnificence of their public feasts exceeded, as appears from holy writ [x], what we read of in histories of other nations. Their table was daily served with somewhat of the product of each nation subject to them [y]. Among the

[u] Cic. de senect. [w] Herodot. l. i. c. 188. [x] Esth. i. [y] Athen. l. viii.

(E) It is matter of dispute among geographers, whether the *Choaspes* and *Eulæus* be one and the same, or two different rivers. *Pliny* (11) distinguishes them, and says, that they both rise in *Media*, but that the *Choaspes* discharges itself into the *Pasitigris*, and the *Eulæus* into the lake *Characenus*. *Polycletus* likewise, as we read in *Strabo* (12), supposes them to be two different streams, tho' he makes them disembogue themselves into the same lake. On the other hand, *Salmasius* (13) takes them to be one and the same river, under different names; for the *Choaspes*, rising in *Media*, buries itself under ground, and again appears not far from *Susa*. In *Media*, he thinks, it is called *Choaspes*, and, in the province of *Susiana*, *Eulæus*. This seems agreeable to what we read in *Ptolemy* (14), who mentions two springs of the *Eulæus* (for he no-where names the *Choaspes*), one in *Media*, and the other in *Susiana*. Besides, *Herodotus* tells us (15), that the *Choaspes* washed the walls of *Susa*, and that the *Persian* kings drank no other water; whence it is manifest, that the *Choaspes* and *Eulæus* are one and the same river, at least at *Susa*; and even *Pliny* (16), and the other writers who distinguish them, place the city of *Susa* on the banks of the *Eulæus*; and all the interpreters take the river *Ulai*, mentioned by *Daniel* (17), to be the *Eulæus*. Nor is there any thing more common, than that the same river should be known in different places, by different names: thus the *Danube* was called by the *Latins* *Danubius* and *Ister*, the *Weser*, *Vierra* and *Visurgis*, the *Po*, *Padus* and *Eridanus*, &c.

(11) *Plin. l.* vi. *c.* 27. (12) *Strabo*, *l.* xv. *p.* 501. (13) *Salmas. in Solin. p.* 493. (14) *Ptol. l.* vi. *c.* 3. (15) *Herodot. l.* i. *c.* 153. (16) *Plin. ubi supra.* (17) *Dan.* viii. 2.

prisoners

priſoners taken by *Parmenio* at *Damaſcus*, were, as *Athenæus* [z] informs us, two hundred and ſeventy-ſeven cooks, twenty-nine who took care of the diſhes, ſeventeen who miniſtred water, ſeventy who had in charge the wine, forty employed about ointments, and ſixty-ſix whoſe province it was to prepare garlands, uſed, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, in banquets. During their repaſt, their ears were feaſted with the harmony both of vocal and inſtrumental muſic; and three hundred women, of the ſweeteſt and moſt melodious voices, were in conſtant attendance to divert the king at his unbended hours. It was likewiſe their province to lull him aſleep with the melody and variety of their notes, and recreate his mind as ſoon as he awaked in the morning [a]. Moſt of the *Perſian* kings were ſo diſſolved in pleaſures, that they ſcarce minded any thing beſides their own ſatisfaction. *Xerxes* was not aſhamed to propoſe, by a public edict, an ample reward to any one who ſhould deviſe a new pleaſure [b]. The king ſeldom admitted others to his table, beſides his wife and mother. Such as received this honour were ſo placed, as not to ſee, but only be ſeen by the king; for they thought it was, in ſome degree, a degrading of their majeſty to appear ſubject to the ſame neceſſities with other mortals. This deſire of appearing above the level of other men, was the motive that confined them within their palaces, and ſcarce ever ſuffered them to appear abroad. Their luſt and voluptuouſneſs ſufficiently appears from the book of *Eſther*; and *Tully* [c] adds, that the revenues of whole provinces were employed on the attire of ſome of their favourite concubines, one city being obliged to ſupply them with ornaments for their hair, another for their necks, *&c.* nay, *Socrates* [d] mentions an embaſſador, who, being ſent into *Perſia*, ſpent a whole day in traveling thro' a country, which was called the *Queen's girdle*, and another day before he reached the borders of a territory ſtiled the *Queen's head-dreſs*.

THE king's children, more eſpecially the eldeſt, were, preſently after their birth, committed to the care of eunuchs. At ſeven years old they learnt, under experienced inſtructors, to ride and hunt; which were looked upon as the moſt manly exerciſes. At the age of fourteen, they were put under the diſcipline of four learned preceptors, of *The king's children.*

[z] ATHEN. l. xii. [a] Idem ibid. [b] CIC. Tuſc. quæſt. VALER. MAXIM. l. ix. c. 2. [c] CIC. in Ver. act. v. [d] SOCRAT. in Plat. Alcibiad.

whom

whom one was to teach them prudence, another justice, the third temperance, and the fourth fortitude [c].

*The king's guard.*

THE king's ordinary guard consisted mostly of *Persians*. *Curtius* mentions a guard which attended the king's person, consisting of fifteen thousand men, who were called the king's relations. There was also a body of ten thousand choice horsemen, all *Persians*, who accompanied him in all his expeditions, and were called *Immortal*. His guards received no pay; but were very plentifully provided with all necessaries of life.

BUT the grandeur and magnificence of the *Persian* kings appeared no-where greater, than on occasion of the public sacrifices, at which they often assisted, as we shall have occasion to take notice in the next section, as also of their funerals, and other religious ceremonies in use among the *Persians*.

*The manners of the* Persians. *How they educated their children.*

IT is time now to say something of the customs and manners of the antient *Persians*. They had a particular care of the education of their children above any other nation. A son was not admitted to the presence of his father, but was brought up by women of the best character, till he attained the age of five years, lest, if he should die before that time, his father might be too much grieved at his death. At five years old, the children of such as could afford it were committed to the tuition of learned masters or *mages*, who carefully taught them, more by examples than precepts, the practice of justice, patience, sobriety, abstinence, and all other virtues. They took great pains to implant in their breasts an aversion to all manner of vice, especially to lying, and contracting debts. They learned also to ride, to shoot with bows, and fight on horseback. This was their education till seventeen years of age, when the children of men of rank were admitted among the king's guards, and attended him at home when he went a-hunting, or abroad in his warlike expeditions. They were brought up with such an awful respect to their parents, that they never offered to sit down in their presence. Every father had power of life and death over his own children; but was restrained, by the laws, from exercising such severity for small faults, or for one crime alone.

*The miscellaneous customs of the* Persians.

THE *Persians* were antiently all trained up to military exercises, but more especially to handle a bow, which they did with great dexterity; whence it is, that we find the

[c] XENOPH. l. i. c. 11. BRISSON. polit.

bow

bow of *Elam* mentioned by the prophet *Jeremiah* [f], and the quiver of *Elam* by *Isaiah* [g], as the arms peculiar to this nation. From the age of five years, to that of twenty, they taught their sons chiefly three things, as *Herodotus* informs us [h]; to manage an horse; to use the bow with dexterity; and to speak truth. A numerous issue was looked upon by them as the greatest blessing which the gods could bestow; and such as could shew a numerous offspring received early presents from the king. They celebrated their birth-days with great pomp and magnificence, furnishing their tables, on such occasions, in a very plentiful manner, though, at other times, they lived very sparingly, at least under their first kings. In their diet they were very temperate; but were always inclined to drinking: they used even to debate the most important matters in their cups; but the master of the house, where they met to consult, proposed the same subject the next day, before they tasted any liquor, when the resolutions, taken the day before, were approved or rejected. When they met, they saluted with a kiss on the mouth, if they were equal; on the cheek, if one was somewhat inferior to the other; but those, who were of a much lower rank, used to prostrate themselves on the ground when they met or accosted their superiors. They shewed most value for those that lived next to them, and very little to such as lived at a great distance, as if men were more or less worthy, in proportion as they lived at a greater or less distance from them. No nation was ever more ready to adopt foreign customs. They no sooner conquered the *Medes*, but they assumed their dress. In war, they used the *Egyptian* armour, after they had subdued that kingdom; and imitated the *Greeks*, as soon as they became acquainted with them, in the worst of vices, as *Herodotus* himself owns. They were indulged many wives, besides as many concubines as they were able to maintain, those who had many children, being looked upon as heroes of as great prowess, as those who had distinguished themselves in military exploits. They bore such respect to their parents, that they thought it impossible a man should ever put to death his father or mother; whence no punishments were inflicted, by their laws, on such offenders: and, if any one was indicted for committing so heinous a crime, he was always declared by the judges spurious or suppositious,

[f] Jerem. xlix. 35—38. [g] Isa. xxii. 6. [h] Herodot. l. i.

titious. To affirm a falshood was accounted the utmost infamy, and, next to that, the being in debt, because it exposed a man to the necessity of lying. If any among them happened to be infected with a leprosy, or any other distemper of that nature, he was not permitted to stay within the city, nor to converse with others, having, as they believed, drawn this punishment upon himself, by committing some offence against the sun. All strangers, that were subject to this distemper, were expelled the country. These customs, and some others relating to their funerals, of which we shall speak in the next section, we have learned from *Herodotus* [m], who tells us, that he can, with certainty, affirm them to be true.

*Their punishments.*

The most severe punishment, in use among the *Persians*, was that of shutting the offender up between two boats; which was done in the following manner: they made two boats on purpose, so equal, that one was neither broader nor longer than the other; then they laid him in one of them on his back, and covered him with the other, his hands, feet, and head, being left uncovered, and appearing through an opening made for that purpose. In this posture, he was supplied with victuals and drink by the executioners, who even forced him, by thrusting sharp iron tools in his eyes, to eat what was necessary to support nature, lest he should starve himself, and thereby put an end to his pain. On his face, that was placed full in the sun, they poured honey, which, inviting the flies and wasps, tormented him, no less than the swarms of worms that were bred in his excrements, and devoured his body to the very entrails. Under such a complication of unrelenting torments, the unhappy offender lived many days; for *Plutarch*, who describes this cruel manner of putting to death, tells us, that *Mithridates*, whom *Artaxerxes* condemned to this punishment, for pretending to have killed his brother *Cyrus* [n], lived seventeen days in the utmost agony; and that, the uppermost boat being taken off at his death, they found his flesh all consumed, and swarms of worms gnawing his very bowels. Such as were convicted of high-treason were condemned to have their right-hand, and then their head, struck off; which sentence was, by order of *Artaxerxes*, executed even on the dead body of his brother *Cyrus*. But, by the antient laws of *Persia*, the king was restrained from putting any man to death for a single crime; and besides, the judge

[m] Herodot. l. i. 133—140. [n] Plutarch. in vita Artaxerxis.

was

was to examine narrowly into the actions of the delinquent; and, if his faults were found to overbalance his former services, the king was allowed to punish him at pleasure; if not, he was either pardoned, or punished less severely [p]. Poisoners were pressed to death between two stones; which punishment we find inflicted upon *Gigis*, a woman greatly favoured by *Paryſatis*, mother to *Artaxerxes*, for having conspired with her to poison queen *Statira* [q].

THE *Persians* were, beyond any other people, jealous of their wives and concubines. It was death to touch any of the king's women, to speak to them, or even to come near them, or their coaches, as they travelled. They were allowed to marry their own sisters and daughters: thus we are told, that *Artaxerxes* married two of his daughters, *Amestris* and *Atossa*, though he had promised them to others. *Minutius Felix* [r] reproaches them with marrying, or criminally conversing with, their mothers; and *Eusebius* quotes a saying of *Bardesanes*, which shews, that they were indulged, by law, to marry their sisters, daughters, and mothers. This incestuous custom they observed also in other countries, namely in *Egypt*, *Phrygia*, and *Galatia*, as *Eusebius* witnesses [s], where they were, on that account, abhorred by the inhabitants, and nicknamed *magussæi*, or addicted to magic [t]. They were the first that introduced those amphibious animals called eunuchs, which *Petronius Arbiter* [u] and *Seneca* [w] impute to their insatiable lechery.

*Their marriages, and incestuous commerce.*

THE first that caused gold and silver to be coined in *Persia* was *Darius* the son of *Cyaxares*, or, as he is called in Scripture, *Darius* the *Mede*, the founder of the *Medo-Persian* monarchy (F). In his reign were coined those famous pieces of gold called *darics*, which, for many ages, were preferred, being of pure gold, to all other coins throughout the east. They were stamped on one side with an archer cloathed in a long robe, and crowned with a spiked crown, holding a bow in his left-hand, and an arrow in his right; on the other side

*Their money.*

[p] HEROD. l. i. c. 137. [q] PLUTARCH. ubi supra. [r] ARNOB. contra gentes. [s] EUSEB. de præp. evang. l. vi. c. 8. [t] Idem, ibid. [u] PETRON. ARB. satir. [w] SENECA controver. 4. l. x.

(F) We are told by *Suidas*, *Harpocration*, and the scholiast of *Aristophanes* (18), that the first pieces of gold were coined, not by *Darius* the father of *Xerxes*, but by a more antient *Darius*, who must necessarily have been *Darius* the *Mede*, that is, *Cyaxares* II. king of the *Medes*, since we know of no other *Darius* reigning so early in the east.

(18) *Harpocrat. scholiast. Aristoph. p.* 741, 742. *Suidas in* Δαρεικός.

was the effigies of *Darius* [x]. To these pieces alluded *Agesilaus*, when, finding himself obliged to quit *Asia*, in order to suppress the tumults which *Artaxerxes* had, by dint of gold, stirred up in *Greece*, he said, that the king of *Persia* had driven him out of his dominions *with thirty thousand archers* [y]. The *darics* were of the same weight and value with the *Attic stater*. *Darius* seems to have learned the art and use of money from the *Lydians*; for the *Medes* had no money before they conquered *Lydia* [z]: whereas *Crœsus* king of *Lydia* had coined innumerable pieces of gold, called *crœsei*. As it was not reasonable, that the coin of *Lydia* should continue current after the downfal of the kingdom, we may suppose, that *Darius* recoined the *crœsei* with his own effigies, without altering their weight or value [a]. All these pieces of gold, that were afterwards coined, of the same weight and value, by the succeeding kings, not only of the *Persian*, but also of the *Macedonian* race, were called *darics*, from this *Darius*, in whose reign they were first coined (G).

*Their arts, sciences, &c.*

There was, it seems, no great learning among the *Persians* before the time of *Zoroastres*, whom the *Persians* call *Zerdusht* or *Zaratush*, who is supposed to have flourished under *Darius Hystaspis*, and was the greatest mathematician and philosopher of the age he lived in. The mages, being instructed in mathematics, astronomy, and natural philosophy, partly by him, and partly by *Hystaspes*, the father of *Darius*, were reputed, above all others, skilled in those arts. *Hystaspes* had travelled into *India*, and lived there some time among the brachmans, in order to learn their mysteries and sciences, for which they were famed at that time; and, on his return, communicated to the mages what he had learned, improving that sect not only in religion, but in all natural knowlege [b]. But this subject shall be treated more at length in the following section. We shall only add here, that this knowlege was locked up

[x] Plutarch. in Artaxer. [y] Idem ibid. [z] Herod. l. i. c. 71. [a] Sir Is. Newton's chronol. p. 320. [b] Ammian. Marcel. l. xxiii.

(G) In those parts of Scripture that were written after the *Babylonish* captivity (19), these pieces are mentioned by the name of *adarkonim*, and by the *Talmudists* are called (20) *darkemoth*, both from the *Greek* δαρεικοὶ, that is, *darics*. They were probably coined by *Darius*, during the two years he reigned at *Babylon*, while *Cyrus* was absent on his *Syrian*, *Egyptian*, and other expeditions. According to Dr. *Bernard*, a *daric* weighed two grains more than one of our guineas.

(19) 1 *Chron.* xxix. 7. *Ezra* viii. 27. (20) *Buxtor. lex. rabbinic. p.* 577.

among

among the priests, and seldom communicated to any, except those of the royal family, whom they were bound to instruct [c].

*Their trade and navigation.*

THE poverty of the antient *Persians*, and their contempt of riches, shew them to have been quite strangers to trade and commerce, which are carried on with a prospect of gain. Before the conquest of *Lydia*, they had no money, nor any cloathing, but skins. They used water for drink, and had neither wine, nor any other thing, but what their barren country produced, as appears from the excellent speech of *Sandanis*, to dissuade *Cræsus* from invading *Persia* [d]. After they subdued *Lydia*, and were masters of so many rich provinces, they very likely applied their minds to trade and navigation, to supply themselves with those commodities, which their country wanted, and at the same time to dispose of those, which they could easily spare. But, as we can advance nothing with respect to their trade, warranted by good authorities, we shall dismiss this subject, and hasten to their military discipline.

*Their soldiery.*

THE *Persians* learned, from their childhood, to ride, and handle the bow, as we hinted above; and, by the manly exercise of hunting, inured themselves to the toils of war [e]. They never parted with their swords, quivers, and bows, even in time of peace, but when they went to repose, and had them even then always ready at hand [f]; which custom the *Romans*, who never used any weapons but in the field, looked upon as unbecoming a civilized nation [g]. As soon as they were able to bear arms, they were obliged to enter themselves in the list of soldiers; but received no pay till the age of twenty [h]. In time of war, they were all bound, on pain of death, except such as were disabled by age or otherwise, to appear under their respective standards, and attend the king in his expeditions [i] (H). They used no mercenaries in the time of *Herodian*,

[c] PLATO in Alcibiad. i. STOBÆUS, p. 496. CLEM. ALEXAND. in pædagogo. [d] HEROD. l. i. c. 71. [e] STRABO, l. XV. [f] AMMIAN. MARCELL. l. xxiii. [g] OVID. trist. l. v. [h] STRABO, l. XV. [i] HEROD. l. iv. c. 84.

(H) *Herodotus* tells us, that while *Darius* was marching from *Susa*, with his forces, against the *Scythians*, *OEbazus*, a noble *Persian*, who had three sons in his army, begged that one of his sons might be left at home to comfort him in his old-age. The king received him with great demonstrations of kindness, and told him, that he would grant him more than he asked; for he designed to leave him all his sons. This answer gave the old man great joy; for he did not doubt but the king would be as good as his word *OEbazus* was scarce departed, when *Darius* com-

*dian* [k], nor maintained a ſtanding army; but were all obliged, when occaſion required, to repair to their colours, returning to their reſpective homes when the war was at an end, without any other pay or reward, but their ſhare of the plunder.

*Their armour and diſcipline.*

In war they wore on the head a tiara or head-piece, ſo thick, that it was proof againſt all kinds of offenſive arms; on the body a coat of mail, wrought in likeneſs of ſcales, and embelliſhed with ſleeves of various colours; their thighs were defended with cuiſſes; their ſhields, or rather targets, were of wicker; their javelins ſhort; their bows of an uncommon length; their arrows of reeds: they wore ſhort ſwords (I), hanging from a belt on the right ſide [l]. Their horſes were

[k] Herodian. l. iii. & v. [l] Herod. l. vii. c. 61. Xenoph. l. vii.

commanded the officers appointed for ſuch purpoſes to put all his ſons to death, and ſent their dead mangled bodies home to their father's houſe (21). We have another, ſtill more dreadful, inſtance of the *Perſian* ſeverity on ſuch occaſions. *Pythius* the *Lydian*, as we have hinted above, entertained, with great magnificence, *Xerxes* and all his army, and offered him two thouſand talents of ſilver, and three millions nine hundred ninety-three thouſand pieces of gold, to defray the expences of the war which he was carrying on againſt *Greece*. The king was ſo taken with his zeal and affection, that he promiſed to grant him whatever he ſhould aſk. *Pythius* had then no requeſt to make; but, ſome time after, being frightened with an eclipſe of the ſun, and confiding in the merit of his late liberal offer, and the king's unlimited promiſe, intreated him to diſcharge the eldeſt of his five ſons, who were all in his army, that he might have ſomebody to take care of him in his old-age, and of his eſtate. He had no ſooner uttered this requeſt, but the king, tranſported with rage, and forgetful both of his own promiſe, and the former merits of *Pythius*, commanded the body of his eldeſt ſon to be cut aſunder, and one part laid on the right hand of the way, and the other on the left, that the army might paſs between both (22). So heinous a crime it was, according to the *Perſian* diſcipline, to exempt one's ſelf from the ſervice, or even aſk an exemption for others.

(I) Theſe were rather daggers than ſwords; for *Joſephus* (24) compares them to the poniards uſed by ruffians; and *Darius*, finding, in his firſt engagement with *Alexander*, that the length of the *Macedonian* ſwords did not contribute a little to the victory, cauſed the *Perſian* ſwords, or *acinaces*, as the *Latins* call them, to be conſiderably lengthened (25).

(21) *Herodot.* l. iv. c. 84. *Seneca*, l. iii. *de ira*, c. 16. (22) *Herodot.* l. vii. c. 27. & 39. *Seneca*, l. iii. *de ira*, c. 17. (24) *Joſeph. antiq.* l. xx. c. 7. (25) *Diodor. Sic.* l. xvii.

likewiſe covered with armour or thick hides, as we read in *Xenophon* [m], *Curtius*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, &c. They were ſure markſmen, and quicker than any other nation in diſcharging, eſpecially on their flight, which was peculiar to them and the *Parthians*. However, in the time of *Procopius*, their arrows did but ſmall execution, which he aſcribes to the ſlackneſs of their bows; whereas no ſhield or armour was proof againſt the *Roman* arrows [n]. The number of their dead they knew only when the campaign was at an end; and in the following manner: before they took the field, they paſſed before the king, or commander in chief, each man throwing an arrow into a basket. Theſe baskets were ſealed up with the royal ſignet, till they returned from the campaign, when they paſſed muſter in the ſame manner, every one taking an arrow out of the ſame baskets. When they were all paſſed, the remaining arrows were counted, and, from their number, they reckoned the number of their dead. This antient cuſtom continued even in the time of *Procopius* [o]. They wore, over their armour, great-coats of purple; but the king's was white, by which badge he was known, and often aimed at, by the enemies [p]. They excelled all nations in horſemanſhip, being accuſtomed thereunto from their very infancy: among them it was diſreputable to appear in public, but on horſeback: on horſeback they tranſacted all their private and public affairs, held their aſſemblies, viſited their friends, *&c* [q]. This cuſtom, in proceſs of time, began to degenerate into luxury, the *Perſians* ſtriving to outdo each other in the richneſs of their capariſons, their very horſes, as *Dionyſius* expreſſes it [r], champing the pureſt gold. They fought not only on horſeback, but likewiſe from chariots drawn by four, ſix, and ſometimes eight horſes [s]. They were the firſt, if we believe *Xenophon* [t], that introduced the uſe of chariots armed with ſithes (K).

*Manner of muſtering.*

[m] Xenoph. l. viii. c. 190. [n] Procop. l. i. de bell. Perſ. c. 18. [o] Idem, ubi ſupra. [p] Herod. l. ix. Xenoph. l. vii. p. 136. Plut. in Artaxerxe. [q] Xenoph. l. iv. p. 81. & l. viii. p. 190. Justin. l. xii. c. 3. [r] Dionys. de ſitu orbis. [s] Xenoph. l. vi. p. 124. [t] Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. viii. prope finem.

(K) *Xenophon* aſcribes to *Cyrus* the invention of chariots armed with ſithes (26). But *Diodorus* tells us, out of the fabulous *Cteſias*, that *Semiramis*, in the war which ſhe waged with the *Bactrians*, had, in her army, ſeven hundred chariots armed with ſithes (27), and ſeems to make the *Aſſyrian* kings the firſt inventors of them. Whence it is plain from *Xenophon* and *Diodorus*, that *Heſychius* was miſtaken, when he aſcribed this contrivance to the *Macedonians*.

(26) *Cyropæd. l.* viii. *prope finem.*

(27) *Dioder. Sic. l.* iii.

*Marching.* When they went on any expedition, their wives, mothers, children, &c. followed the camp [n]; which cuſtom was obſerved amongſt all the eaſtern nations: their preſence, they thought, inſpired them with courage, ſince they were to loſe at once whatever was dear to them in the world, if they did not behave as they ought. Their proviſions and baggage were carried on camels, the ſoldiers being loaded with no other burden but that of their arms [w]. In what manner they marched, we learn from *Herodotus*, who deſcribes the march of *Xerxes*'s army thus [x]: the baggage, whether carried by ſervants, or beaſts of burden, appeared in the front, and was followed by men of all nations, formed into a body, without diſtinction. Between theſe and the reſt of the army was left an interval, that they might not mix with that part where the king was. Before him marched a thouſand horſemen, and the like number of ſpearmen, with their ſpears pointing downwards. After theſe came ten great horſes, bred in the plains of *Media*, called the *Niſean plains* (L), capariſoned with rich furniture, and conſecrated to *Jupiter*. The chariot of that god immediately followed, drawn by eight white horſes, the driver on foot, holding the reins, no mortal being allowed to mount the ſeat. After *Jupiter* appeared the king, in a chariot drawn by *Niſean* horſes. A thouſand choſen ſpearmen, all *Perſians*, marched next to the king, and were followed by another body of horſe, conſiſting of a thouſand choſen men of the ſame nation. After the horſe, ten thouſand *Perſian* foot advanced, and of theſe one thouſand were armed with javelins, which, inſtead of the common ornaments, were embelliſhed with pomgranates of gold. The other nine thouſand had pomgranates of ſilver. The ten thouſand foot were followed by ten thouſand *Perſian* horſe, and at the diſtance of two ſtades. The reſt of the forces advanced promiſcuouſly. They computed the number of their forces in the following manner: ten thouſand men were crouded into as narrow a piece of ground as they poſſibly could; and, a kind of furrow being drawn round them, they cauſed the like number to enter the ground, and continued ſo doing till the whole army was computed [y]. When they intended to make war upon any nation, they ſent heralds or

*Manner of declaring war,*

[u] Curt. l. iii. c. 8, 12. Xenoph. l. iv. p. 76. [w] Herod. l. viii. c. 57. [x] Idem, l. vii. c. 60. & ſeq. [y] Idem ibid.

(L) The *Miſean*, or *Niſean* fields in *Media* are celebrated by all the antients, for the large, ſtrong, and fleet horſes that were bred there (28), and which alone the *Perſian* monarchs uſed, after they became maſters of that country.

(28) *Herodot. l.* vi. *Ammian, Mar. l.* xxiii. *Themiſtius, orat.* v. *&c.*

embaſ-

embaſſadors to demand of them earth and water; that is, to command them to ſubmit, and acknowlege the king of *Perſia* as the ſovereign lord of their country [z] (M). This manner of declaring war they borrowed of the *Medes*, as *Plutarch* informs us; and the *Medes* ſeem to have imitated in that, as in many other things, the *Aſſyrians*, who, as appears from the book of *Judith* [a], uſed in that manner to require an intire ſubmiſſion. In time of action, the king was always in the centre [b], and uſed to encourage his men with a ſpeech [c]. The ſignal was given with the ſound of trumpets, and followed by an univerſal ſhout of the whole army [d]. The watch-word was in uſe even among them; for *Xenophon*, ſpeaking of *Cyrus*, tells us, that his was *Jupiter our leader and protector* [e]. The royal banner was a ſpread-eagle of gold, carried on the point of a long ſpear [f]. They reckoned thoſe happy who died in the field, *and engaging.*

[z] Diod. Sic. l. xi. Herod. l. v. c. 17. vi. 48. vii. 133. [a] Judith, c. ii. [b] Xenoph. l. i. Ἀναβάσ. [c] Stobæus, ſer. xlii. Curt. &c. [d] Curt. l. iii. Diod. Sic. l. xvii. [e] Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. vii. p. 137. [f] Idem, l. vii. p. 136. Philostrat. iconum, l. ii. c. 32.

(M) Some have erroneouſly imagined, that, by this demand, nothing elſe was meant, but that thoſe to whom it was directed, ſhould furniſh the *Perſian* army with ſuch a quantity of proviſions. But the contrary is plain from all the antients, eſpecially from *Herodotus*, who tells us, that *Darius* diſpatched a meſſenger to *Indathyrſus* king of *Scythia*, commanding him *to own the king of* Perſia *for his ſovereign, and to preſent him with earth and water in token of his ſubmiſſion*. To this meſſage the *Scythian* returned anſwer, that he acknowleged no other lords but *Jupiter* his progenitor, and *Veſta* queen of the *Scythians*; and that, inſtead of preſenting him with earth and water, he would ſend him ſuch a preſent as he deſerved, and perhaps might make him repent of his inſolence, in aſſuming the title of his maſter. And accordingly he ſent him, ſome time after, a meſſenger, to preſent him, on his part, with a bird, a mouſe, a frog, and five arrows; which *Darius* would fain have interpreted as a tacit ſubmiſſion, and a giving him poſſeſſion of the land and water: for, ſaid he, the mouſe is bred in the earth, and lives on the ſame food as man: a frog lives in the water; a bird may be compared to a horſe; and by the arrows, they ſeem to deliver their whole force into my hands. But *Gobrias* was of opinion, that the king of *Scythia* gave them to underſtand by ſuch a preſent, that unleſs the *Perſians* could aſcend into the air like a bird, or conceal themſelves in the earth like mice, or plunge into the fens like frogs, they ſhould inevitably periſh by thoſe arrows (29).

(29) *Herodot. l.* iv.

and inflicted exemplary punishments on such as abandoned their posts, or fled from their colours [g]. They used no stratagems, nor cared for any advantages, that were not owing to their valour [h], or, as *Ammianus Marcellinus* expresses it, thought it unfair and base to steal a victory [i]. They never fought in the night, unless attacked by the enemy, nor marched before the rising of the sun [k]. Duels or single combats were in use among them, as is plain from the stories of *Darius* [l] and *Polydamas* [m]. This is what we have been able to gather from unquestionable authorities relating to the military discipline of the antient *Persians*.

*Their laws.*

As to their laws, they are greatly commended by *Xenophon*, who prefers them to those of any other nation whatsoever [n]; and observes, that other lawgivers only appointed punishments for crimes committed, but did not take sufficient care to prevent men from committing them; whereas the main design of the *Persian* laws was to inspire men with a love of virtue, and abhorrence of vice, so as to avoid the one, and pursue the other, without regarding either punishment or reward. To attain this end, parents were not, by their laws, allowed to give their children what education they pleased; but were obliged to send them to public schools, where they were educated with great care, and never suffered, till they had attained the age of seventeen, to return home to their parents. These schools were not trusted to the care of common mercenary masters, but were governed by men of the first quality, and best characters, who taught them, by their example, the practice of all virtues; for these schools were not designed for learning of sciences, but practising of virtue. The youths were allowed no other food but bread and cresses, no other drink but water [o], at least from the age of seven to seventeen. Those who had not been educated in those schools were excluded from all honours and preferments [p] (N). There were parti-

[g] Plutarch. in Artaxerx. Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxiii. [h] Justin. l. xi. [i] Ammian. Marcel. l. xvii. [k] Curt. l. v. 12. 6. [l] Diod. Sic. l. xvii. [m] Pausanias in Eliac. [n] Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. i. [o] Idem ibid. Justin. l. xli. Cic. l. v. Tusculan. quæst. [p] Xenoph. ibid.

(N) These schools the *Persians* called *liberal markets*; for they allowed no public place for buying or selling, as appears from *Cyrus*'s answer to the *Lacedemonians*, telling them, that he was not afraid of those, who, in the midst of their cities, have a place of public resort, where they cheat one another by mutual oaths: which words, adds *Herodotus* (30), were levelled at all

(30) *Herodot. l.* i.

the

particular laws againſt ingratitude; and whoever had done any one a good office, if he did not meet with a ſuitable return, could bring an action againſt the ungrateful perſon, who, upon conviction, was puniſhed with great ſeverity [q] (O). When any one went to give advice to the king, either of his own accord, or by the prince's order; in propoſing his opinion, he ſtood upon an ingot of gold, which he was rewarded with, if his advice was found wholſome; if otherwiſe, he was publicly whipped [r].

BEFORE we cloſe this ſection, we ſhall add ſome particulars relating to the *Perſian* kings, gathered from the beſt authors. The kings of *Perſia* were, above all others, the moſt arbitrary and abſolute, and looked upon their ſubjects, however diſtinguiſhed by birth or fortune, as the meaneſt of ſlaves. None, their own children not excepted, durſt addreſs them with any other title, than that of *lord*, *great king*, *king of kings* [s]; which high-ſounding titles they ſeem to have borrowed from the *Aſſyrians*; for *Daniel* [t], in ſpeaking to *Nebuchadnezzar*, gives him the title of *king of kings*. As the *Perſians* imitated in this the haughtineſs of the *Aſſyrians*, ſo did the *Parthians* that of the *Perſians* [u], and continued this ſtile even to the time of the emperor *Conſtantius*, to whom *Sapor* king of *Parthia* wrote himſelf *king of kings*, *allied to the ſtars*, *brother of the ſun and moon*, &c. But to return to the *Perſian* kings: as they aſſumed high titles to themſelves, ſo they beſtowed no other on their ſubjects, by what dignity ſoever diſtinguiſhed, but that of ſlaves [w], and treated them as ſuch, not in words only, but in all other reſpects. To this ſlaviſh ſpirit, which is altogether inconſiſtent with true courage, *Plato* aſcribes the downfal of the *Perſian* monarchy [x].

This

[q] XENOPH. ibid. AMMIAN. MARCEL. l. iii. c. 5. THEMISTOCLES orat. 3. [r] ÆLIAN. var. hiſt. l. xii. c. 62. [s] DIO CHRYS. orat. iii. de regno. ARRIAN. l. vi. STRABO, l. xv. Ezra vii. 12. [t] Dan. ii. 37. [u] PLUTARCH. in Pomp. & Lucullo. [w] XENOPH. l. i. Ἀναβάσ. Q. CURT. l. v. ARISTOT. de mundo. [x] PLATO, l. iii. de legib.

the *Greeks*, who, in every city, had ſome public place for buying and ſelling; whereas the *Perſians* allow of no ſuch places, nor any place at all of public reſort.

(O) *Seneca* therefore was miſtaken, when he ſaid, that laws againſt ingratitude were to be found among the *Macedonians* alone; *excepta Macedonum gente*, ſays he, *non eſt in ulla data adverſus ingratos actio* (31); that is, in no nation, except the *Ma-*

(31) *Seneca*, *l.* iv. *de benefic. c.* 7.

*cedonian*,

*The great respect paid to the* Persian *monarchs.*

This spirit of slavery prevailed to such a degree among the *Persians*, that even those who were, by the king's order, publicly whipped, used to return him thanks, for vouchsafing to remember them [y]. Whoever betrayed the least reluctancy to put in execution the king's command, how difficult soever, was sure to forfeit his head and right-arm [z]. The custom of adoring their kings, and putting them on the same level with the gods, is, by *Justin* [a], fathered upon *Cyrus the Great*. None durst appear before the king, without prostrating themselves on the ground; nay, they were all obliged, at what distance soever the king appeared, to pay him that adoration: nor did they exact it only of their own vassals, but also of foreign ministers and embassadors, the captain of the guard being charged to inquire of those, who asked admittance to the king, whether they were ready to adore him. If they refused to comply with that ceremony, they were told, that the king's ears were open to such only, as were willing to pay him that homage; so that they were forced to transact the business they were charged with by means of the king's servants or eunuchs [b]. Nor did their pride and ambition stop here; they sometimes ordered the same reverence to be paid to their favourites, as appears from the history of *Haman* and *Mordecai* [c]; nay, even to their statues and images; for *Philostratus* acquaints us, that, in the time of *Apollonius*, a golden statue of the king was exposed to all those that entered *Babylon*, and that such only as adored it were admitted within the gates [d]. When they appeared before the king, their common salutation was, *Live for ever* [e]; *let the king live for ever*. To sit in the king's chair or throne (P), to wear any part of the apparel

[y] Stobæus, serm. ii. [z] Strabo, l. xv. p. 733. [a] Justin. l. xi. c. 4. [b] Plutarch. in Themist. [c] Esther iii. 2. [d] Philostrat. l. i. de vita Apollonii. [e] Ælian. var. hist. l. i. c. 32. Nehem. c. ii. iii. Dan. c. vi. 6, & alibi.

*cedonian*, ingratitude is actionable; where some read *Medorum* instead of *Macedonum*, but all the antient copies have *Macedonum*.

(P) *Q. Curtius* tells us (32), that, when *Alexander* marched his army thro' a certain province called *Gabaza*, one of his soldiers, arrived at the place where they were to encamp, was so benumbed with the excessive cold of the season and climate, that he had almost lost the use both of his limbs and senses. The king, who had likewise suffered greatly by the cold, and was then sitting by a fire which they had kindled in the open fields, no sooner saw the soldier in that pitiful condition, but, starting up, and, with his own

(32) *Q. Curt. l.* viii.

hands,

rel which he had used (Q), to look into the litter wherein his concubines were conveyed from their habitation to the palace (R), to shoot in hunting, or strike at the game before the king (S), were all capital crimes [f]. Such as betrayed any secret, which they had been trusted with by the king, or gave intelligence to the enemies of his designs, were punished with great severity; whence *Alexander*, as his historian tells us [g], could never have any notice beforehand of their designs, the captives chusing rather to suffer death, than betray the designs of their prince. Nobody, of what rank soever, appeared before the king without a present; which custom prevails among the orientals to this day. When he went on his progress, or

[f] Diod. Sic. l. xvii. Val. Maxim. l. v. c. 16. Q. Curt. c. xviii. Frontin. stratag. c. 6. Plutarch. in Artaxerx. & Themist. [g] Q. Curt. l. iv. & Ammian. Marcel. l. xxi.

hands, pulling off his armour, he placed him in the chair where himself was sitting. The soldier, by degrees, recovered, but was very near fainting away again, when he found himself seated in the royal chair, and the king standing by him. But *Alexander* encouraged him to lay aside all fear, saying, *Do not fear, O fellow-soldier; but reflect how much happier is your condition under me, than that of the* Persians *under their king; had you rested in the* Persian *king's chair, it had cost you your life; to have rested in mine, has saved it.* Hence it was, that *Artabanus*, as we read in *Herodotus* (33), though uncle to *Xerxes*, shewed so great reluctancy to comply with his orders, when he commanded him to put on the royal robes, sit on the throne, and repose in his bed.

(Q) *Plutarch* tells us (34), that one *Trebazus*, who was very familiar with *Artaxerxes*, whom he used to divert with his wit and humour, having one day begged of him an old gown, obtained what he demanded, but with this condition, that he should not wear it, that being contrary to the laws of *Persia*. *Trebazus*, not minding the king's prohibition, or the laws of the realm, soon after appeared in it at court; which the *Persians* resenting as an affront against the majesty of their king, were for punishing him according to the rigour of the law. But *Artaxerxes* saved him, by telling them, that he had commanded *Trebazus* to appear in that garb as his fool.

(R) In one of these litters *Themistocles*, who was desirous to have a private conference with *Artaxerxes*, was conveyed to the king's apartment, without being observed by the *Persians*, who began to be jealous of him (35).

(S) This law was abrogated, as we read in *Plutarch*, by *Artaxerxes Macrochir* (36), or *Longimanus*.

(33) *Herodot. l.* vii. *c.* 17, 18. (34) *Plutarch. in Artax.* (35) *Idem ibid.* (36) *Plutarch. in apophthegmat.*

marched

marched out with his army, all the inhabitants of the countries or provinces, through which he passed, were obliged to declare their vassalage by some present or other; even the inhabitants of the villages and fields flocked to him with their donatives, some offering sheep, oxen, corn, wine, &c. others milk, cheese, dates, &c. every one according to his ability [h] (S).

*How they administered justice.*

THE *Persian* kings frequently heard causes themselves, both civil and criminal; and, though transcendently vicious in other respects, were nevertheless very tender in point of justice and equity. After hearing the merits of the cause with great attention, they took several days to consider and advise with such as were conversant in their laws, before they gave sentence [i]. When they sat on life and death, they not only considered the crime of which the delinquent was impeached, but all the actions, whether good or bad, of his whole life; and condemned or cleared him, according as his crimes or deserts prevailed [k] (T). Their humanity and good-nature even towards those, who, according to the laws, deserved death, is very remarkable. Thus *Artaxerxes Longimanus* ordered, that the turbans of the condemned persons should be struck off,

[h] ÆLIAN. var. histor. l. i. c. 32, 33. [i] PHILOSTRAT. l. i. de vita Apollon. EPIPHAN. l. ii. c. de Manichæis. [k] Idem ib. JOSEPH. antiquitat. l. xi. c. 3. HEROD. l. i. c. 137.

(S) We read in *Plutarch* (37), and *Ælian* (38), of one *Sineta* a *Persian*, who, meeting by chance *Artaxerxes* at a great distance from his poor cottage, and having nothing else to present him with, ran to the river, and, filling both his hands with water, made an offering of that to the king, which was by him graciously received.

(T) To this purpose *Herodotus* tells us (39), that *Darius*, having pronounced sentence of death against a corrupt judge, and afterwards finding, that his former deserts overbalanced his present crime, ordered him to be taken down from the cross, and set at liberty. This does not agree with what we read in *Diodorus Siculus*, who tells us, that the sentence of death, once pronounced, could not be repealed even by the king himself; for, after relating how *Darius* pronounced sentence of death against *Charidemus*, he adds, that the king immediately repented, as if he had been over-hasty in a matter of the utmost consequence; *but it was not in his power to undo what he had done* (40). Perhaps he means nothing else but that the king could not restore him to life again; for, as both he (41) and *Xenophon* (42) inform us, the sentence was no sooner pronounced, but the criminal was hurried away to execution.

(37) *Plutarch in apophthegm & in Artax.* (38) *Ælian. var. hist. l.* i. c. 32. (39) *Herodot. l.* vii. *c.* 194. (40) *Diod. Sic. l.* xiv. (41) *Idem, l.* xii. (42) *Xenopo. l.* i. Ἀναβάσ. *p.* 103.

instead

inſtead of their heads; that the ſtrings with which they tyed them ſhould be cut, inſtead of their ears; and their garments whipt, inſtead of their perſons [l]. Beſide the king, there were ſeveral judges, all men of unblemiſhed characters, and well ſkilled in the laws of the kingdom. Theſe were called *royal judges*, adminiſtred juſtice at ſtated times, in different provinces; and ſome of them attended the king whitherſoever he went [m]. The king often adviſed with them; and, in matters concerning himſelf, referred the whole to their judgment [n]. They were nominated by the king, who, as that employment was for life, took great care to prefer only ſuch as were famed for their integrity (U).

*Their concubines.*

THE *Perſian* kings had ſeveral wives, beſides what number of concubines they pleaſed. *Darius* maintained as many as the days of the year [o]: *Artaxerxes* had by his concubines 115 children [p]. The concubines were introduced to the king, each in their turn [q]: whence ſome have concluded, that the antient *Perſian* year conſiſted of 360 days, ſeeing that ſeveral of the *Perſian* monarchs had the like number of concubines, who went to their kings in conſtant courſes [r] (W).

WE

[l] PLUTARCH. in Artaxerx. & apophthegm. AMMIAN. MARCELL. l. xxx. [m] ÆLIAN. var. hiſtor. l. i. c. 34. [n] HEROD. l. iii. [o] DIOD. SIC. l. xvii. [p] JUSTIN. l. x. [q] Eſther ii. 12---15. [r] See WHISTON's theory of the earth, book ii. p. 149.

(U) *Artaxerxes* raiſed one to that dignity, as *Ælian* (43) informs us, who was not a *Perſian*, but a *Mede*, by birth, for having condemned his own ſon to death, according to the power which parents had in thoſe days over their children. And *Cambyſes*, being informed that one of the judges had received a bribe, cauſed him, upon conviction, to be flayed alive; and, having covered the ſeat, on which he pronounced ſentence, with his ſkin, appointed his ſon in his room, ordering him to ſit in the ſame chair when he pronounced ſentence (44). Theſe judges, according to *Joſephus* (45) and *Zonaras* (46), were ſeven in number; which they gather from the commiſſion of *Artaxerxes* to *Ezra*, who *was ſent of the king and his ſeven counſellors* (47).

(W) This conjecture is not altogether groundleſs: but we cannot help thinking it ſomewhat ſtrange, that the ſame writer ſhould allege the authority of *Q. Curtius*, to prove, that the antient *Perſian* year contained but three hundred and ſixty days; when that author tells us, in expreſs terms, that the *Perſian* year conſiſted of three hundred and ſixty-five days: his

(43) *Ælian. l.* i. *var. hiſtor. c.* 34. (44) *Val. Maxim. l.* vi. *c.* 3. (45) *Joſeph. antiquit. l.* xi. *c.* 6. (46) *Zonar. tom.* i. (47) *Ezra c.* vii. *ver.* 14. *vid. & Eſth.* i. 14.

words

*Their revenues.*

We shall end this section with some account of their revenues. Each province had its peculiar treasure, and treasurer, as is plain from all the antient writers, both sacred and profane: and from the great sums which *Alexander* found in several particular provinces or cities, we may judge of the immense treasures they possessed. In the city of *Damascus* he found 2600 talents, and silver uncoined, to the value of 500 more; in *Arbela*, 4000 talents; in *Susa*, 40,000, and 9000 darics; in *Persepolis*, 120,000; in *Pasargada*, 6000; in *Ecbatan*, 180,000 [s]. These immense sums arose from the tributes which each province was yearly obliged to pay, according to the assessment of *Darius Hystaspis*; for, during the reigns of *Cyrus*, and his son *Cambyses*, no tributes were imposed, the people voluntarily contributing for the maintenance of the king and his army, what they thought fit. From the imposing of these taxes, and other things of the like nature, the *Persians* gave *Darius* the nickname of *merchant*. The sum total of the king's revenues, according to the computation of *Herodotus* [t], amounted to 14560 *Euboic* talents [u], besides other smaller sums. These revenues were gathered from the provinces of *Asia* only; but, in process of time, the islands of several provinces of *Europe*, with *Egypt*, *Syria*, &c. were likewise taxed; which increased the king's revenues to such a degree, that, if we believe *Justin* [w], *Alexander*, after the conquest of *Persia*, received yearly from his subjects the sum of 300,000 talents. The *Persian* kings preserved their treasures in the following manner: they caused the gold and silver to be melted down, and poured into earthen vessels, which they broke when occasion required, and took such a quantity as

[s] Curt. l. v. Diodor. Sic. l. xviii. Arrian. l. iii. c. 16. Plutarch. in Alexandr.
[t] Herod. l. iii. c. 89. 95, 96.
[u] See our preface to the first volume.
[w] Justin. l. xiii.

words are, *Magos trecenti & sexaginta quinque juvenes sequebantur—diebus totius anni pares numero; quippe Persis quoque in totidem dies descriptus est annus* (48); that is, the mages were followed by three hundred and sixty-five youths, answering in number to the days of the year; for, among the *Persians* too, the year is divided into three hundred and sixty-five days. But *Curtius* in this, as in many other particulars, was certainly mistaken; since *Herodotus*, whose authority is of more weight, in speaking of the tributes which *Darius Hystaspis* laid on the provinces subject to the *Persian* empire, says, *that the* Cilicians *were obliged to furnish* Darius *with three hundred and sixty white horses, that is, one for every day of the year* (49).

(48) Q. *Curtius*, *l.* iii. 3, 8, *& seqq.*
(49) *Herodot. l.* iii. *c.* 90.

seemed

seemed necessary [x]. The lands of the *Persians* were free from all taxes; but other provinces, besides money, were obliged to contribute considerably, each something of their proper product, towards the maintenance of the king; and, in the time of war, of his army [y]. Thus the provinces of *Syrene* and *Barca* were, besides the ordinary taxes, assessed at such a quantity of corn as was sufficient to supply 120,000 men: the satrapæ of *Babylon* maintained the king and his court for four months; and moreover, paid him a yearly tribute of 500 young eunuchs: the *Ethiopians*, and adjoining people, made a present every third year of two *chœnixes* (X) of gold, two hundred bundles of ebony, five *Ethiopian* children, and twenty elephants teeth, of the largest size: the *Colchians*, or *Colchi*, presented the king every fifth year with an hundred boys, and the like number of young women: the *Arabians* with a quantity of frankincense, answering the weight of 1000 talents, *&c* [z]. But it is now time to dismiss this subject, and hasten to the most entertaining and important point of the *Persian* history, their religion and religious ceremonies.

x Herodot. ibid. Xenoph. l. iv. in Ἀναβάσ. p. 261.

y Idem ibid. Strabo, l. xv.

z Herod. ubi supra.

(X) *Chœnix* was a *Greek* measure, containing such a quantity of wheat, as served a man one day.

## SECT. III.

### *Of the religion of the* Persians.

*The importance of this subject, and the difficulties which occur in treating it.*

THERE is hardly any subject which hath employed the pens of authors antient or modern, that deserves to be treated with greater accuracy, or to be read with more attention, than this which we are now about to discuss. The religion of the *Persians*, if we may credit the most learned and industrious writers [a], is venerable from its antiquity, and worthy

a Vid. hist. relig. vet. Persarum, per Thomam Hyde, 4to, Oxon. 1700. The religion of the Persees by Henry Lord, 4to, London, 1630. Relation de l'état present de Perse par Sanson, Paris, 1695. Hist. of Chaldaic philosophy, by Thomas Stanley, book ii. p. 67. London, folio, 1662. Philos. general. per Theoph. Galæum, lib. i. c. 5. 8vo, London, 1676. Connection of the history of the Old and New Testament, by Prideaux, vol. i. p. 299. 8vo, London 1729. Herbert's, Della Valle's, Tavernier's travels, &c.

of

of admiration, from its having ſubſiſted now ſome thouſand years, in as great, or greater purity, than any other religion known to us at this day. But the accounts, which are ſtill extant, of the religion of the antient *Perſians*, are far from correſponding exactly; and the deſcriptions which modern travellers have given us of thoſe who profeſs this religion in *Perſia* and *India*, even in our time, differ ſo widely, though not indeed in eſſential articles, that it requires no ſmall degree of patience to ſeparate the ore from the droſs; and to preſent the reader with what is worthy of being known and believed, among heaps of fables and miſrepreſentations (A).

If

(A) The accounts we have of the *Perſian* religion are, as we have ſtated them above, of two ſorts: firſt, ſuch as have been collected from books; and theſe again may be divided into two claſſes, one extracted from the *Greek* and *Latin* writers, the other from oriental hiſtorians: the ſecond conſiſts of what travellers deliver from their own knowlege, concerning the doctrines and practices of the preſent *Perſians*, who themſelves affirm, and are allowed by others, to practiſe the religion of their anceſtors, with little or no variation. As to ſuch as have drawn their materials from books, they have been, as we ſhall frequently have occaſion to ſhew, prodigiouſly miſled in their opinions by authors, who have too confidently delivered their own on this ſubject: for, as to the *Greek* writers, ſuch as *Herodotus*, *Strabo*, &c. they delivered what they had from others, and that likewiſe under this diſadvantage, that, being polytheiſts themſelves, they, of courſe, conceived, that other nations had variety of gods, as well as their own; and therefore reported, that the *Perſians* worſhiped the fire, becauſe they prayed before it: the air, becauſe, in their devotions, they lifted up their eyes towards it: and the ſun, becauſe they profeſſed to reverence that glorious planet (1). Nor was this all; they forged, for the ſake of making their hiſtories uniform, ſuch ſacrifices, and other religious rites, as ſeemed to correſpond beſt with the notions they had framed of the *Perſian* religion, and attributed them to the *Perſians*. Thus *Herodotus*, ſpeaking of the paſſage of *Xerxes* into *Greece*, relates impoſſible things of the *magi*, with as much boldneſs as if he had been eye-witneſs of them. "The country (ſays he) "that lies about the mountain "*Pangæus*, is called *Phillis*; on "the weſt ſide, extending to "the river *Angites*, which falls "into the *Strymon* itſelf. At "their arrival, the *magi* offered "a ſacrifice of white horſes to "this river; and, after they had "thrown them into the ſtream "with a compoſition of various "drugs, the army broke up, "and marched to the *Nine Ways* "of the *Edonians*, where they "found bridges prepared for

(1) *Herodotus, l.* i. *c.* 131. *Strab. geograph. lib.* xv. *Diogen. Laert. in*

"their

If we had still any considerable collection of the antient *Persian* records, we should doubtless find in them what would satisfy

" their passage over the *Strymon*.
" But, being informed that this
" place was called by the name
" of the *Nine Ways*, they took
" nine of the sons and daugh-
" ters of the inhabitants, and
" buried them alive, as the man-
" ner of the *Persians* is. And I
" have heard that *Amestris*, the
" wife of *Xerxes*, having at-
" tained to a considerable age,
" caused fourteen children of
" the best families in *Persia* to
" be interred alive, for a sacri-
" fice of thanks to that god,
" who, they say, is beneath the
" earth (2)." We have shewn in the text, that the *Persians* were indeed reverencers of water as well as fire; but that they sacrificed to it, or threw any thing into a running stream, is a flat contradiction to this very notion of theirs, which consisted in preserving the purity of those elements, and not in polluting them with blood, and dead carcases. And, in respect to sacrifices, *Herodotus* himself, in another place, acknowleges as much (3). *Q. Curtius*, speaking of the chariot in which *Darius* appeared in the field against *Alexander*, describes it thus: " It was ad-
" orned, says he, with images
" of their gods in silver and
" gold; the axle-tree thereof
" glittered with precious stones;
" upon it were two images of
" gold, the one representing
" *Ninus*, the other *Belus*, of a
" cubit stature each: between
" them was an eagle of gold,
" displaying her wings over
" both, *&c* (4)." All this is downright fiction; *Ninus* and *Belus* were never worshiped by the *Persians*; they were not wont to erect images, or to worship them. What makes it probable, that *Curtius* was the inventor of this whole story, is this; that *Arrian* (5), an author of great accuracy, and who wrote from excellent materials, says not one word of all this; nor indeed does any other antient historian. But *Curtius* was so great a rhetorician, that he could not write plainly; but, on the contrary, loaded all his descriptions with ornaments, without any regard to probability or truth. As to the relations of travellers, we need not wonder, that they differ about the religious opinions, rites and ceremonies of the *Persians*, or, as some call them, *Persees*, since they very seldom agree exactly, even in their descriptions of less intricate things than these. As for *Henry Lord*, whose small treatise, in relation to these people, has been received as a kind of oracle, merely because he ventured to talk very authoratively therein; it is scarce possible to determine from what he says, whether they are idolaters or not: he calls them so, it is true, and speaks of their worshiping the fire in an idolatrous manner: yet the better part of his book, which consists of what he heard from one of their priests, contains nothing which can justify

(2) *Herodotus, l.* vii. *c.* 113. 114. (3) *Idem, l.* i. *c.* 138. (4) *Q. Curt. lib.* iii. *cap.* 3. (5) *Lib.* ii. *cap.* 11.

satisfy us as to the primitive doctrines of their wise men; but as these are most of them either long since destroyed, or at least hidden from us, we must be content to follow such lights as yet remain; and where we cannot make the reader understand things as clearly as we would, it is our duty to make them, however, as clear as we can. This is certain, that the *Persians* have preserved the worship of one GOD, and other essential articles of true religion [b], through a long course of years, without suffering themselves to be drawn over by fraud, or submitting through force, to any new faith, though they have so often changed their masters: a thing very singular, and in some sort commendable, if we consider how much they have been depressed since the death of *Yezdegherd*, the last king of their own religion, and the opprobrious treatment they have met with from the *Mohammedans*, who are wont to call them, and christians, with like contempt, infidels; though the principles of the former, as well as the latter, are far more reasonable than the ill-connected legends of the *Arabian* impostor; and though the modern *Persians* (taking that proper name in a religious, not a civil sense) are unanimously acknowleged to be as honest, as charitable, and inoffensive a people, as any upon earth. So that, in GOD's due time, we have just reason to believe they will, at last, acknowlege the truth of the gospel dispensation, and be included within the pale of the Christian church (B).

WE

[b] Hist. relig. veter. Persar. c. 33. Connection of the Old and New Testament.

his opinion (6). On the whole, we have thought it necessary to peruse, and shall, on occasion, make use of, whatever is related by *Herbert*, *Ovington*, *Tavernier*, *Thevenot*, *Chardin*, or other travellers, concerning the *Persees*, their tenets and customs; but it is our happiness to follow a more capable guide than any of these, the very learned and judicious Dr. *Thomas Hyde*, who, from the mighty stores of various learning which he possessed, as well as from the curious observations he in his travels had made, composed his valuable history of the religion of the antient *Persians*, wherein every thing he lays down, is supported by antient monuments, or by the express authority of that law which this people professed to have received from *Zerdusht*, a compendium of whose writings, contained in the book *Sad-der*, the enchiridion of the modern *Persees*, is annexed to the doctor's treatise (7).

(B) Since the introduction of the *Mohammedan* religion into

(6) *Lord's history of the Persees*, p. 10, 44. (7) *Magorum liber Sad-der Zoroastris præcepta & canones continens: in usum ecclesiæ magorum, & fidelium eorum omnium.*

*Persia*,

WE have heretofore shewn, that the original inhabitants of *Persia* descended from *Elam* the son of *Shem* [c]: and from these two patriarchs it is most probable they derived the true religion. *Origin of the* Persian *religion.*

[c] Vol. i. p. 267.

*Persia*, the antient inhabitants have been exposed to various persecutions on account of their religion; for the *Mohammedans* being, generally speaking, bigots, they are not content with giving these unhappy men always ill language, but, on every occasion, are stirring up their princes to oppress and destroy, under colour of religion, these relicts of the antient *Persians*. It is true, the *Mohammedan Persians* have, in all ages, had amongst them some men of learning and genius; yet few or none have ever inquired thoroughly into the doctrines of these poor people: on the contrary, they are as ready as any to load them with opprobrious names, and such as they no way deserve: thus they call them *Noguscha*, i. e. *Zabian*, or deserter of the true faith; *Ghebri*, i. e. infidel: this word is differently spelt as it is differently pronounced; the most usual way of writing it is *Ghaur*: they likewise style an antient *Persian Ateshpereste*, i. e. fire-worshiper; *Philiv* or *Caliv*, i. e. fool or madman: the most gentle term they make use of is *Mogh*, that is, *magian*; but then they frequently say, that a *Mogh* is *Ateshpereste* and *Zindik*, that is, a fire-worshiper and a Sadducee; for among other calumnies with which they load these poor men, that of denying a future state is one. However, tho' they may, amongst themselves, destroy their good name, yet, with strangers, their aspersions do the *Persians* no hurt; for they, looking on the innocence and integrity of these poor peoples lives, cannot avoid affording them both pity and esteem. It would be an easy matter to support all that has been advanced in this note, by quotations from the best accounts we have of *Persia* and the *Indies*; but, instead of fatiguing the reader, it may perhaps answer the same end, if we here set down the five precepts which these *Persians* acknowlege as the rule of life, which every *behedin* or *layman* is bound to obey, as they are reported by Mr. *Lord*.

I. "To have shame ever with "them, as a remedy against all "sin; for a man would never "oppress his inferiors, if he had "any shame; a man would never "steal, if he had any shame; a "man would never bear false "witness, if he had any shame; "a man would never be over-"come with drink, if he had "any shame. But because this "is laid aside, men are ready to "commit any of these: and "therefore the *behedin*, or *lay-"man*, must think of shame."

II. "To have fear always "present with them; and that "every time the eye twinkled, "or closed its lids together, they "should stand in fear at those "times of their prayers, lest they "should not go to heaven; the "thought of which should make "them fear to commit sin, for "that GOD sees what manner of

religion, which, at firſt, flouriſhed among them with the utmoſt purity, but, in proceſs of time, was corrupted by an intermixture of ſuperſtitious rites, and heretical opinions, at ſuch time as the reſt of the oriental nations were overſpread with that deluge of falſe religion which generally goes under the name of *Zabiiſm*. From this it is affirmed by ſome antient authors they were thoroughly recovered by the patriarch *Abraham*, who, they ſay, undertook the reformation of their religion; and, having freed it as well from the pernicious doctrines they had imbibed, as from the ſuperfluous ceremonies they had adopted, left it them once more in its pure and primitive condition and ſimplicity, wherein he tranſmitted it to his own deſcendants [d]. But if this were ſo, they were a ſecond time corrupted, and engaged, if not in idolatrous practices, yet in ſuſpicious acts of reverence to the heavenly bodies, and in practices inconſiſtent with the true faith (C).

*The* Perſians *pretend to derive their religion from* Abraham.

How-

[d] Hiſt. relig. vet. Perſar. c. 2. & 3. Connection of the Old and New Teſtament, part i. book iv. p. 25. 8vo.

" ones they are, that look up " towards him.

III. " That whenſoever they " are to do any thing, to think " whether the thing be good or " bad that they go about, whe- " ther commanded or forbidden " in the *Zundavaſtaw*; if pro- " hibited, they muſt not do it; " if allowed by the book of re- " ligion, they may embrace and " proſecute the ſame.

IV. " That whatſoever of " God's creatures they ſhould " firſt behold in the morning, " it ſhould be a monitor to put " them in mind of their thankſ- " givings to God, that had given " ſuch good things for mens ſer- " vice and uſe.

V. " That whenſoever they " pray by day, they ſhould turn " their faces towards the ſun; " and whenſoever they prayed " by night, they ſhould incline " towards the moon: for that " they are the two great lights " of heaven, and God's two " witneſſes: moſt contrary to " *Lucifer*, who loveth darkneſs " more than light."

(C) That the *Perſian*, as well as other religions, receded by degrees from its firſt principles, and ſuffered by the introduction of ſome ſuperſtitions, cannot ſeem ſtrange to any conſiderate perſon. The *Perſians* themſelves confeſs it, and acknowlege, that their famous lawgiver *Zerduſht* came to reſtore their primitive doctrines, and to purge away thoſe errors, which time, and the induſtry of *Zabian* heretics, had introduced. In what theſe errors conſiſted, the ſuperſtitious ceremonies which attended them, and the pains it coſt this reſtorer of magiſm, to root theſe fooliſh ſuperſtitions out, will be delivered in the life of *Zoroaſter* or *Zerduſht*, which we ſhall give the reader at large in our hiſtory of the *Perſians*, from the oriental writers under the reign of that monarch, in whoſe days.

HOWEVER the splendor of their religion might be darkened with these spots, yet it was never so far obscured as to admit any degree of comparison between it and the worship of neighbouring nations (excepting the *Jews*); for the *Persians* continued zealous adorers of one all-wise and omnipotent GOD, whom they held to be infinite and omnipresent; so that they could not bear, that he should be represented by either molten or graven images; or that the Creator and Lord of the universe should be circumscribed within the narrow bounds of temples [e]. On this account they overturned the statues, and places of public worship among the *Greeks*, as unworthy of the deity, and not, as they have been falsely charged by the *Greeks*, from any sacrilegious contempt of the gods of other countries. In the decline, indeed, of the antient *Persian* empire, the worship of *Venus* was introduced by one of their princes; but it was condemned by the magi [f], who remained firm to this great article of their faith, *There is one* GOD; and took care to transmit it religiously to their posterity.

*They were always zealous in the service of one God.*

THE only objection to which the antient and modern *Persians* have rendered themselves liable, flows from the respect which they have constantly paid to fire, and to the sun: yet if this matter be seriously and impartially considered, it will be found, that there is nothing of idolatry in this respect of theirs, but that they only worship GOD in the fire, and not fire as a god. That they should have an extraordinary veneration for the element of fire, and make choice rather of it than of any of the rest, to be the symbol of the divine nature, will appear less extraordinary, if we consider, that a never-dying fire was kept on the altar of burnt-offerings at *Jerusalem* [g]; that GOD revealed himself to *Moses* by a flame in a bush [h]; and chose to testify his presence, in the host of *Israel*, by a pillar of fire, which went before them in the night, and which appeared only as a column of smoke in the day [i]. As to their veneration of the sun, it is founded on their belief, that he is the noblest creature of the Almighty visible to us, and that his throne is placed therein. Nor need we wonder either at the mistakes of antient writers, or at the stories told us by some *Mohammedan* authors on this head, since it was very difficult

*An account of the nature of that respect shewn by them to fire and to the sun.*

[e] Hist. relig. vet. Persar. p. 3. HERODOTUS, l. i. c. 131.
[f] Hist. relig. vet. Persar. p. 90.
[g] 2 Chron. vii. 1. Levit. x. 1.
[h] Exod. iii. 2. Acts vii. 30. Nehem. ix. 19. Psalm lxxviii. 14.
[i] Exod. xiii. 21. Numb. xiv. 14. 1 Cor. x. 1.

days he flourished; for to have inserted so long a digression here, must have rendered this chapter very prolix, and at the same time obliged us to frequent recapitulations in the subsequent history.

for them to get a true knowlege of the religious tenets and cuſtoms of this people, becauſe they were forbidden by their legiſlator *Zoroaſter*, or *Zerduſht*, as appears from the book *Sadder*, to teach either their antient language, or its character, to ſtrangers, or to inſtruct them in their religion [k]. If any farther regard had been had to the ſun in antient times, it would certainly have deſcended with the other parts of their religion to the modern *Perſians*: but that it never reached them, the learned and judicious doctor *Hyde* aſſures us; for an intimate friend of his being by him requeſted to inquire concerning the worſhip of *Mithra* (ſo the *Perſians* call the ſun), he accordingly aſked ſome of the prieſts of the *Perſians* ſettled in *India*, *at what ſeaſons, and with what ceremonies, they adored the ſun.* They anſwered, *that they never adored the ſun, or paid any ſort of divine honours to that luminary, to the moon, or to the planets; but only turned themſelves towards the ſun when praying, becauſe they looked upon it to come neareſt to the nature of fire.* The ſame excellent author obſerves, That, among the precepts of *Zoroaſter*, his diſciples are directed to pay daily to the ſun certain *niyâſh*, i. e. ſalutations, conſiſting only in words (and thoſe too addreſſed to GOD) without any mention of *prieſtiſh*, i. e. worſhip by bowing of the body. Yet if any cuſtom of this ſort prevails, it ought not to be interpreted as a mark of idolatrous adoration; for the *Perſian Mohammedans*, who are zealous deteſters of that impiety, and the *Armenians* who dwell in *Perſia*, are wont to pray in like manner, the latter making the ſign of the croſs, and bowing profoundly low at the ſight of the riſing ſun [l]. To ſay the truth, adoration, that is, proſtrating or bowing the body, was, even among the *Hebrews*, a civil as well as a religious rite; or, to ſpeak more properly, the ſame word, *viz.* השתחוה *Hiſhtahhavaah*, was uſed to expreſs this act of reverence, when applied to GOD or man. An eminent rabbi ſays, that this, as an act of devotion, was not to be performed out of the ſanctuary, that is, out of the temple [m]: it is forbid, by the ſecond commandment, to be paid to idols; but, as a civil rite, the *Jews* were at liberty thus to teſtify their reſpect to angels, and to perſons of very high dignity. On the whole therefore, there can be no more reaſon to ſuſpect theſe *Perſians* of idolatry on this account, than any other of the oriental nations, ſince the ſun is no more than the *Kibla* (D) of the *Perſians*, as the temple of *Jeruſalem* was to the

[k] Hiſt. relig. vet. Perſ. p. 5. [l] Idem, p. 5, & 6. [m] IARCHI ſupra. Levit. xxvi. 1.

(D) That is, the point of adoration, ſuch as *Daniel* in particular is ſaid to have practiſed, when he prayed with his face towards

the *Jews*, and that of *Mecca* is to the *Mohammedans*, who in this reſpect are ſo ſcrupulous, that they have tables to determine the bearing of *Mecca* [n], from whatever place they are in.

As to the notions which the *Perſians* have of the ſun, they are not, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, perfectly agreed in them; ſome believing the throne of GOD placed therein, and that it is the ſeat of paradiſe; others entertaining a different opinion as to paradiſe, but praying nevertheleſs towards the ſun, as a ſymbol of the Deity, on account of its purity. It is farther certain, that the *Perſians* never called *Mithra* a god, or aſcribed to it any name of the divinity; and, ſo far from directing any petitions thereto, they conſtantly begin and end the ejaculations pronounced before the ſun with the praiſes of the moſt high GOD, to whom alone their prayers are addreſſed [o]. As to the fire before which the *Perſians* worſhip, taking that word in an extended ſenſe, they acknowlege nothing of divinity therein; but, eſteeming it a ſymbol of the deity, they firſt proſtrate themſelves before it, and then, ſtanding up, they pray to GOD. Thus, among the ruins of the antient palace at *Perſepolis* there are ſeen many marble ſtatues of kings ſtanding praying to GOD before the figures of the ſun and fire, which are alſo placed on the wall before them; only one figure is ſeen kneeling, with the ſame ſymbols before it as the reſt. As the fire in the temple was reputed ſacred among the *Jews*, ſo the *Perſians* might from them take this cuſtom of praying before ſacred fires: which is the more likely, ſince it was the manner of GOD's choſen people to proſtrate themſelves before the altar, and then to offer up their petitions. It was alſo a cuſtom among the *Perſians* to tender oaths before the

*The* Mithra *of the* Perſians *never eſteemed a deity; nor the fire;*

[n] Hiſt. relig. vet. Perſ. p. 95. [o] Idem, cap. 5.

towards the holy city (7). This is not a proper place to inquire, how ſuch a notion of directing one's prayers towards any holy place, or peculiar point of the compaſs, became ſo generally received. If the inquiſitive reader would have a more exact account of this matter, than it is proper in ſuch a note as this to give him, he may have recourſe to the works of the learned Mr. *John Gregory* of *Oxford* (8), who, in treating of two texts of Scripture which ſeem to have ſome relation to this point (9), hath ſhewn a conſummate knowlege in various kinds of literature, as well as a genius perfectly well turned for ſuch intricate and abſtruſe inquiries. For us, it is ſufficient, that the fact is as we have ſtated it; ſince, whether it be right or wrong, the *Perſians* muſt be as much in the right, or as little in the wrong, as any other nation which hath fallen into this way of thinking.

(7) *Dan.* vi. 10. (8) 4to, *London*, *A. D.* 1684. *p.* 73. (9) *Zech.* iii. 8. vi. 12.

fire upon the altar, in which also they agreed with the *Jews*, as they did farther in offering their victims, and other offerings, either by or upon it; and in preserving it from being polluted by impure fuel, in which last case the *Persians* went so far as to punish offenders with death. Their kings also, and principal persons, were wont sometimes to feed the sacred fires with precious oils, and rich aromatics, stiling these *epulæ ignis*, or fire-dainties [9]: but still all things done to or by fire, were performed to the honour of God, and terminated solely in him; at least, if we may credit the concurring testimonies of *Persic* writers yet remaining, and the constant asseverations of those who still profess this religion (E).

There

[9] Hyde, c. 22. p. 290.

(E) When we consider the point in dispute, which is plainly this, *Whether the antient* Persians *had rational or irrational notions of the Deity*; and what degree of evidence there is on each side; it may seem surprising, that it is yet made a matter of dispute among the learned. *Herodotus*, who elsewhere tells us strange stories of the religious ceremonies of the *Persians* on hearsay, speaking expressly on this head, says all that can be wished or desired in their favour; for he owns, that the antient *Persians* had neither temples, altars, nor images: and therefore we ought rather to regard this than the other parts of his book; wherein he manifestly relates what other *Greek* writers, full of spleen against *Xerxes*, and his successor, had written of their inhuman sacrifices, and other acts of religious cruelty (10). *Xenophon*'s authority would be of great weight in the present case, if he had written decisively, and spoken things of his own knowlege; but the high commendations he has given the *Persians*, and the mighty character he hath afforded their laws, hath begot a doubt in the minds of the learned, whether he did not mingle his own ideas with the accounts he gives us of the customs and manners of the *Persians* (11). *Plutarch*, in a passage hereafter more fully cited, speaks very respectfully of *Zoroaster*, and ascribes nothing to him unworthy of a very wise man. There were some, he tells us, of the antients, who asserted two supreme beings, the one the author of all good, the other of all evil; others, who admitted but one God, the father of good, but who acknowleged there was a demon, from whom all evil proceeded: this last, says he, was the doctrine of *Zoroaster*, who flourished four thousand years before the *Trojan* war (12). The same author then proceeds to a succinct account of the doctrine of the *magi*, which we shall have occasion to insert in our text. Dr. *Hyde* has produced an authentic relation of the sentiments of the antient *Persians* on this sub-

(10) *Herodot. l.* i. *c.* 131. (11) *Vide Cyropædiam.* (12) *De Isid. & Osir.*

ject,

THERE is yet another point, in which the *Persians* are to be vindicated, before we can leave the learned reader satisfied, that they never were idolaters. It is this: they had amongst them, after the time of *Zoroaster*'s reformation of their religion, certain caves, adorned not only with figures of the sun, but of the planets, and other heavenly bodies; which symbolical representations were called *Mithriac* figures, and were afterwards introduced into other nations, where they became objects of idolatrous worship; but they were far from being so among the *Persians*, who were a wise and well-instructed people; for, with them, they served only as mathematical symbols for preserving the true system of the universe, to which end, and to no other, they were used, and perhaps invented by *Zoroaster* himself, as we shall hereafter have occasion to prove, when we come to speak of the life, doctrines, and writings, of that famous man [r].

*nor any other symbolical representations.*

HAVING thus shewn, in general, the nature of the *Persian* religion, and that it was far preferable to any of the systems received in other nations, either in the east or in the west, the *Jews* excepted, we shall proceed to shew what the *Persians* themselves have taught concerning the establishment of their religion, as well as what are the doctrines as to essential points universally received among them.

THE great fame of *Abraham*, which, from a concurrence of various causes, had diffused itself through the whole east, induced the *Persians*, as well as the *Zabians*, to ascribe the system of doctrines received by them to that venerable patriarch, stiling their faith at all times *Kish-Abraham*. They like-

[r] HYDE, c. 4. p. 118.

ject, as collected from their successors the *Persees* settled in *India*, an abstract of which will likewise be inserted in our text (13); and the curious reader may peruse the whole of it in the treatise of the excellent author before-mentioned. In the same place may be found the testimony of *Shariſtan*, who wrote in *Arabic* an account of the religions of the east, and who, in speaking of the faith of the *Persians*, does them all the justice that can be (14); but, what is of far greater consequence to us than any authority of friends or enemies whatsoever, the book *Sadder*, containing the canon of the *Persian* faith, is not only extant amongst the *Persees*, but even amongst ourselves; and every page therein affords us instances of *Zoroaster*'s wisdom, and of the rectitude of the religion he established, as to fundamental points, and especially as to the belief of one infinitely wise, eternal, self-existent Being (15).

(13) *Relig. veter. Persar. c.* 22. *p.* 292. (14) *Ibid.* (15) *Vide Sadder liber magorum, apud Hyde relig. vet. Persarum.*

*Whether* Abraham *was the author of the* Persee *religion.*

wise ascribe the books, which they hold sacred, to this father of the faithful; and as much believe him to be the author of their *sofh* or bible, as we believe the gospel to have come to us from CHRIST, or the *Mohammedans*, that GOD revealed to *Mohammed* his *koran* [s]. In attributing books to *Abraham*, they agree with the *Jews*, and with the *Mohammedans*, the latter ascribing to him no less than ten treatises, perhaps all with the like reason. The *Persians* say farther, that *Abraham*, while he resided amongst them, dwelt in the city of *Balch*, which they, from thence, stile the city of *Abraham*. But, though it must be allowed, that the old *Persian* religion agreed, in many great points, with the religion of *Abraham*; and tho' it should be admitted, that his fame might, even in his life-time, be, with very advantageous circumstances, published throughout all *Persia*; yet it is so far from being evident, that it is scarce probable, he went himself into that country, much less that he executed the office of a prophet there, and resided at *Balch*. On the contrary, it is far more credible, that this notion took rise from the suggestion of *Zoroaster*, who had his learning and his divinity out of the book of *Moses*, and other sacred books among the *Jews*; and that the city of *Balch* received the appellation of the city of *Abraham* from *Zoroaster*, on account of his making it the residence of the archi-magus, or high-priest, of the religion of *Abraham*, and not from that patriarch's being supposed to live there at all in antient times [t].

*The other elements revered by the* Persees.

THOUGH fire was held the symbol of the Divinity among the *Persians*, yet the other elements were also highly honoured by them; insomuch that the *Greeks*, and other foreigners, who knew not their religious principles, called them worshipers of the elements; which was a flagrant calumny, since all the respect they paid them arose from their conceiving them to be the first seeds of all things: wherefore they studied, by every method possible, to preserve each of them in its primitive purity. On this account, they prevented, as much as they could, the air from being infected by ill smells: and, for their officiousness on this head, *Herodotus*, according to his usual custom, represents them as believing the air a deity. *They hold* (says he) *the whole expanse to be* Jupiter [u]. That they might, in like manner, preserve the earth from impurities, they would not bury their dead therein; but suffered them to be devoured by birds and wild beasts, that, finding a tomb in their bowels, they might not infect the air. In

[s] HYDE, c. 2. p. 28. [t] Connection of the Old and New Testament, part i. book iv. p. 225. [u] HYDE, c. 3. D'HERBELOT, art. Balkhe. HERODOT. l. i. c. 131.

fine,

fine, the preſerving all the elements pure, was by them eſteemed an act of high piety, and, as ſuch, meriting the divine favour in this world, and in the world to come; for, in all things, they were great affecters of cleanlineſs, and ſtudious, in an eſpecial manner, of avoiding whatever might pollute them. Fire and water, however, were, in a peculiar manner, the objects of their care, becauſe they were the moſt liable to be contaminated; and hence the *Greeks*, miſtaking the degree of reverence they paid them, declared them, without ſcruple, worſhipers of thoſe elements; and tell us formal ſtories of the ſacrifices offered to both. It is very true, that kings often do extravagant things, and ſuch as are contrary to the civil and religious laws of the countries they govern; ſo that it is not impoſſible, that ſome of the *Perſian* princes might be guilty of what is laid to their charge: but it is not likely, becauſe the *Perſians* univerſally held, that whoever wilfully polluted either fire or water, deſerved death in this world, and everlaſting puniſhment in that to come; and that whoever threw the bones of dead creatures into waters were certainly damned. For theſe reaſons, the magi, where-ever they were, took care to have all the waters in their neighbourhood watched, aſſigning them keepers, whoſe ſole office it was to look carefully to this matter, and to ſee, that no filthy thing was thrown or dropped into them; and for this they had ſtated and well-ſettled ſalaries: for, abhorring as they did, to repreſent the almighty LORD of heaven and earth by artificial images of ſtone or metal, they choſe to preſerve fire and water in their utmoſt purity, that they might ſerve as ſymbols of the divine nature, and put them in mind of the infinite purity of GOD. As they held the miniſtration of angels, ſo they believed, that one of theſe celeſtial guards was appointed to watch over the waters in general. This angel they called *Ardiſur* or *Arduiſur*, for whom a particular *niyâiſh* or ſalutation was preſcribed; the title of which, in their antient books, runs thus, *Hymn to* Ardiſur, *for the benefits received from the ſea, rivers, wells, and fountains.* In this hymn, they praiſed him for taking care of all theſe places, and prayed that he might continue ſo to do, returning GOD thanks for the various uſes made of water, and the mighty advantages reſulting to mankind from his wiſe diſpoſition thereof throughout the earth. They were of opinion, that, in paradiſe, ſuch people were peculiarly bleſſed, as had been cautious of defiling water, and had, in this ſenſe, preſerved a reſpect for that element, during their lives; for which cauſe, they recommended the care of this element, as well as fire, to their women, that is, their private fires, and the water uſed in their houſes: for it does not appear, that they ever admitted women to miniſter in religious matters, except in the myſte-

*The purity with which they preſerved the elements.*

ries

ries of *Venus*; which, as we obſerved before, was an hereſy, and, as ſuch, deteſted by the orthodox magians. This love to purity, and eſpecial regard to water, may ſtand ſufficiently juſtified by the practice of the *Jews*, and the precepts in their law for corporal purification, as well as by the great advantage of preſerving cleanlineſs in thoſe exceſſive hot climates; eſpecially if we conſider, that, in waſhing the hands, &c. and putting on the garments, they were bound to uſe ſolemn forms of prayer, as indeed there were ſet ejaculations to be uſed in the moſt ordinary actions of human life [u].

*Their prieſts.*

WITH reſpect to the uſe they made of fire in their national religion, the prieſts, who attended it, by no means deſerved the appellation of *ignarii ſacerdotes*, i. e. fire-prieſts; for they were truly *ſacerdotes Dei*, prieſts of the Almighty, who, tho', like the *Jewiſh* prieſts, they waited on, and took care to preſerve the ſacred fire from being extinguiſhed, were far from making this their only duty; for theſe, as well as thoſe, read every day public prayers, and did other ſacerdotal offices, as we ſhall hereafter declare more largely: yet ſuch has been the hard fate of theſe people, that, becauſe their principles were not known, and their ceremonies ill underſtood, they have been branded with the name of *ateſh-pereſt*, i. e. fire-worſhipers; ſo dangerous a thing it is to carry to any exceſs even innocent ceremonies. They never confeſſed their ſins to any, but to GOD, nor beſought a remiſſion of them from any, but from Him; yet they inclined to perform theſe public acts of devotion before the ſymbol of the Deity, that is, before fire, or before the ſun, as the witneſs of their actions. In like manner, the *Jews* confeſſed their ſins to GOD in the temple, the fire flaming on the altar near them; ſo that there was nothing of idolatry in this, though it might not be altogether free from ſuperſtition (F).

IN

[u] HYDE, c. 6. p. 137.

(F) If we were to undertake a critical review of what modern authors have written about theſe people, and their opinions, it would require a far larger treatiſe than this whole chapter. This aſſertion, bold as it may ſeem, ſhall give ſuch a pregnant inſtance of it, as will ſufficiently prove the truth of our obſervation. Mr. *Tavernier* has ſpent about fifteen pages in his account of theſe people, in which there are at leaſt fifty capital miſtakes, which any man may diſcover, who is at all verſed in oriental literature. In his ſection of the origin and prophets of this ſect, he confounds *Zerduſht* with *Abraham*, in ſuch a manner, that it would coſt a great deal of time to determine what part of the ſtory belongs to the one, and what to the other.

He

In the most antient times, the *Persians* had no temples at all; but reared altars, whereon they preserved their sacred fires,

He tells us of a king, whom he calls *Neubrout*, probably *Nimrod*; and ascribes to him things that nobody ever heard of before; nay, the very name he has given the prophet, is sufficient to shew how much he was confused on this subject; and consequently, how little credit is due to what he relates of the religion of the *Gaurs* or *Gabres*, as he calls them. Their prophet's name, as set down by him, was *Ebrahim-zer-Ateucht*; he tells us of books he received from heaven, that they contain the religious precepts of these people; and that he himself has seen a great book which was attributed to him. But we must desire the reader to take notice, that we do not arraign Mr. *Tavernier*'s sincerity, as to facts which lay within the compass of his judgment; on the contrary, we are persuaded, that he wrote nothing which he did not take to be true, as appears by the following account of their worship of the fire, which is the title of one of his sections: "The *Gaurs* render no such "honours to the fire, as agree "with this term of worship; "they are not idolaters; they "acknowlege one God, the "Creator of the heaven and of "the earth; and him only they "worship." In the rest of his sections he speaks distinctly enough of what he saw; but he relates what he heard in such a manner, that a person who knew as little of the matter as he, could not fail of being deceived (16). Sir *John Chardin*, whom we have often commended, and who, without all question, was one of the most intelligent men that ever obliged the public with an account of his travels, speaks very contemptibly of these people; and would have us believe there is no sort of learning amongst them, but a little astrology: he says, their priests talk confusedly of their religion, and that they were not positive themselves as to the place where their sacred fire was kept (17). But though this gentleman was not so happy as to meet with intelligent persons of this religion, others have; and the accounts they have written, are clear and satisfactory, nay, supported by undeniable evidence. Monsieur *Le Brun*, by the interposition of the *English* agent, had a conversation with one of their priests, from whom he learned many things exactly conformable to what we have delivered. It would therefore be needless to insert that conversation here; but it will not perhaps be amiss to give the answer of the priest to Mr. *Le Brun*'s first question, what he thought of the creation of the world, and the power of God. He said, He believed God to be the Being of beings, a Spirit of light, above the comprehension of human understandings, infinite, in

(16) *Tavern. lib. iv. c. 8. p. 480.* (17) *Chardin, tom. ii. p. 179.*

all

*Their pyrea, or temples.*

fires, on the tops of mountains, and other solitary places [x]. It was *Zoroaster* who persuaded them, for the sake of preserving these fires more conveniently, to erect over each of them a *pyreum*, or fire-temple; but this had no relation to *Mithra*, or the sun, towards whom they could better testify their respect in the open air: neither did it subvert their antient principle, that the LORD of the universe ought not to be inclosed within walls; for their *pyrea* did not circumscribe what they esteemed an image or semblance of the Divinity, but only the symbol of his purity, and, as it were, a shadow of his nature. The overturning therefore of the *Greek* temples by *Xerxes*, and other acts of a like nature, were perfectly consistent with their reverence for fire, and their respect for the sun. Of this tho' many *Greek* and oriental writers were intirely ignorant, and were consequently prone to misrepresent them, yet authors of great candour, and more extensive knowlege, have readily assented to it, and testified, to the honour of the *Persians*, that they worshiped only one GOD, without representing him by any image or picture whatsoever [y].

*Their notions of good and evil beings*

THE *Persians*, in early times, acknowleged one eternal and omnipotent Being, the creator and preserver of all things: him they called *Yezad*, *Izad*, or *Izud*; also *Ormuzd*, *Hormuz*, or *Hormizda*: joining this with the modern name, they say, *Hormizda Chodâ*, O supreme GOD. They acknowleged also an evil-created being, whom they stiled *aharîman*, *ahreman*, or *ahriman*, and, in verse, *ahrimanan*, which signifies amongst them the devil. To shew their detestation of this wicked being, his name, in the antient *Persian* books, was thus written, *uvuıuvqv*, to intimate, that, as he was the implacable and per-

[x] HEROD. l. i. c. 131. [y] Shahristan, &c. apud HYDE, c. iii. p. 105.

all places, almighty, from whom nothing could be hid, and against whose will nothing could be done. This conference happened in the month of *January*, 1707 (18). As to the *pyrea*, or fire-temples, they were formerly as frequent as parish-churches in other countries; but since the destruction of the antient *Persians*, these structures are by no means common. The *Persees* content themselves with saying their prayers before the common fires, and their priests officiate before them likewise. They have, however fire-temples, or fire-chapels, still in some places; and the chief of them is supposed to be in the province of *Kermnan*, where there are more *Gaurs* than in any other part of *Persia*. Antiently their temples were splendid, and said to have been dedicated not only to the sun, but to the rest of the planets; in which, however, there was no more idolatry than there is in our dedicating churches to this or that saint (19).

(18) *Le Brun, tom.* ii. *p.* 387. (19) *Hyde relig. veter. Pers. c.* 29. *p.* 253.

petual enemy of mankind, they maintained an everlasting enmity against him, and all his works. The modern *Persians* call the devil *div* [z].

SOME have asserted, that the antient *Persians* held a coeternity of these two principles; but writers, better acquainted with the true tenets of this nation, agree, that *ahariman* was created out of darkness, and that *Oromasdes* first subsisted alone; that by him the light and darkness were created; that, in the composition of this world, good and evil are mixed together, and so shall continue till the end of all things, when each shall be separated, and reduced to its own sphere. *Plutarch*, who was a very ingenious, and a very inquisitive man, hath given us a long account of the doctrines of *Zoroaster*, very conformable to what has already been said, and agreeing perfectly well with the religion of the antient patriarchs, except in a few strokes of fable, which were either inserted by the mistake of the reporter of that abstract, or were invented by *Zerdusht*, to account for those things which surpass human understanding [a]. Some have endeavoured to account for the origin of the prince of darkness thus: *Oromasdes*, say they, said once within his mind, How shall my power appear, if there be nothing to oppose me? This reflection called *ahriman* into being, who thenceforward opposed all the designs of GOD, and thereby, in spite of himself, contributes to his glory. The souls of men, according to them, were at first unbodied spirits; but the Almighty, resolving to make use of them in warring against *ahriman*, cloathed them with flesh, promising them, that the light should never forsake them, till *ahriman* and all his servants were subdued; after which, the resurrection of the dead is to follow, with the separation of the light from the darkness, and the coming of the kingdom of peace. To say the truth, the notions they have of the beginning of all things, the state of our first parents, the attempts made on them by the prince of darkness, the last judgment, the salvation of the good, and the punishment of the bad, differ very little from what is delivered to us in the Scripture on these heads; only they have a long account of the war between GOD and the author of evil, which, they say, ended in a complete victory gained over the latter, and his adherents, who were constrained to surrender at discretion: that the Almighty did not annihilate his enemies, because, without opposition, his attributes could not have appeared with such lustre as they now do (G): that

*Of God's creating ahriman, or the devil.*

[z] HYDE, c. 11. 13. [a] PLUTARCH. de Iside & Osiride.

(G) In the course of ages, it is not to be wondered, that false notions crept into their religion in some places; as among the magi

*Of the duration of the world.*

that the world had existed three thousand years before this decisive battle, the whole of its duration being fixed to twelve thousand: that, after this defeat, GOD, by holding up three fingers, gave the evil one leave to chuse which three thousand years of the nine thousand yet to come he would please to take, wherein to trouble and vex mankind; whereupon he chose the middlemost. Before, say they, this power was given to *ahriman*, man lived in a state of innocence; but that, since his fall, war, and all other evils, have been introduced; that these however shall, in time, pass away, and man live again, for a certain space, in peace and glory. They place the day of judgment at the end of twelve thousand years: and, as to the damned, they assert, that they shall be punished, according to the heinousness of their crimes, two angels being appointed to be the inspectors of their sufferings. At last however even these are to be pardoned; but never to be admitted to the joys of the blessed, but to remain in a certain place by themselves, and to wear, in their foreheads, a black mark, as a badge of that state, from whence, through the mercy of GOD, they were freed [b].

[b] HYDE, c. 9.

*magi* of *Cappadocia*, who not only worshiped, with idolatrous circumstances, their sacred fires, but also introduced images in their temples. But that heresy, which, of all others, threatened the religion of *Zoroaster* most, was *Manicheism*; for *Manes*, that arch-heretic, resided long in *Persia*, and there broached his absurd notion of two eternal self-existent beings; and, by mingling the doctrines of magiism and Christianity, made up a monstrous system of incredible doctrines, attended with very ridiculous practices (20). However, these notions were rooted out, as will be hereafter shewn, by the authority of the civil magistrates; so that the present *Persees* have amongst them none of these whimsical chimeras, but retain the doctrine of their ancestors in all its purity, and are a religious as well as a most inoffensive people, tenacious of their own principles, but complaisant to other people, though very reserved; from whence proceed the many mistakes that have been made about them. When they speak, they never fail to express themselves in such a manner as fully purges all suspicion of their being idolaters; but they cannot help shewing, on such occasions, an inveterate dislike against two persons, celebrated by the greatest part of mankind as heroes and conquerors, but looked on by them as murderers and robbers. These are *Alexander the Great*, and *Mohammed*, both capital enemies of their country and nation (21).

(20) *Hyde relig. vet. Pers. c.* 21. *p.* 275. (21) *Chardin, tom.* ii. *p.* 180.

THE

THE point in which the *Persians* differ most from us, is as to the manner of GOD's creating the world, which, they say, happened not in six days, but in six seasons, each season containing many days; the first of these they stile *Mid-yuzeram*, containing forty-two days; in this, say they, the heavens were created, with all things belonging to them: the second they stile *Mid-yusham*, containing sixty days, wherein the waters were created: the third is by them named *Pitishahim*, including seventy-five days; in this the earth was made: the fourth they called *Iyaseram*, including thirty days, wherein were made the trees: the fifth goes under the name of *Midiyarim*, containing eighty days, in which all living creatures received being. The last they stile *Hameshpitamidim*, comprehending seventy-five days, wherein was made man [c]. *Of its creation.*

IT is now time for us to speak of the rites and ceremonies of the *Persians*, antient and modern, in the exercise of their religion, and every thing relating thereto. They have a regular clergy, and are very zealous in asserting an uninterrupted succession of persons instructed in their sacred mysteries, from the time of *Zerdusht* to this day. Their ordinary priests are obliged to live according to certain rules, much more severe than those given to the laity, as the reader will perceive at the end of the following page: their high-priests were under still stricter obligations; and all of them were bound to discharge their sacerdotal offices with mighty exactness and devotion [d]. As to their public worship, it was and is still thus performed: In every pyreum, or fire-temple, there stood an altar, on which burnt the sacred fire, which was always kept alive by the priest: when the people assembled, in order to their devotions, the priest put on a white habit and a mitre, with a gause or cloth passing before his mouth, that he might not breathe on the holy element: thus he read certain prayers out of the *Liturgy*, which he held in one hand, speaking very softly, and in a whispering sort of tone, holding in his left-hand certain small twigs of a sacred tree, which, as soon as the service was over, he threw into the fire. At these times all who were present put up their prayers to GOD, for such things as they stood in need of; and, when prayers were finished, the priest and people withdrew silently, and with all other tokens of awful respect. All these rites are still observed: but, to prevent, as far as possible, the people from falling into idolatry, the priest now informs them, when they are going from their devotions, of the reasons why they worship before the fire, and all the obligations they are under to treat it with reverence. This ex- *Their ceremonies and public worship.*

[c] LORD's religion of the Persees, c. 8. p. 41. [d] LORD's account of the Persian religion.

hortation runs usually in these words: "Forasmuch as fire "was delivered to *Zerdusht* by the Almighty, as the symbol "of his majesty; wherefore it was required, that we should "esteem it holy, and respect it as an emanation from the "fountain of light; and that we should love all things which "resemble it, especially the sun and moon, the two great wit-"nesses of GOD, the sight of which should put us in mind of "his omniscience; therefore let us, without superstition, keep "the command given us, evermore praising GOD for the great "usefulness of this element; and beseeching him to make us "always bear in mind the obligations we are under to do our "duty towards him; which is as necessary to the health and "happiness of the soul, as light and fire are to the ease and "welfare of the body [c] (H)."

THEY

[c] BEAUCHAMP's essays on important subjects, sect. iii.

(H) Among the antient *magi*, there were three degrees of priests, ordinary priests, overseers of these, and an archimagus, like our archbishop, or rather a metropolitan, who was acknowleged for the successor of *Zoroaster*, and held the supreme head of their church. These, in the old *Persian* language, were stiled *Mugh*, i. e. *Magus*; *Mubad*, i. e. superintendant; and *Mubad*, *Mubadan*, or high-priest (22). *Lord*, in his account of the religion of the *Persians*, calls them by other names, *viz. Daroos*, *Herboods*, and *Distecoos*; the last he makes equivalent to *Mubaid Mubadan*; and says, there is never any more than one chief of the clergy of the *Persees* at a time. As to the duty of their priests, the same writer tells us, that it is comprised in the eleven rules following; *viz.* 1. The observing the rites prescribed in the liturgy of *Zoroaster*, because GOD is best pleased with that form of prayer which he has prescribed. 2. To keep his eyes from coveting that which is another's; for God having given to every man what seems meet for him in his eyes, to desire that which is another's, is not only shewing a dislike of GOD's providence, but is likewise affronting him, by challenging that for our due which he hath denied us. 3. To have a care always to speak the truth; for all truth cometh from GOD, all lyes from the devil: all priests therefore should speak truth, because they are the servants of the GOD of truth, and, as such, are credited in what they say. 4. To keep close to his business, and not meddle with worldly matters; for it belongs to the layman to see the priest wants nothing that is necessary, and to the priest, not to desire any thing which is superfluous. 5. To get the book of the law by heart, that he may be always able to instruct the poor layman, and that he may see just

(22) *Hyde relig. vet Pers. c.* 28. *p.* 348.

cause

THEY keep yearly six festivals, each of five days continuance, in memory of the six seasons, wherein all things were created: after each of these feasts, they keep a fast of five days, in memory of GOD's resting five days, as they believe, at each of those seasons. As often as they eat either flesh, fowl, or fish, they carry a small part of it to the temple, as an offering to GOD, beseeching him that he would pardon them for taking away the lives of his creatures, in order to their own subsistence. They have none of those out-of-the-way notions relating to cleanness and uncleanness in meats, which expose some religions to ridicule; but, as they are a very complaisant as well as inoffensive people, they abstain from swines-flesh, and from the flesh of kine, that they may neither offend the *Mohammedans* nor the *Banians*, among whom they are obliged to live: they eat alone, for the sake of purity and cleanliness; they likewise drink every man out of his own cup [f]. *Festivals.*

WHEN their children are initiated into their religion, they send for a priest; and this is usually done as soon as the child is born. The priest calculates its nativity; afterwards he asks what name is to be given it. This being agreed on by the father and its relations, the priest telleth it to its mother, who then says, My child is called so or so; with which the ceremony ends at that time. The child is afterwards carried to the *pyreum*, where the priest first pours some water into the rind of a holy tree, and thence into the mouth of the child, beseech- *Education of children.*

[f] LORD's religion of the Persians, p. 40. HYDE relig. vet. Pers. c. 29.

cause to reverence his priest. 6. To keep himself pure and undefiled, because GOD loves the pure and undefiled; and this way only one man can excel another. 7. To be ready to forgive all injuries, shewing himself a pattern of meekness, that he may be thought one come from GOD; for we offend GOD every day: yet he giveth us things that are good, though we deserve, that he should pour on us evil for evil. 8. To teach the common people to pray according to the law; to go and pray with them for public benefits, when they desire it, and to perform constantly the known duties of his function. 9. To give licence for marriage to join the man and woman together; and to take care, that parents do not marry their children without his approbation. 10. To spend the greatest part of his time in the temple, that he may be ready to assist all who come to him, because thereto God hath appointed him. 11. To believe no other law than that given by *Zerdusht*; to add nothing thereto, nor to take any thing from it, seeing to this end it was revealed (23).

(23) *Lord's religion of the Persees, p.* 32.

ing God to cleanse the tender infant from whatever seeds of corruption it may have received from its father, and from the impurities derived from its mother. At seven years of age the child is led to church to be confirmed there: the priest teaches him some prayers, and instructs him in the first principles of religion. These are repeated daily, till he is well acquainted with the articles of his faith: then he is permitted to pray for the first time before the holy fire; after which the priest gives him water to drink, and a pomgranate-leaf to chew; then he causes the lad to wash his body with clean water; after which he puts on a linen cassock next his skin, which descends below his waist, and is girt with a girdle of camel's hair, woven by the priest's own hand. These ceremonies over, the priest blesses him, bids him be a true *Persee* all the days of his life, to beware of falling into idolatry, or breaking any of the pre-

*Marriages* cepts given by *Zerdusht* [g] (I). Of their marriages we are told by

[g] Lord's religion of the Persees, p. 45. Hyde relig. vet. Pers. c. 34.

(I) As to the high-priest, he, over and above the duties injoined the priests in general, is desired to observe the following thirteen precepts (24): 1. He must take care not to pollute himself in any manner, because God hath chosen him to be holy. 2. In order to do this, he must do all things for himself, to preserve himself from being contaminated by the uncleanness of others; as also to shew his humility in so high a station. 3. He is to take the layman's tythe, *i. e.* the tenth of all that he has, but not to his own use; for he is to consider himself as the almoner of God, who makes use of him only to dispense to the poor the tribute paid by the rich. 4. That this may appear to be fairly done, he must avoid all pomp and superfluity, and, at the year's end, must give away the last farthing, since his revenue is settled, and always paid with good will. 5. His house must be near the temple, and he must give a good example to his flock, by staying much at home, and by giving himself up to prayer. 6. As in his public, so in his private life, he must be extremely frugal and temperate in all things. 7. He must not only be acquainted with the law, but with all the sciences; seeing he is to instruct all others of his religion, clergy and laity. 8. He must keep a low diet, because high eating, or strong liquors, disturb the faculties of the mind, and discompose that serenity of disposition, which should be always found in the man of God. 9. He must fear only God, and hate nothing but sin. 10. As he is supreme in all spiritual causes, he must reprove sinners without any regard to their rank; and they must hear him patiently, since he speaks not in his own

(24) *Hyde relig. vet. Pers. c.* 13.

cause,

by a very intelligent author, that they have five sorts: First, that of children in their minority: Secondly, that of widowers with a second wife: Thirdly, of such persons as marry by their own choice: Fourthly, the marriage of the dead, which is occasioned by an opinion they have entertained, that married people are peculiarly happy in the other world: wherefore, when a young person dies in celibacy, they hire one to be married to him, or her; which ceremony is performed a little after the burial: The last kind of marriage is where a person adopts either a son or a daughter, and then gives him or her in marriage; which is also founded on a religious opinion, that all men ought to leave heirs behind them, either natural or adopted. As to the ceremonies made use of on this occasion, they are very singular, but, at the same time, have nothing in them wild or irrational: the parties designing to contract matrimony are seated together on a bed, about midnight; opposite to them stand two priests, the one for the man, the other for the woman, holding rice in their hands, to intimate the fruitfulness which they wish the new-married couple; on each hand of the priests stand the relations of the bride and bridegroom. Things being in this situation, the bridegroom's priest lays his forefinger on the woman's forehead, and says, Wilt thou have

cause, but God's. 11. He must above all things study to distinguish truth from error. 12. Though, in consequence of his high office, he may, for his consolation, receive visions and other manifestations from God, yet he is not to publish them; for that would but confound the people, who are to adhere to the written law. 13. He must preserve the ever-living fire brought by *Zerdusht* from heaven, that it may endure through all ages, till the world shall be destroyed by that element (25).

It is very possible, that the reader, in the perusal of this section, may incline to wish, that in some things we had delivered ourselves more copiously; and therefore it may not be amiss to inform him, that, in treating of the *Persian* history, as delivered by the oriental writers, we shall take occasion to retouch various points relating to the religion of the antient *Persians*; because much of their history depends upon them as to inconsiderable customs, such as wearing this or that colour, this or that kind of cap; these we have purposely omitted, as deeming them not worthy of being mentioned in so great a work as this. Let us however note one thiug, that their priests at confirmation sell the youth a girdle, which he is bound to keep all his life long, and to use it constantly, because, when he lays it aside, he no longer enjoys the benefits of the priest's benediction. Dr. *Hyde* is of opinion, that the *English* saying *ungirt*, *unblest*, has some allusion to this (26).

(25) *Lord's religion of the Persees, p.* 36. (26) *Relig. vet. Pers. c.* 33.

this man to be thy wedded husband? The woman aſſenting, her prieſt lays his fore-finger on the man's forehead, and asks the like queſtion: which being anſwered in the affirmative, the parties then join hands; the man promiſes, that he will provide her a ſuitable maintenance; the woman acknowleges, that all ſhe has is his: the prieſts then ſcatter rice over them, wiſhing that they may be fruitful, and beſeeching GOD, that they may have many ſons and daughters, that they may live in unity of mind, and arrive at a good old age, in poſſeſſion of all the joys of wedlock. The ceremony over, the woman's parents pay the dowry, and a feaſt of eight days is kept for joy of the marriage [h].

*Their burials.*

As to their burials, two things are remarkable; firſt, the place; ſecondly, the manner. Firſt, as to the place, they have a round tower erected, on the top of which the bodies of the dead are laid, to be devoured by the fowls of the air: ſome affirm, that they have ſeparate towers for the good and for the bad; others, that men, women, and children, are placed on ſeveral towers. The reaſon of thus expoſing them we have elſewhere given; *viz.* the preſerving the elements pure; for they conceive, that by not interring the dead they avoid polluting the earth, and by leaving the corpſe unprotected from birds of prey they provide, in ſome meaſure, againſt the infection of the air. However, this cuſtom was antiently eſteemed ſo barbarous by other nations, that one of the [i] apologiſts for the Chriſtian faith, ſpeaking of the good effects it had on mens minds, in reforming them from brutal and wicked habits, mentions this expreſly, that the *Perſians*, ſince they had received the Chriſtian doctrines, no more expoſed the bodies of their dead, but afforded them a decent burial. Before we part with this ſubject, it may not be amiſs to obſerve what is practiſed among them when a man is on his death-bed: a prieſt is in ſuch a caſe always ſent for; and he, drawing near the bed, prayeth thus, in the ear of the ſick man: "O Almighty "LORD, thou haſt commanded we ſhould not offend thee; this "man hath offended: thou haſt ordained, that we ſhould do "good; yet this man hath done evil: thou haſt required, that "we ſhould duly and exactly worſhip thee; which, however, "this man hath neglected. Now, O merciful GOD, at the "hour of death forgive him his offences, his miſdeeds, and "his neglects, and receive him to thyſelf!" When he is dead, the prieſt comes not near him; but the corpſe is put on an iron bier, and carried to the place of interment, the bearers being forbid to ſpeak as they go along, out of decency, and

[h] LORD's religion of the Perſees, p. 48. [i] THEODOR. de curand. Græc. affectib. ſerm. ix. de leg. p. 128.

alſo

also because in the grave there is an unbroken silence: the dead body being placed on the tower, the priest, standing at a distance, performeth the funeral service, which he concludes thus; "This our brother, while he lived, consisted of the "four elements: now he is dead, let each take his own; "earth to earth, air to air, water to water, fire to fire." They suppose, that the spirit wanders for three days, after its departure from the body, and is in that space pursued and tormented by the devil, till it is able to reach their sacred fire, to which he cannot come. They therefore pray morning, noon, and night, during these three days, for the soul of their deceased brother, beseeching God to blot out his sins, and to cancel all his offences: on the fourth day, supposing his fate to be decided, they make a great feast; which closes the ceremonies used on this occasion [k].

Thus far we thought necessary to say, on this copious and controverted subject, chiefly to justif the much misrepresented *Persees* from the charge of so senseless an idolatry as the worshiping either the luminaries, planets, or elements. To have inlarged more upon it, would have led us too far, and exceeded the bounds we must prescribe ourselves in so extensive a work. The curious reader may, however, from the authors quoted in the margin, collect himself such a system of the *Persee* religion, both with relation to their doctrine and practices, as will amply reward all his pains and study. But it is time for us to pass to another part of their history.

[k] Lord's religion of the Persees, p. 49.

## SECT. IV.

### *The reigns of the kings of* Persia.

*The state of* Persia *before* Cyrus.

As we know but very little of the state of *Persia* before *Cyrus*'s time, we shall not pretend to give an account of the kings who preceded that prince. We have already shewn [a], that *Elam*, or *Persia*, was governed in the earliest times by its own kings, and those very powerful. *Chedorlaomer*, the first king of *Elam*, mentioned in Scripture, extended his conquests over many provinces of *Asia*; for *Bera* king of *Sodom*, *Birsha* king of *Gomorrah*, *Shinab* king of *Admah*, *Shemeber* king of *Zeboiim*, and the king of *Bela* or *Zoar*, were his tributaries [b]. These five princes lived twelve years in subjection to *Chedorlaomer*; but, in the thirteenth, uniting their forces, made an attempt towards the recovery of their former liberty.

[a] See before, p. 50. [b] Gen. xiv. 4, & Joseph. antiq. l. i. c. 10.

The king of *Elam* no sooner heard, that they were up in arms, but, entering into an alliance with *Amraphel* king of *Shinar*, *Arioch* king of *Ellasar*, and *Tidal* king of nations, he marched out against them; and, having first reduced the *Rephaims*, the *Zuzims*, the *Emims*, the *Horites*, the *Amalekites*, and the *Amorites* of *Hazezontamar*, at last he fell upon the revolters, put their army to the rout, killed the kings of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*; and, having pillaged their cities, marched back towards *Elam*, loaded with the spoils of the conquered nations. *Lot*, who, as *Josephus* [d] informs us, assisted the *Sodomites*, had the misfortune to be taken prisoner on this occasion; and had been carried into captivity, had he not been timely rescued by *Abraham*, who, pursuing the enemy with a small body of chosen men, came up with them at *Dan* the fifth day after their victory, put them to flight, and returned in triumph, with his brother and all his family, redeemed from the insults of a victorious foe. By this overthrow *Chedorlaomer* lost the sovereignty of the *Pentapolis*, but retained his other conquests, which were very considerable. From the reign of this prince to that of *Cyrus*, we know nothing to be relied on but what we have already hinted at in the history of the *Medes*; *viz.* that the *Elamites* or *Persians* were a great and powerful nation; that they were in all likelihood subdued by the *Assyrians*, but afterwards recovered their antient liberty, and were governed by princes of their own nation till the sixth year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, when they were again brought under subjection by that great warrior, and his ally *Cyaxares* king of *Media*. While they lived in subjection to the *Assyrians*, *Medes*, and *Babylonians*, the throne was still filled with natives of *Persia*, though tributaries to those greater powers. The only great family we find upon record is that of *Achæmenes*, which must have been very conspicuous, since *Xerxes*, when at the height of his glory, was proud to derive from thence his pedigree, which he does in the following manner [e];

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Achæmenes*, | *Teipses*, | *Hystaspes*, |
| *Cambyses*, | *Ariaramnes*, | *Darius*, |
| *Cyrus*, | *Arsames*, | *Xerxes*. |

Of this great family there were two branches: from the first was descended *Cyrus the great*, whose issue male failed in his two sons *Cambyses* and *Smerdis*. Some place his ancestors in the following manner [f];

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Perses*, | *Cyrus*, | *Cambyses*, |
| *Achæmenes*, | *Cambyses*, | *Smerdis*. |
| *Darius*, | *Cyrus the great*, | |

[d] Joseph. antiq. l. ii. c. 10. [e] Herod. l. vii. c. 11.
[f] Reinecc. hist. Jul. p. 37.

They

They will have *Perses*, of whom, say they, *Persia* borrowed its name, to be the first of this family that reigned in *Persia*. We are told, that *Achæmenes* was nursed by an eagle [h]: and of this fabulous eagle the no less fabulous wolf of *Romulus* was, perhaps, a transcript. *Darius* is mentioned by the scholiast of *Aristophanes* [i]; and supposed by some to have coined the famous *darics*, or *stateres darici*. *Cyrus* had two children, *Cambyses* and *Atossa*: *Atossa* married *Pharnaces* king of *Cappadocia* [k], and *Cambyses Mandane* the so-much celebrated daughter of *Astyages* king of *Media*, by whom he had *Cyrus the Great* (A). But as nothing occurs worthy of notice, especially that we can depend upon, in the history of the *Persian* kings before *Cyrus*, we shall proceed, without dwelling on so dark and barren a subject, to the reign of that great and glorious prince.

Cyrus. THE name of *Cyrus* is equally famous in sacred and profane history: in the latter, his valour and conquests have rendered his memory immortal, as has, in the former, his kind treatment of the captive *Hebrews*, whom he restored to their antient state, country, and temple, having been by the divine will appointed thereunto by name [l], many years before he appeared in the world: an honour bestowed upon none but him, and that excellent prince *Josiah* [m] king of *Judah*. Profane historians are at no small variance with each other touching the birth of this prince, his education, and accession to the crown. *Herodotus* and *Xenophon* are the only two original authors, as we may call them, whom we can quote and follow in what relates to the life and exploits of this prince; for other writers have copied after them, some adopting the accounts of the one, and some of the other: they are both very minute in their relations, and agree in some particulars, but widely differ in others. We shall, in the first place, hear *Herodotus*, the father of history, as *Tully* calls him; but whether his accounts be genuine, or rather interwoven, and seasoned to the *Greek* taste, with several fabulous and surprising incidents, is what we shall have occasion to examine afterwards.

[h] ÆLIAN. de animal. l. xii. c. 21.
[i] Scholiast. Aristoph. ad eccles. ver. 741, 742.
[k] DIOD. SIC. in fragm. l. xxxi.
[l] Isa. xliv. 28. & xlv. 1.
[m] 1 Kings xiii. 2.

(A) *Ovid* (1) mentions one *Orchamus* king of *Persia*, and makes him the seventh after *Belus*.

*Rexit Achæmenias urbes pater Orchamus, isque*
*Septimus a prisco numeratur origine Belo.*

As this king is no-where to be found but in *Ovid*'s metamorphoses, what is said of him deserves no more credit than they do.

(1) *Ovid. metamorph. l.* iv.

ASTYAGES,

*Account of the birth, education, &c. of* Cyrus, *according to* Herodotus.

ASTYAGES, the last king of the *Medes*, being warned by a dream, that the son who was to be born of his daughter *Mandane*, should one day be lord of all *Asia*, resolved to marry her, not to a *Mede* worthy of her bed, but to a *Persian*; and accordingly chose one *Cambyses*, sprung from an antient family, but of a peaceable disposition, and, as he thought, inferior in rank to a *Mede*, even of a middling condition. A year after they were married, *Astyages* was frightened by another dream, portending anew, according to the interpretation of the mages, the empire of *Asia* to his grandson (B). Hereupon *Astyages* sends for his daughter, then big with child; and, upon her arrival in *Media*, puts her under a guard, determined to destroy the child she should be delivered of; for the mages had assured him, that the issue of his daughter was to fill his throne. *Mandane*, not long after her confinement, was brought to bed of a son, whom *Astyages*, mindful of the interpretation of the mages, delivered to one *Harpagus*, injoining him, as he tendered his own life, to take the new-born son of *Mandane*, to carry him to his house, and there dispatch him with his own hands, in what manner he should think best. *Harpagus* promised to put the king's orders in execution; and, having received from the guards the infant, richly dressed, went home under great concern, to see himself employed in so hateful and inhuman an office: he acquainted his wife, as soon as he came home, with what had passed between *Astyages* and himself; and resolved not to execute the sentence with his own hands, but to transfer his charge to another. With this design he immediately sent for one of the king's herdsmen, who kept his cattle in pastures lying at the foot of certain mountains on the north of *Ecbatan*, towards the *Caspian* sea: the herdsman's name was *Mithridates*, and his wife's *Spaco*, in the language of the *Medes*, which signifies a bitch, and answers to her *Greek* name *Cyno*. *Mithridates*, without delay, waited upon *Harpagus*, who commanded him, in the king's name, to take the infant, and expose it in the most dangerous and abandoned part of the mountains, upon pain of dying in the most exquisite tortures that could be invented: he added, that the king had charged him to see his orders put in execution. The herdsman, not daring to make any remonstrance against the king's command, returned with the child to his cottage, where he found

(B) His first dream was, that his daughter *Mandane* had voided so great a quantity of water, as not only filled the metropolis of the kingdom, but overflowed all *Asia*. In the other he saw a vine shooting from the womb of his daughter, and extending its branches over all *Asia* (2).

(2) *Herodot. l.* i. *c.* 107, 108.

his

his wife just delivered of a son: during her husband's absence, she had been in great trouble and perplexity, on account of the message from *Harpagus*, who had never before sent for him; so that he no sooner set his foot within the door, but she asked him in great surprize, why *Harpagus* had sent for him in such haste. He told her he had been in the city, where he had heard and seen such things as grieved him beyond expression; that, when he arrived, the house of *Harpagus* was all in tears; and that, as he went in, he was struck with horror, at the sight of an infant, dressed in gold and the richest colours, panting and crying on the floor; that *Harpagus* had commanded him to carry away this child, and expose it on the mountains to the mercy of the wild beasts, upon pain of incurring the king's displeasure, and undergoing the severest punishments that could be inflicted; that, at first, he had supposed the unhappy infant to belong to some person of the family of *Harpagus*; but that he had been afterwards informed by the servant that attended him out of the city, and delivered the babe into his hands, that it was born of *Mandane* the king's daughter, and was son to *Cambyses* of *Persia*; and that *Astyages* had commanded it should be put to death [l].

HAVING thus spoken, he disclosed the child to his wife; who no sooner saw it, but, being ravished with the innocent smiles of the infant, she embraced her husband, and, with many tears, intreated him not to execute the orders he had received. But he remonstrating the absolute necessity he was under of obeying, or forfeiting his own life, since the spies of *Harpagus* would, without fail, keep a watchful eye over him, and see whether he performed what had been so strictly injoined him, she suggested to him to take their own child, that was still-born, to expose it instead of the other, and bring up the son of *Mandane* as their own; for, by that means, said she, we shall sufficienrly consult our own safety, without injuring others, the dead child will be honoured with a royal sepulcre, and the surviving infant be preserved from an untimely death [m].

Cyrus *preserved and nursed by a shepherd.*

MITHRIDATES approved of this expedient, and, delivering the infant he was charged to destroy into his wife's hands, dressed the dead child in the rich apparel of the living; and carried it, in the same basket in which he had brought the other, to the most unfrequented part of the mountains. Three days after, he acquainted *Harpagus*, that, if he pleased, he could shew him the body of the dead infant; and he accordingly dispatched some of his friends, in whom he most confided, to see that the sentence had been put in execution,

[l] HEROD. l. i. c. 107, & seq. [m] Idem ibid.

and

and to inter the royal infant. Thus was *Cyrus*, for so was the infant afterwards called, delivered from the snares of his grandfather, and educated by the herdsman's wife as her own [n].

*Gives early marks of his royal spirit.*

When he attained to the age of ten years, as he was one day playing in the pastures with other children of his age, he was chosen king by his companions; and, having, in virtue of that dignity, distinguished them into several orders and classes, the son of *Artembares*, a lord of eminent dignity among the *Medes*, who was one of his companions in the play, refused to obey his orders: whereupon *Cyrus* commanded him to be immediately seized, and whipped very severely. The boy, with many tears, complained to his father of what he had suffered from the herdsman's son; and the father, highly resenting the affront, hastened, with his son, to the king's palace; and, shewing that prince in what a cruel and ignominious manner his child had been abused by the son of a slave, intreated him to avenge, by some very exemplary punishment, the indignity offered to him, and his whole family. *Astyages* promised to give him full satisfaction; and, commanding both the herdsman and his son to be brought before him, asked *Cyrus*, how he, who was the son of so mean a man, had dared to abuse the child of one of the chief lords in the kingdom. *Cyrus* replied, that he had done no more than he had a right to do; for, the boys of the neighbourhood having made him their king, because they thought him the most worthy of that dignity, and performed what he, in virtue of that character, had commanded them, the son of *Artembares* alone had slighted his orders; and, for his disobedience, had suffered the punishment he deserved. As the boy was pleading his cause, with an eloquence far superior to his years and education, *Astyages* took particular notice of his mien and features; and, thinking that he resembled himself, began to reflect on the time that his grandson was exposed, which he found to agree with the age of the herdsman's supposed son. Being perplexed with this thought, he dismissed *Artembares*, assuring him, that his son should have no cause to complain, and commanded his guards to conduct *Cyrus* into the palace. Being then in private with the herdsman, he asked whose boy *Cyrus* was, and from whose hands he had him. *Mithridates* affirmed, that he was his own child; and that the boy's mother, who was still living, would come, if he pleased, to attest it. But *Astyages*, giving no credit to what he averred, commanded his guards to seize him; whereupon he discovered, without reserve, the whole matter, and implored the king's mercy [o].

*Discovered to Astyages.*

[n] Herod. l. i. c. 114. [o] Idem ibid. c. 116.

Astyages

ASTYAGES was not so much incensed against the herdsman, as against his favourite *Harpagus*, whom he ordered the guards to bring, without delay, to the palace. Upon his arrival, the king, in a violent passion, asked him, in what manner he had put to death the son of his daughter *Mandane*. When *Harpagus* saw the herdsman, he thought he should but aggravate his crime, by attempting to elude the storm that threatened him by any sort of falshood, and therefore openly confessed what he had done; adding, that he thought he had taken the most effectual means he could to put his orders in execution; and that he truly believed the child was dead, since the most trusty among his friends had assured him, that they had seen and interred the body [p].

ASTYAGES, dissembling his resentment, acquainted *Harpagus* with what the herdsman had confessed; adding, that the child was still alive, and that he was very well pleased his orders had not been executed; for he had been under great concern ever since he issued that cruel command, and had not been able to bear the reproaches of his daughter. He then ordered *Harpagus* to send his son to wait on the young *Cyrus*, and to come himself that night to sup with him, since he intended to offer a sacrifice to the gods, in thanksgiving for the care they had taken of his grandson [q].

HARPAGUS, overjoyed at the king's speech, returned home; and, acquainting his wife with what had passed, immediately sent his only son to attend *Cyrus*, as he had been commanded. His son, who was about thirty years old, no sooner entered the palace, but he was seized, barbarously murdered, and cut in pieces, by order of *Astyages*; who gave directions, that the mangled body, variously dressed and disguised, should be served up at supper. *Harpagus*, and the rest of the guests, repaired to the palace at the hour appointed: the others were splendidly entertained; but the table, where *Harpagus* supped, was served only with the flesh of his son. When he had done, the king asked him, whether he had been pleased with his victuals; and, *Harpagus* answering, that he had never tasted any thing more delicious, the officers, appointed for that purpose, brought in a basket, containing the head, hands, and feet of his son, desiring him to uncover the basket, and take what he liked best. He did as they desired, and beheld the remains of his only child, without betraying any sort of concern or resentment at so shocking a sight; such was the command he had of his passions. The king inquired, whether he knew with what kind of meat he had been entertained: *Harpagus* replied, he knew very well, and was always pleased with whatever his

Harpagus's *dreadful punishment, and policy.*

[p] HEROD. lib. i. c. 117. [q] Idem ibid. c. 118.

sovereign thought fit to ordain. Having thus replied, with a surprising temper, he collected the mangled parts of his innocent son, and went home, as our author conjectures, to inter them [r].

*Cyrus sent back to his real parents.*

ASTYAGES, having thus vented his rage upon the unfortunate *Harpagus*, began to consider with himself what he should do with *Cyrus*; and, having again consulted the *mages*, their answer was, that, if the boy lived, he must of necessity be king. *Astyages* then acquainted them, that he was still alive; adding, as a very material circumstance, that he had been chosen king by the boys of the neighbourhood where he lived, and performed all the parts of a real king with the utmost rigour and severity. Hereupon the *mages* replied, that the prediction of his reign was already accomplished, in the choice which the boys had made of him for their king, and that he would never reign a second time; for dreams, said they, often end in things of small importance, and are fulfilled by trifling events. They advised him therefore to divest himself of all fear, and send the boy to his parents in *Persia* [s].

ASTYAGES, well pleased with this answer, called *Cyrus*; and, owning how much he had been wanting in the affection which he ought naturally to have had for him, by reason of an insignificant dream, desired him to get ready for a journey into *Persia*, where he would find his real father and mother, in circumstances very different from those of the poor herdsman *Mithridates*, and his wife *Spaco* [t].

THUS *Astyages*, after many kind expressions, dismissed his young grandson, attended by several lords of the first rank. Upon his arrival at his father's house, he was received by his parents with a tenderness and joy, which is more easy to conceive, than express. As they had long given him over for dead, they asked him, in what manner his life had been preserved. He then acquainted them, that he had lived in an intire ignorance of his condition, and had been unacquainted with his true birth, believing himself the son of the king's herdsman, till those, who attended him on his journey into *Persia*, informed him of all that had passed. He related how he had been educated by the herdsman's wife, and, frequently repeating the name of *Cyno*, commended her on all occasions: and this name his parents made use of, as our author informs us, to persuade the *Persians*, that the preservation of their son was, in a very particular manner, owing to the immortal gods, since he had been nourished, as they industriously spread abroad, and was commonly believed, by a bitch [u].

[r] HEROD. lib. i. c. 119. [s] Idem ibid. c. 120. [t] Idem ibid. c. 121. [u] Idem ibid. c. 122.

WHEN

When *Cyrus* attained to the age of manhood, and was become very popular in his own country, and famous in *Media*, on account of his extraordinary parts, *Harpagus*, who had never forgot the inhuman murder of his son, began to court his friendship, with a design to join with him, who had been equally injured, in revenging so barbarous a treatment. At the same time, he solicited the leading men among the *Medes*, who were highly dissatisfied with the tyrannical government of *Astyages*, to take up arms, and redeem themselves, and their unhappy country, from the calamities they groaned under, by deposing *Astyages*, and advancing his grandson *Cyrus* to the throne. They all to a man shewed themselves disposed to second his designs: whereupon he thought it high time to discover his intentions to *Cyrus*, who was to act the chief part in this revolution; and accordingly he acquainted him with them by a letter, which, as all the roads leading to *Persia* were guarded by the king's troops, he conveyed to him in the belly of an hare; the hare he delivered to one of his most trusty domestics, dressed in the habit of an hunter, injoining him to desire *Cyrus* not to open the letter in the presence of any person whatsoever. Harpagus stirs up a revolt against Astyages.

The messenger executed his orders; and *Cyrus*, opening the hare with his own hands, found a letter, reminding him of the care which the gods had had of his preservation against the wicked designs, and barbarous attempts, of his grandfather, and encouraging him to stir up the *Persians* to a revolt, and, at the head of their forces, to invade *Media*, where all the chief commanders were ready to join him, and determined, at all events, to advance him to the throne, instead of his unnatural grandfather. He took care to put him in mind of what he had suffered on his account, and how barbarously he had been punished for not executing the king's bloody orders. *Cyrus*, having read the letter, began to consider what measures he should take, to induce the *Persians* to revolt; and, after various schemes, fixed upon the following as the most proper: he feigned a letter from *Astyages*, appointing him commander in chief of all the *Persian* forces. This he read in a general assembly of the nation, and, in virtue of his new commission, commanded them all to attend him, every man with an hatchet. He was obeyed; and, being all met, in pursuance to his orders, he injoined them to clear, in one day, a spot of ground, containing eighteen or twenty furlongs, overgrown with thorns and briars. This laborious piece of work being performed, not without some reluctancy, he dismissed them, with orders to attend him again the next day. In the mean time, he caused all his father's flocks and herds to be killed and dressed, provided wine, and bought all the dainties *Persia* could supply Cyrus's stratagem to cause the Persians to revolt.

him with. They all assembled the next day, expecting to be employed as they had been the day before; but, contrary to their expectations, *Cyrus* ordered them to sit down on the green turf, and entertained them with a great feast. When they had solaced themselves with dainties, which to that time they had been strangers to, the young prince asked them, whether they would chuse to live always in that manner, or as they had done the day before. They all answered readily, that, as mirth and pleasure were greatly preferable to toil and labour, they would gladly chuse the condition of the present day before that of the preceding. Upon this answer, *Cyrus* acquainted them, that, if they hearkened to his advice, they should enjoy these, and far greater pleasures, without any kind of servile labour: but, if they refused to follow him, they must undergo innumerable hardships, like those they had complained of the day before. He then discloſed to them his true design of delivering his country from the *Median* bondage, and encouraged his countrymen to join him in so great and glorious an enterprize, by telling them, that some divine power had brought him into the world, and miraculously saved his life, that he might be one day the author of their happiness. The *Persians*, who had lived for many years, with the utmost reluctancy, in subjection to the *Medes*, declared him, with one accord, their leader, and protested, that they would stand by him in so good a cause, even at the expence of their lives [w].

Astyages *defeated by* Cyrus.

In the mean time *Astyages*, being informed of what was doing in *Persia*, dispatched a messenger to *Cyrus*, injoining him to repair forthwith into *Media*; but *Cyrus*, by the same messenger, returned this resolute answer, that he would come sooner than *Astyages* desired. Whereupon the king drew together all his forces, and, forgetful of his cruelty towards *Harpagus*, appointed him general of the army. The two nations came to a general engagement; but the chief officers among the *Medes* passing over to *Cyrus*, with the bodies under their command, the rest of the army was routed with great slaughter. When *Astyages* heard of this defeat, he flew into a violent passion; and, vowing that *Cyrus* should not long enjoy

*His cruelty to the* mages.

the pleasure of his victory, he first caused the mages, who had interpreted his dream, to be impaled; and then, arming all the *Medes*, marched out himself at the head of them. Both armies came to a second engagement, in which the *Medes* were again defeated, and the king himself taken prisoner. *Astyages*, in this state, was reproached and insulted by the revengeful *Harpagus*, who, among other things, asked him, what he now thought of his tragical feast, when he compelled

[w] Herodot. l. i. c. 123—127.

him

him to devour the fleſh of his own ſon, for which inhuman and barbarous action he had now fallen from the throne to a priſon. *Aſtyages*, in return, fixing his eyes on *Harpagus*, asked him, whether he had been inſtrumental in bringing about this revolution. He anſwered, that it was chiefly owing to him, ſince he had the firſt encouraged *Cyrus* to this undertaking. Then, replied *Aſtyages*, you are the weakeſt and moſt unjuſt of all men; the weakeſt, in giving the kingdom to another, when you might have ſeized on it yourſelf, ſince you have been able to effect this change; the moſt unjuſt, in enſlaving your country, to revenge a private injury; for, if you were determined to depoſe me, and confer the kingdom on another, without taking the power into your own hands, you might, with more juſtice, have advanced a *Mede* to that dignity, than a *Perſian*: whereas the *Medes*, who were before lords of *Perſia*, and no-way concerned in the injury, are now, by your means, reduced to the condition of ſlaves; and the *Perſians*, who were ſervants to the *Medes*, are now become their lords. In this manner, concludes our author, *Aſtyages* was deprived of the kingdom, after he had reigned thirty-five years; and, through his cruelty, the *Medes* became ſubject to the *Perſians*, after they had ruled over all thoſe provinces of *Aſia*, that lie on the other ſide the *Halys*, for the ſpace of an hundred and twenty-eight years, including the time of the *Scythian* dominion over that part of *Aſia*. As for *Aſtyages*, *Cyrus* kept him priſoner in his palace till he died, without practiſing any further ſeverity upon him [x].

*Brave answer to the inſulting Harpagus.*

*His death.*

THIS is the account *Herodotus* gives us; which every impartial and judicious reader muſt conclude to be an arrant romance, compoſed perhaps by ſome admirer of *Cyrus*, and adopted by our author, as more agreeable to the depraved taſte of his countrymen, who took greater delight in ſurpriſing, though fabulous, events, than in the relation of plain hiſtorical truths.

WHAT the ſame author relates of the death of this great hero, deſerves, in our opinion, no more credit than what he has told of his birth, education, and advancement to the crown. This prince, according to him [y], invaded the *Maſſagetes*; and having, in the firſt battle, feigned a flight, left a great quantity of proviſions, eſpecially of wine, in the field. The barbarians did not fail to ſeize on the booty, and indulged themſelves in drinking to ſuch an exceſs, that they all fell aſleep on the ſpot. In this condition *Cyrus* returned upon them, obtained an eaſy victory, and took a great many priſoners, among whom was *Spargapiſes* the ſon of queen *Tomyris*. This heroine, being informed of the defeat of her troops, and capti-

[x] HERODOT. l. i. c. 127—130. [y] Idem ibid. c. 211—213.

vity of her ſon, ſent an herald to *Cyrus*, intreating him to releaſe the young prince; which he refuſing to do, *Spargapiſes*, preferring death to ſlavery, laid violent hands on himſelf: whereupon his mother *Tomyris*, animated with an eager deſire of revenge, gave the *Perſians* battle a ſecond time; which, ſays our author, was the moſt obſtinate and bloody that ever was fought by the barbarians. Many fell on both ſides; but, at laſt, the *Maſſagetes* carrying the day, the greateſt part of the *Perſian* army was cut in pieces, and *Cyrus* himſelf killed in the field, after having reigned twenty-nine years. *Tomyris*, having found his body among the ſlain, cauſed his head to be cut off, and thrown into a veſſel filled with human blood, inſulting the memory of the dead prince with theſe words, *Glut thyſelf with the blood which thou haſt ſo inſatiably thirſted after* [z].

*Cyrus's defeat and death, according to the ſame author.*

WHAT the ſame hiſtorian relates of his childiſh revenge upon the river *Gyndes* (C), while he was on his march to beſiege *Babylon*, is utterly repugnant to the idea we have of that wiſe and experienced commander: for he tells us, that one of the ſacred horſes of *Cyrus* being drowned in that river, that prince, highly reſenting ſuch an affront, immediately cauſed the *Gyndes* to be cut by his army into three hundred and ſixty chanels; a work which employed his army the whole ſummer, and obliged him to poſtpone the ſiege of *Babylon* to the ſpring enſuing. Who can imagine, that a commander of ſo great experience, and ſuch an extraordinary moderation, as *Cyrus* is, even by *Herodotus* himſelf, repreſented to have been, while he was marching to the conqueſt of *Babylon*, ſhould ſo idly waſte his time, and ſpend the ardour of his troops in ſuch an unprofitable piece of work?

WE ſhall now give what we look upon as the true hiſtory of *Cyrus*, being extracted out of *Xenophon*, whom we chooſe to follow in what concerns that great conqueror, and excellent prince, ſeeing his accounts are far more agreeable to holy writ, the ſtandard of truth, than thoſe of *Herodotus*. We are told, for inſtance, in Scripture, that the *Babylonians* were reduced by the united forces of the *Medes* and *Perſians*; and this is what we read in *Xenophon*: whereas *Herodotus* raiſes the *Perſian* empire on the ruins of that of the *Medes*; which is repugnant to Scripture. It is true, that moſt of the antients have choſen to follow *Herodotus* rather than *Xenophon*: but that we can eaſily account for. The relations of the former are interwoven with events far more ſtrange and ſurpriſing,

*Cyrus's hiſtory, according to* Xenophon, *more conſonant with the ſacred writings.*

[z] HEROD. l. i. c. 14.

(C) The river *Gyndes* riſes on the hills of *Matiene*, and, paſſing through *Dardania*, falls into the *Tigris*.

and conſequently more diverting and acceptable to the reader; whence they were preferred to thoſe of the latter, in which we find nothing calculated to raiſe admiration. This natural inclination in a writer, to adopt ſuch accounts as he thinks will prove moſt agreeable to his reader, has been too much countenanced by *Plato* [z], who, in giving a character of *Xenophon's Cyropædia*, tells us, that he rather deſcribed, in that work, what a worthy and juſt prince ought to be, than gave us a true hiſtory of what that prince really was. From this paſſage *Diogenes Laertius* concludes [a], that *Plato* looked on the *inſtitution of* Cyrus as a fiction: *Tully* paſſes the ſame judgment on this performance, ſaying [b], that *Xenophon's Cyrus* was not intended for a true hiſtory, but to ſerve as a model of a juſt empire. Moſt of the modern critics have declared themſelves of the ſame opinion; and we muſt own, that as *Xenophon* was both a great commander and philoſopher, he has woven into that hiſtory many of his own maxims of war and policy: but it does not follow from hence, that the ground-plot of the work, and the moſt material tranſactions he relates, may not be called a true hiſtory. That he intended it for ſuch, is plain; for, in the very beginning of the work, he acquaints us, that he had taken great care and pains to inform himſelf of *Cyrus's* birth, education, and character: and that it is really ſuch, its conformity with holy writ ſufficiently ſhews: wherefore, 'bating his military and political deſcants and digreſſions, the remaining part, bare matters of fact, is to be looked upon as a true hiſtory. He was eſteemed by the antients [c] a writer of great judgment and penetration; and, having lived in the court of *Cyrus the younger*, had opportunities of being better informed of what he wrote concerning that great prince than *Herodotus* could have: and as he confined himſelf to this ſubject alone, no doubt but he examined all matters relating to it, with more care and exactneſs than the other, who wrote of ſo many different ſubjects and nations. And theſe are the motives that have induced us to follow *Xenophon*, in what relates to *Cyrus*, rather than *Herodotus*, or thoſe who have copied after him (D).

Xenophon's writings and character.

[z] Plato de legib. l. iii.
[a] Diog. Laer. in vit. philoſoph.
[b] Epiſt. i. ad Quintum fratrem.
[c] See Diog. Laert. in vita Xenophon.

(D) *Scaliger* thinks that the *Cyropædia* contains nothing but fables and fictions, if we except two or three events, which are related alſo by *Herodotus*; and *Eraſmus* will not even allow *Xenophon* to have given us an exact model of a juſt government, but rather to have drawn a cunning and deceitful prince: ſo fond are they of the ſurpriſing incidents related by his antagoniſt *Herodotus*.

*The true history of* Cyrus.

Year of the flood 1749. Bef. Chr. 599.

CYRUS was the son of *Cambyses*, either king of *Persia*, or a man of the first rank in that country, and of *Mandane* the daughter of *Astyages* king of the *Medes* (E). He was born a year after his uncle *Cyaxares*, the brother of *Mandane*. He lived the first twelve years of his life with his parents, in *Persia* (F), where he was educated after the *Persian* manner, and inured to hardships, and such exercises as might enable him to go through the toils and fatigues of war. When he was twelve years old, his mother *Mandane* took him with her into *Media*, to his grandfather *Astyages*, who, from the many things he had heard of that young prince, had a desire to see him. During the time of his residence at this court, the sweetness of his temper, his generous behaviour, and constant endeavour to oblige all men, gained him the affections of the *Medes*, and such an interest among the leading men of that nation, as did afterwards much contribute to the erecting of the great empire he afterwards founded [d].

*His early prowess.*

WHEN he was about sixteen years of age, he first entered the school of war, and gave extraordinary proofs both of his courage and conduct, as we have related elsewhere. The next year he returned to his father in *Persia*, where he remained till he was forty years of age, when he was recalled to the assistance of his uncle *Cyaxares* [e].

ASTYAGES king of the *Medes*, was succeeded, as we have shewn in the history of that people, by his son *Cyaxares*, brother to *Mandane*, *Cyrus*'s mother [f]. This prince was scarce seated on his throne, when he was informed, that *Nerigliſſar* king of *Babylon* was preparing a powerful army to invade *Media*; that he had already engaged several princes, and, amongst others, *Crœsus* king of *Lydia*; and that he had dispatched embassadors into *Cappadocia*, *Phrygia*, *Caria*, *Paphlagonia*, *Cilicia*, and even to the *Indies*, to instil jealousies into the several

[d] XENOPH. Cyropæd. l. i. p. 36. [e] XENOPH. Cyropæd. l. i. p. 44, 45, &c. [f] See before, p. 41.

(E) Both *Herodotus* and *Xenophon* agree in this, *viz.* that the mother of *Cyrus* was *Mandane*, daughter to *Astyages*; but *Ctesias* would have us believe, that *Cyrus* was no ways related to *Astyages*, or *Astigas*, as he is pleased to call him.

(F) The name of *Persia* at that time extended only to one province of that large empire, which was afterwards known by the name of *Persia*; for the whole *Persian* nation could at that time raise but 120,000 men (2). But, after the conquests of *Cyrus*, it took in that vast tract, which extended east and west from the *Indus* to the *Tigris*, and north and south from the *Caspian* sea to the ocean.

(2) *Cyropæd. l.* i.

princes

Princes of those countries, and to stir them up against the *Medes* and *Persians*, as aspiring to an universal monarchy. *Cyaxares* therefore called *Cyrus*, out of *Persia*, to his assistance; and, upon his arrival with a body of thirty thousand *Persians*, appointed him commander in chief both of the *Medes* and *Persians*[h] (G).

He had not been long in *Media* before *Cyaxares* had occasion to employ him. The king of *Armenia*, who had hitherto lived in subjection to the *Medes*, looking upon them as ready to be swallowed up by the powerful alliance formed against them, thought fit to lay hold of that opportunity, and shake off the yoke: accordingly, he refused to pay the usual tribute, and to send his quota of auxiliaries, which he was obliged to furnish in time of war. As this was a matter of dangerous consequence, and which might prompt other dependent states to do the same, *Cyrus* thought it necessary to crush this revolt with the utmost expedition; and therefore marching immediately with a chosen body of horse, and covering his design as if he intended only to hunt on the hills of *Armenia*, he entered that country before the inhabitants had any intelligence of his march; surprised the king, and all his family; and, having obliged him to pay the usual tribute, and send his quota of auxiliaries, restored him to his kingdom, and returned in triumph to his army in *Media*[i].

Year of the flood 1791. Bef. Chr. 557. *Reduces* Armenia.

Both parties had now been employed three years together, in forming their alliances, and making preparations for war. In the beginning of the fourth year, the confederate armies on

[h] Xenoph. l. i. p. 58. [i] Idem, l. iii. p. 62—76.

(G) This army consisted of 30,000 men, all infantry; for the *Persians* had yet no cavalry; but they were all chosen men, and raised after a particular manner. First of all, *Cyrus* chose out of the nobility two hundred and one officers; each of these was ordered to chuse four more of the same rank, which made a thousand in all; and these were called ὁμότιμοι, or men of the same dignity, and eminently distinguished themselves on all occasions. Every one of these was ordered to raise among the people ten pikemen lightly armed, ten slingers, and ten bowmen, which amounted in the whole to 31,000 men (3). From the year in which *Cyrus*, arriving in *Media* at the head of these troops, was vested with the command of the confederate army, those begin their computation, who will have this prince to have reigned thirty years. For, from this time, he was looked upon by all foreign nations as king of *Persia* and *Media*; tho' the regal power, as to the latter, was solely in *Cyaxares*, and *Cyrus* was only general of the united forces.

(3) *Cyropæd. l.* i.

both sides took the field; and, being come in sight of each other, a battle soon ensued, which proved very unfortunate for the *Babylonians*; for *Nerigliſſar* their king was killed, and *Cræſus* king of *Lydia*, who, upon his death, took upon him the command of the army, was obliged to quit the field, and retire in the utmoſt confuſion to his camp, from which he was driven the next day by *Cyrus*, at the head of the *Hyrcanians*, who had revolted to him the night before [k]. *Cyrus* reſerved for himſelf all the horſes that were taken, in order to form a body of cavalry for the *Perſian* army, which hitherto they had wanted. The richeſt and moſt valuable part of the booty he ſet apart for *Cyaxares*; and, as for the priſoners, he allowed them to return home to their reſpective countries, without impoſing any other condition upon them, than that they ſhould deliver up their arms, and engage no more in war againſt him and his allies [l].

*Defeats the* Babylonians. Nerigliſſar *killed.* Cræſus *defeated.*

*The* Babylonians *revolt to* Cyrus.

NERIGLISSAR was ſucceeded by *Laboroſoarchod*, in whoſe reign two *Babylonian* lords, *Gobryas* and *Gadates*, provoked by his cruelty, went over, with the provinces they governed, to *Cyrus*, who by that means got footing in *Aſſyria*, which greatly contributed to the reduction of *Babylon* [m]. *Laboroſoarchod* marched out againſt *Gadates*, but was by *Cyrus* driven back with great ſlaughter to his metropolis, where he continued, ſuffering *Cyrus* to ravage the whole country unmoleſted, till the ſeaſon of the year obliged him to put an end to the campaign, which he did with the reduction of three fortreſſes on the frontiers of *Media* [n].

LABOROSOARCHOD was ſoon after murdered by his own ſubjects, who raiſed *Nabonadius* to the throne, in his room. *Xenophon* repreſents him as a wicked prince [o]: and that ſuch was his character, ſufficiently appears by what is ſaid of him in *Daniel*; but while he attended his pleaſures, his mother *Nitocris*, a woman of great underſtanding, and a maſculine ſpirit, took thoſe precautions which we have mentioned in the *Babylonian* hiſtory, for the ſecurity of the metropolis and empire.

WHILE the queen was thus employed, *Cyaxares* came to *Cyrus*'s camp; and, after ſeveral conſultations, they determined to alter their method; and, inſtead of contenting themſelves only with ravaging the enemy's territories, they thought it was neceſſary to employ their troops in taking of towns and fortreſſes, that ſo they might make themſelves maſters of the country, and diſtreſs the city of *Babylon*, by intercepting their proviſions [p]. Accordingly, they took many cities, and brought

[k] See before, p. 41. [l] XENOPH. Cyropæd. l. iv. p. 87—104.
[m] See before, p. 41. [n] XENOPH. Cyropæd. l. v. p. 123—140.
[o] Ibid. l. vii. [p] Cyropæd. l. vi. p. 156.

under

under ſubjection intire provinces, without meeting with any conſiderable reſiſtance from the *Babylonians*. The progreſs *Cyrus* made in thoſe conqueſts rouſed at laſt *Nabonadius*, who, taking along with him great part of his treaſures, left *Babylon*, and repaired to *Cræſus* king of *Lydia*, by whoſe aſſiſtance and intereſt he concluded a formidable alliance with the *Egyptians*, *Greeks*, *Thracians*, and all the nations of the *Leſſer Aſia*. Theſe various nations, under the conduct of *Cræſus*, who was by the king of *Babylon* appointed chief commander of all his forces, aſſembled near the river *Pactolus*, and from thence advanced to *Thymbra*, which was the place appointed for the general rendezvous. *Cyrus*, being informed of theſe vaſt preparations by one of his intimate friends, who by his order had fled over to the enemy as a deſerter, put himſelf in a condition to oppoſe them: and, having increaſed the number of his forces by new levies, he took leave of *Cyaxares*, who remained in *Media* with a third part of the troops, that the country might not be left intirely defenceleſs; and marched forwards to meet the confederate forces in their own territories, in order to conſume their forage, and diſconcert their meaſures by the quickneſs of his march, and boldneſs of his undertaking. After a long march, he came up with the enemy at *Thymbra*, a city of *Lydia*, not far from *Sardis*, the metropolis of that country. *Cyrus*'s army was one hundred and ninety-ſix thouſand ſtrong, horſe and foot; beſides theſe troops, he had three hundred chariots, armed with ſithes, each chariot drawn by four horſes abreaſt, covered with trappings that were proof againſt all ſorts of miſſive weapons: he had likewiſe a great number of other chariots of a larger ſize, upon each of which he placed a tower about eighteen or twenty feet high; and in each tower were lodged twenty archers: theſe chariots were drawn by ſixteen oxen, yoked abreaſt. There was, moreover, a conſiderable number of camels, each mounted by two *Arabian* archers, the one looking towards the head, and the other towards the hinder-part, of the camel. The army of *Cræſus* was twice as numerous as that of *Cyrus*, amounting in the whole to four hundred and twenty thouſand men. Both armies were drawn up on an immenſe plain, which gave room for the extending of their wings to the right and left; and the deſign of *Cræſus*, upon which alone he founded his hopes of victory, was to ſurround and hem in the enemy's army: he placed the *Egyptians*, who alone made a body of one hundred and twenty thouſand men, and were the main ſtrength of the army, in the centre[r].

*Cyrus's ſucceſs againſt the* Babylonians.

Cræſus *commands the confederates.*

*The army of* Cyrus; *of the confederates.*

[q] Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. vi. p. 156, &c. [r] Idem, l. vi. p. 167—172.

*Battle of* Thymbra

Year of the flood 1800. Bef. Chr. 548.

WHEN the two armies were within sight of each other, *Cræsus*, observing how much the front of his army exceeded that of *Cyrus*, made the centre halt, and the two wings advance, with a design to inclose *Cyrus*'s army, and begin the attack on both sides at the same time. When the two detached bodies of the *Lydian* forces were sufficiently extended, *Cræsus* gave the signal to the main body, which marched up to the front of the *Persian* army, while the two wings attacked them in flank; so that *Cyrus*'s army was hemmed in on all sides, and, as our author expresses it, inclosed, like a small square drawn within a great one [p].

THIS motion did not at all alarm *Cyrus*; who, giving his troops the signal to face about, attacked in flank the enemy's forces, that were marching to fall upon his rear, and put them into great disorder. In the same moment, a squadron of camels was made to advance against the enemy's other wing, consisting mostly of cavalry. Their horses, upon the approach of the camels, were so frightened, that most of them threw their riders, and trod them under foot; which occasioned a great confusion. While they were thus in disorder, *Artagerses*, an officer of great experience, at the head of a small body of horse, charged them so briskly, that they could never afterwards rally; and, at the same time, the chariots armed with sithes being furiously driven against them, they were intirely routed. Both the enemy's wings being put to flight, *Cyrus* commanded *Abradates*, his chief favourite, to fall upon the centre with the chariots we have mentioned above. The first ranks, consisting mostly of *Lydians*, not being able to stand so violent a charge, immediately gave way; but, the *Egyptians* being covered with their bucklers, and marching so close, that the chariots had not room to penetrate their ranks, a great slaughter of the *Persians* ensued; *Abradates* himself was killed, his chariot overturned, and most part of his men cut in pieces, after having signalized themselves in a very extraordinary manner. Upon his death, the *Egyptians*, advancing boldly, obliged the *Persian* infantry to give way, and drove them back quite to their engines. There they met with a new shower of arrows and javelins, discharged upon them from the towers; and, at the same time, the *Persian* rear, advancing sword in hand, obliged their archers and spearmen to return to the charge. In the mean time *Cyrus*, having put to flight both the horse and foot on the left of the *Egyptians*, pushed on to the centre, where he had the mortification to find his *Persians* again giving ground; and, judging that the only way to stop the *Egyptians*, who were pursuing them, would be to

[p] XENOPH. Cyropæd. l. vi. p. 173.

attack

attack them in the rear, he did so; and, at the same time, the *Persian* cavalry coming up to his assistance, the fight was renewed with great slaughter on both sides; for the *Egyptians*, facing about, defended themselves with incredible bravery. *Cyrus* himself was in great danger; for, his horse being killed under him, he fell in the midst of the enemies; but, being saved by his *Persians*, who, alarmed at his danger, threw themselves headlong upon those that surrounded him, the battle became more bloody than ever. At length *Cyrus*, admiring the valour of the *Egyptians*, and concerned to see such brave men perish, offered them honourable conditions, letting them know at the same time, that all their allies had abandoned them. They accepted the terms offered them; and, having agreed with *Cyrus*, that they should not be obliged to carry arms against *Crœsus*, in whose service they had been engaged, surrendered themselves to the conqueror, and, from that time, served him with the utmost fidelity [q] (H).

Cyrus *in imminent danger.*

Egyptians *surrender to him.*

THE engagement lasted till night, when *Crœsus* retired with his troops to *Sardis*; and the other nations made the best of their way to their respective countries. *Cyrus* did not think fit to pursue them; but, the next morning, advanced towards *Sardis*. *Crœsus*, hearing of his approach, marched out with his *Lydians* (for the auxiliaries were already retired) to give him battle. Their principal strength consisted in cavalry; which *Cyrus* being sensible of, made his camels advance against them, whose smell the horses not being able to endure, they were immediately put in disorder. However, the *Lydians*, who, at that time, were one of the most warlike nations of *Asia*, dismounting, fought on foot; but, after having kept their ground very obstinately for some time, were forced to make their retreat to *Sardis*, where they were immediately closely besieged by *Cyrus* [r] (I).

Lydians *defeated.*

THE

[q] XENOPH. Cyropæd. l. vii. p. 172—178. [r] HERODOT. l. i. c. 80.

(H) *Xenophon* observes here (4), that *Cyrus* gave them the cities of *Larissa* and *Cyllene* on the sea-coast, and other lands within the country, which were inhabited by their descendants in his time; and adds, that these places were called the cities of the *Egyptians*. This observation, and many others he makes in his *Cyropædia*, in order to prove the truth of the things he advances, shew plainly, that he wrote that piece as a true history of *Cyrus*, at least with respect to the substance of it, and greatest part of the transactions.

(I) While *Cyrus* lay encamped before *Sardis*, he performed the exequies of *Abradates*, and *Pan-*

(4) *Cyropæd. l.* vii. *p.* 179.

Sardis *taken.*

THE night after he invested the city, he made himself master of the citadel, being conducted to it, in the dead of the night, by a *Persian* slave, who had been a servant to the governor of that place. At break of day he entered the city, where he found no resistance, the *Lydians* having dispersed at the news of the citadel's being taken. *Cyrus*'s first care was to save the town, which was the most wealthy of all *Asia*, from being plundered. With this view, he acquainted the inhabitants, that their lives should be spared, and neither their wives nor their children touched, provided they brought him all their gold and silver. This condition they readily complied with; and *Crœsus* himself, who was taken and brought to *Cyrus*, set them an example, by delivering his immense treasures up to the conqueror. *Cyrus*, touched with compassion at the king's misfortune, and admiring his constancy in so great a change, treated him with great clemency, suffering him to enjoy both the title and authority of king, under the sole restriction of not having power to make war. From that time, he took him with him in all his expeditions, either out of esteem for that prince, or out of policy, that he might be more secure of his person [s] (K).

Cyrus's *generosity to* Crœsus.

CYRUS,

[s] XENOPH. Cyropæd. l. vii. DIOD. SIC. in excerpt. Vales. p. 241. PLUTARCH. in Solon. POLYÆN. strat. l. vii. SOLIM. in Polyhist. c. 1. HERODOT. l. i. c. 88, 155, 156.

*thea* his wife. *Abradates* was prince of *Susham* under the *Babylonians*, and had revolted to *Cyrus* about two years before; being induced thereunto by his wife, a woman of extraordinary beauty, whom *Cyrus* had taken prisoner in his first engagement with the *Babylonians*, and treated in a most obliging manner. This kind treatment drew over her husband to *Cyrus*, and he being killed in the engagement with the *Egyptians*, as we have mentioned above, *Panthea*, out of grief, slew herself upon his dead body; and *Cyrus* caused them both to be interred with great pomp, and a stately monument to be erected over them near the river *Pactolus*, where it was to be seen many ages after (5).

(K) The taking of *Crœsus* is differently related by *Herodotus*, and those who have copied after him (6). According to these, *Crœsus*, being shut up in *Sardis*, dispatched embassadors to all his allies, intreating their assistance. But, in the mean time, *Cyrus* pursued the siege with such vigour, that he took the city before any succours could arrive, and the king in it, whom he condemned to be burnt alive; and accordingly placed him on a great pile of wood, accompanied by fourteen young *Lydians*. The design of *Cyrus* in so doing was, according to *He-*

(5) *Cyropæd. l.* vi. & vii. (6) *Herodot. l.* i. *c.* 85—83.

*rodotus*,

CYRUS, after the conquest of *Lydia*, continued in *Asia*, till he had subdued the several nations inhabiting that

*Lesser His conquests.*

*rodotus*, to offer this sacrifice to some god as the first-fruits of his victory, or to perform a vow, or perhaps to see, as he had heard of his piety towards the gods, whether any of them would save him from the fire. When *Crœsus* had ascended the pile, notwithstanding the weight of his misfortunes, he recollected the words of *Solon*, who had told him, that no man could be called happy before his death. Revolving these words in his mind, he cried out, with a great sigh, three times, *Oh Solon, Solon, Solon!* Which when *Cyrus* heard, he commanded his interpreter to ask him, whose assistance he implored. Upon this, *Crœsus* acquainted him, that *Solon*, an *Athenian* philosopher, having formerly visited him, and viewed his immense treasures, had despised all, and plainly told him, instead of applauding his happiness, that he could not pronounce any man happy so long as he lived, because no man could foresee what might happen to him before his death; of the truth of which being now sadly convinced by his present calamity, he could not forbear calling upon the name of *Solon*. This raised in *Cyrus* a lively sense of the uncertainty of all human felicity, and such compassion for *Crœsus*, that he commanded the fire to be presently extinguished, and the unfortunate king taken down. Accordingly all endeavours were used to execute his orders, but the fire could not be mastered. In this distress, *Crœsus* being informed that *Cyrus* designed to save his life, but seeing his *Persians* attempted in vain to extinguish the flame, burst out into a flood of tears, and, with a loud voice, invoking *Apollo*, besought that god to deliver him from the present danger, if any of his offerings had ever been agreeable to him. He had scarce ended his prayer, when clouds were seen gathered in the air, which before was serene, and a violent storm of rain ensuing, quite extinguished the flame. *Cyrus*, understanding by this miraculous event, that *Crœsus* was a pious prince, and greatly favoured by the gods, not only spared his life, but allowed him a very honourable maintenance, and made use of him ever after as one of his chief counsellors; and at his death recommended him to his son *Cambyses*, as the person whose advice he would have him chiefly to follow.

The same writer tells us, that, upon the taking of the city of *Sardis*, a certain *Persian*, not knowing *Crœsus*, advanced to kill him. As he, not caring to survive that disaster, did not attempt to avoid the blow, his son, who was born dumb, seeing the soldier ready to strike, was moved with such fear and tenderness for the life of his father, that in that instant he cried out, *Soldier, spare the life of* Crœsus. These were the first words he ever uttered; but from that time he continued to speak readily (7). Thus far *Herodotus*.

(7) *Herodotus, l.* i. *c.* 85.

great

great continent, from the *Egean* sea to the *Euphrates*. From thence he marched into *Syria* and *Arabia*; and, having brought those nations likewise under subjection, he again entered *Assyria*, and marched towards *Babylon*, the only city in all the east that now held out against him; but was reduced, after two years siege, in the manner we have related in the history of *Babylon*. The king of *Babylon* being killed, and those who were about him put to flight, the rest voluntarily submitted; and *Cyrus*, without any further resistance, became master of the place, and concluded his conquests, after a war of twenty-one years [u]. The taking of *Babylon* put an end to the *Babylonian* empire, and fulfilled the predictions, which the prophets *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, and *Daniel*, had uttered against that proud metropolis, and of which we have already given a particular account [w].

Babylon *taken.*

Year of the flood 1812. Bef. Chr. 536.

UPON the death of the king of *Babylon*, *Darius the Mede* is said, in Scripture, to have taken the kingdom [x]. By *Darius the Mede* is meant *Cyaxares* king of the *Medes*, and uncle to *Cyrus*, as we have fully proved in the history of *Media* [y]: for *Cyrus*, as long as his uncle lived, held the empire with him in partnership; nay, so far did he carry his complaisance, that he let him enjoy the first rank. *Cyrus*, having settled his affairs at *Babylon*, returned into *Persia*, to pay a visit to his father and mother, who were still alive [z]; and, after a short stay there, went back to *Babylon*, together with *Cyaxares*. On their arrival, they concerted together the settling of the whole empire; and, having divided it into an hundred and twenty provinces, the government of these was given to such as had distinguished themselves during the war.

THE civil government being thus settled, *Cyrus* ordered all his forces to join him at *Babylon*. On a general review, he found they consisted of an hundred and twenty thousand horse, two thousand chariots armed with sithes, and six hundred thousand foot. Of these having distributed into garisons such a number as he judged necessary for the defence of the several parts of the empire, he marched, with the remainder, into *Syria*, where he settled the affairs of that province, and then reduced the other nations, as far as the *Red* sea, and the confines of *Ethiopia* [b]. In this interval of time, *Daniel* was, by order of *Darius*, who remained at *Babylon*, cast into the lions den, as we have related in the history of *Media* [c].

Cyrus's *numerous army.*

ABOUT two years after the reduction of *Babylon*, *Cyaxares* dying, and also *Cambyses* king of *Persia*, *Cyrus* returned to

Cyaxares's *death.*

[u] Cyropæd. l. vii. p. 189—192. [w] Idem, l. viii. [x] Dan. v. 31. ix. 1. xi. 1. [y] See before, p. 41, 42, 44, and note (C). [z] Cyropæd. l. viii. [b] Cyropæd. l. viii. p. 233. [c] See before, p. 44.

*Babylon*,

*Babylon*, and took upon him the whole government of the empire [d], which he held for the space of seven years (K).

In the first of these seven years expired the seventy years of the *Babylonish* captivity, when *Cyrus* published the famous edict, whereby the *Jews* were allowed to return to *Jerusalem*. There is no doubt but this edict was obtained by *Daniel*, who was in great credit and authority at court. That he might the more effectually induce the king to grant him that favour, he shewed him the prophecies of *Isaiah* [e], naming him, an hundred and twenty years before his birth, as one appointed by God to be a great conqueror, a king over many nations, and the restorer of his people, by ordering their temple to be rebuilt, and *Jerusalem* and *Judea* to be re-possessed by their antient inhabitants.

Year of the flood 1814. Bef. Chr. 534.

Cyrus *puts an end to the* Jewish *captivity.*

Cyrus having issued out his decree for the restoring of the *Jews* to their country, and the rebuilding of the temple at *Jerusalem*, the captive *Hebrews* assembled out of the several provinces of the *Babylonian* empire, to the number of four thousand two hundred and thirty-six persons, with their servants, who amounted to seven thousand three hundred and thirty-seven more, and set out for *Judea*: and thus was the state of *Judah* and *Jerusalem* again restored, after they had lain desolate seventy years (L). *Cyrus* restored, at the same time,

[d] Cyropæd. l. viii. p. 233.

[e] Isaiah xliv. 28. xlv. 1.

(K) The reign of *Cyrus* is reckoned from his first coming out of *Persia*, to the assistance of his uncle *Cyaxares*, at the head of the *Persian* army, to have lasted thirty years; from the taking of *Babylon* nine years, and from his being sole monarch of the whole empire, after the death of *Cyaxares* in *Media*, and *Cambyses* in *Persia*, seven years. *Tully* (8) reckons by the first account, *Ptolemy* (9) by the second, and *Xenophon* (10) by the third. The first of these seven years is the first year of *Cyrus* mentioned by *Ezra* (11), wherein an end was put to the captivity of *Judah*, and liberty granted them to return to their country, the seventy years of captivity being then expired.

(L) It may not be improper, in this place, to insert the famous edict of *Cyrus*, in favour of the *Israelites*; an edict, for which, it may be presumed, that God endowed him with so many heroic virtues, and blessed him with a constant series of prosperity and victories.

*In the first year of* Cyrus *king of the* Persians, *that the word of the* Lord *might be accomplished, that he had promised by the mouth of* Jeremy, *the* Lord *raised up the spirit of* Cyrus, *the king of the* Persians; *and he made proclamation through all his kingdom, and also by writing, saying:*

(8) *Cic. de divinat. l.* ii. (9) *Ptolem. in canone.* (10) *Cyropæd. l.* viii. (11) *Ezra* i. 2.

*Thus*

time, to the *Jews* all the vessels of the temple, which *Nebuchadnezzar* had brought from *Jerusalem*, and lodged in the temple of his god *Baal*.

AFTER the return of the *Jews*, the *Samaritans*, their declared enemies, did all that lay in their power to prevent the building of the temple; and though they could not alter *Cyrus*'s decree, yet they prevailed, by bribes, with his chief officers that were in *Judea*, to obstruct the execution of it; so that, for several years, the building went on but very slowly: and it seems to have been out of grief to see the pious intentions of *Cyrus* thus disappointed, that, in the third year of that prince, *Daniel* gave himself up to mourning and fasting for three weeks together g.

BUT to return to *Cyrus:* this prince, being equally beloved by his own natural subjects, and those of the conquered nations, peaceably enjoyed the fruits of his labours and victories.

*The extent of his empire.*

His new-erected empire was bounded on the east by the river *Indus*; on the north by the *Caspian* and *Euxine* seas; on the west by the *Egean*; and on the south by *Ethiopia*, and the sea of *Arabia*. He kept his residence in the heart of these countries, spending the seven cold months at *Babylon*, by reason of the warmth of that climate; three months in the spring at *Susa*; and two months, during the heat of the summer, at *Ecbatan* h.

HAVING spent seven years in this state of tranquillity, and established his empire with such wisdom, that, upon the strength of this foundation alone, it stood above two hundred years, notwithstanding the rash and impolitic proceedings of his successors, he died, in the seventieth year of his age i, equally regretted by all the nations of his vast spreading dominions. He had reigned, from his first taking upon him the command of the *Persian* and *Median* armies, thirty years, as we hinted

Cyrus *dies.*

g Dan. x. 1—3. h Cyropæd. l. viii. p. 233. i CICERO de divin. l. i.

*Thus saith* Cyrus *king of the* Persians, *The* LORD *of* Israel, *the most high* LORD, *has made me king of the whole world, and commanded me to build him an house at* Jerusalem *in* Jewry. *If therefore there be any of you that are of his people, let the* LORD, *even his* LORD, *be with him, and let him go up to* Jerusalem *that is in* Judea, *and build the house of the* LORD *of* Israel; *for he is the* LORD *that dwelleth in* Jerusalem. *Whosoever then dwell in the places about, let them help him (those, I say, that are his neighbours) with gold and with silver, with gifts, with horses, and with cattle and other things, which have been set forth by vow for the temple of the* LORD *at* Jerusalem (12).

(12) 1 *Esdras* ii. 1, *& seqq.*

in a late note [k]; from the reduction of *Babylon*, nine [l]; and, from his being ſole monarch of the eaſt, after the death of his uncle *Cyaxares*, or *Darius the Mede*, ſeven years [m]. Authors ſtrangely differ with each other as to the manner of his death. *Xenophon*'s account, who makes him die in his bed, as fortunately as he lived, amidſt his friends, and in his own country, ſeems to us by far the moſt probable; for all authors agree, that he was buried at *Paſargada* in *Perſia*, where *Xenophon* ſays he died; and his monument was to be ſeen in the time of *Alexander the Great*. Had he been ſlain in *Scythia*, as *Herodotus* and *Juſtin* relate, and his body mangled, as they would have us believe, how could it ever have been reſcued out of the hands of thoſe enraged barbarians, and buried at *Paſargada*? Beſides, it is by no means probable, that ſuch a wiſe man as *Cyrus* is repreſented to have been, and ſo far advanced in years, would have engaged in ſo raſh an undertaking as the *Scythian* expedition is deſcribed to have been by thoſe who relate it: neither can it be conceived, how, after ſo great an overthrow, the *Perſian* empire could have ſubſiſted, eſpecially in the hands of ſuch a ſucceſſor as *Cambyſes* was; for *Herodotus* tells us, that *Cyrus* was killed, and his whole army, conſiſting of two hundred thouſand men, cut in pieces (M).

Year of the flood 1819. Bef. Chr. 529.

[k] See p. 189. (K). [l] Ptol. in canon. [m] Cyropæd. l. viii. p. 233.

(M) *Diodorus Siculus* (13) tells us, that he was taken priſoner by *Tomyris* queen of the *Maſſagetes*, and by her orders crucified. *Cteſias* (14) ſays, that in a battle againſt the *Derbicans*, a people bordering upon *Hyrcania*, he was wounded in the thigh by a certain *Indian*, of which wound he died three days after. *John Malela* of *Antioch*, out of a forged book aſcribed to *Pythagoras*, acquaints us, that he was ſlain in a ſea-fight by the *Samians*.

Some writers tell us (15), that, after the reduction of *Babylon*, *Cyrus*, having a victorious army at his devotion, and *Cyaxares* being returned from *Babylon* into *Media*, revolted from *Cyaxares*, in conjunction with the *Perſians* under him, who were incited thereunto by *Harpagus* a *Mede*, and *Artabazus*, who had aſſiſted *Cyrus* in ſubduing *Aſia Minor*, and had been injured by *Darius*. *Harpagus* was ſent by *Cyaxares* with an army againſt *Cyrus*; but in the heat of the battle revolted with great part of the army to *Cyrus*. *Cyaxares* raiſed a new army, and was again defeated near *Paſargada* in *Perſia*, and taken priſoner. By this victory, ſay they, the monarchy was tranſlated from the *Medes* to the *Perſians*. But this account we have already rejected, as not agreeing ſo well with holy writ as that which we read in *Xenophon*.

(13) *Lib.* ii. (14) *Lib.* x. (15) *Vide Suidam in Ariſtarchos.*

On

*Names for his successor* Cambyses

On his death-bed, he appointed his son *Cambyses* to succeed him; who accordingly took possession of that vast empire. To his other son *Smerdis* he left several considerable governments. *Cambyses* was scarce well seated on the throne, when he resolved upon a war with the *Egyptians*. But of this expedition, and the good success that attended it, we have spoken at length in the history of *Egypt* [o]; and therefore shall only add here, in a note, an extraordinary circumstance, related by *Herodotus*, on occasion of a battle fought at this time, whereof he was himself an eye-witness (N).

The next year, which was the sixth of his reign, he resolved upon three different expeditions, the first against the *Carthaginians*, the second against the *Hammonians*, and the third against the *Ethiopians*; but he was forced to drop the first project, by reason the *Phœnicians*, without whose help he could not carry on that war, refused to assist him against the *Carthaginians*, who were descended from them, *Carthage* being originally a *Tyrian* colony. But his heart being set on the other two, he sent embassadors into *Ethiopia*, who, under that character, were to act as spies, and give him intelligence of the state and strength of the country. But the *Ethiopians*, being well apprised of the errand on which they were come, treated them with great contempt: however, the *Ethiopian* king, in return for the presents they brought him from *Cambyses*, sent him back his own bow, advising him to make war

[o] See vol. ii. p. 94, & seq. & Herodot. l. iii. c. 1--4.]

(N) That writer tells us (16), that the bones of the *Persians* and *Egyptians* were in his time still to be seen in the place where the battle was fought, but separated from each other. The skulls of the *Egyptians*, says he, were so hard, that they could scarce be broken by the violent blow of a large stone; whereas those of the *Persians* were so soft and weak, that they were broke with the least blow of a pebble. This difference, as our author tells us, was owing to the *Egyptian* custom of shaving the heads of their children early; by which means the bones were rendered thicker and stronger through the heat of the sun, and the head preserved from baldness; there being fewer people bald in *Egypt*, as *Herodotus* observes, than in any other country. As the heads of the *Egyptians* were strengthened by this method, so those of the *Persians* were softened by the contrary custom; for they were not exposed to the sun, but always covered with caps and turbans. Our author adds, that he observed the same thing at *Papremis*, in those who, together with *Achæmenes*, the son of *Darius*, were defeated by *Inarus* king of *Libya*.

(16) *Herodot. l.* iii. *c.* 12.

upon

upon the *Ethiopians* when the *Persians* could as easily bend that bow as they. Before he delivered the bow to the *Persian* embassadors, he addressed them with this speech: "It is not from any consideration of my friendship, that the king of *Persia* sent you with these presents: neither have you spoken truth, but are come into my kingdom as spies. If your master were an honest man, he would desire no more than his own, and not attempt to enslave a people who had never done him any injury: however, give him this bow from me; and let him know, that the king of *Ethiopia* advises the king of *Persia* to make war upon the *Ethiopians* when the *Persians* shall be able thus easily to bend so strong a bow; and, in the mean time, to thank the gods, that they have never inspired the *Ethiopians* with a desire of extending their dominions beyond their own country [p]."

*The Ethiopian king's noble message to Cambyses.*

Cambyses, being informed by his embassadors, of all that passed, flew into a violent passion, and ordered his army immediately to begin their march, without considering, that they were furnished neither with provisions, nor any other necessaries for such an expedition. He left the *Greek* auxiliaries behind him, to keep the new-conquered countries in awe, during his absence; and, with the whole body of his landforces, began his march. When he arrived at *Thebes*, in the *Upper-Egypt*, he detached fifty thousand men against the *Hammonians*, ordering them to ravage the whole country, and burn the oracle of *Jupiter Ammon*, while he, with the rest of his army, should march against the *Ethiopians*. But, before he had marched a fifth part of the way, his provisions were consumed, and the army reduced to the necessity of eating their beasts of burden. *Cambyses*, notwithstanding these difficulties, pursued his rash attempt; and the soldiers fed upon herbs and grass, so long as they found any in their way: but, when they arrived in the sandy deserts, they were brought to such extremities, as to be obliged to devour one another; every tenth man, upon whom the lot fell, being doomed to serve as food for his companions: a food, says *Seneca*, more to be dreaded than famine itself [q]. The king still persisted in his mad design, till, at last, being apprehensive of the danger his own person was in, he gave over the enterprize, and retreated to *Thebes*, after having lost great part of his army in this wild attempt [r].

*Cambyses's rash expedition against Ethiopia.*

Year of the flood 1824. Bef. Chr. 524.

*His army famished in the deserts.*

As for that part of the army which was sent against the *Ammonians*, they marched from *Thebes*; and, by the help of their guides, arrived at the city of *Oasis*, inhabited by *Samians*, and seven days march distant from *Thebes*. Nobody doubts, as

[p] Herod. l. iii. c. 20—22.
[q] Seneca de ira, l. iii. c. 20.
[r] Herod. ubi supra, c. 25, 26.

*His other army perish.*

our author informs us [s], but they arrived at that place: but what was their fate afterwards, is uncertain; for they never returned either to *Egypt*, or their own country. The *Ammonians* informed *Herodotus*, that they marched from *Oasis*; and that, after they had entered the sandy desert, which lies beyond that city, a violent wind began to blow from the south, at the time of their dinner, and raised the sands to such a degree, that the whole army was overwhelmed, and buried alive.

*He destroys all the* Egyptian *temples.*

CAMBYSES, on his return to *Thebes*, caused all the temples, which, in that superstitious city, were very rich and numerous, to be pillaged, and burnt down to the ground. We may judge of the richness of those temples by the remains saved from the flames, which amounted to the sum of three hundred talents of gold, and two thousand three hundred talents of silver. He likewise carried away the famous circle of gold that incompassed the tomb of king *Ozymandias*, being three hundred and sixty-five cubits in circumference, and on which were represented all the motions of the several constellations [t].

FROM *Thebes Cambyses* marched back to *Memphis*, where he discharged the *Greek* mercenaries, and sent them to their respective countries. On his entry into this city, finding the citizens all in mirth and jollity, because their god *Apis* had then appeared among them, he was highly provoked, as supposing that they rejoiced because of his unsuccessful expedition. He therefore called the magistrates, to learn of them the cause of that public mirth. They gave him a true account of the whole matter; but he, not believing what they said, caused them all to be put to death. He sent afterwards for the priests, who made him the same answer, telling him, that it had been always their custom, when their god appeared amongst them, to celebrate his appearance with the greatest demonstrations of joy they could express. To this he replied, That, if their god was so kind and familiar as to shew himself to them, he too would be willingly acquainted with him; and therefore commanded the deity to be brought forthwith before him. He was brought accordingly; but, no sooner did he appear before *Cambyses*, that the king, seeing a calf, and not, as he expected, a deity, flew into a violent passion, and, drawing his dagger, wounded the *Apis* in the thigh; and, reproaching the priests for their stupidity, in worshiping a brute, ordered them severely to be whipt, and all the *Egyptians* at *Memphis*, that should be found celebrating the feast of *Apis*, to be slain. The *Apis*, after he had languished some time, died

*Cruelty at* Memphis.

*Kills their god* Apis.

[s] HEROD. ibid. [t] DIOD. SIC. l. i. p. 43—46.

of his wound in the temple, and was buried by the priests, who carefully concealed his death from *Cambyses* [y].

THE *Egyptians* say, that after this sacrilegious action, which was looked upon by them as the greatest instance of impiety that ever was committed amongst them, *Cambyses* was immediately seized with lunacy, and grew mad. But his actions shewed, that he was so long before, of which he gave several instances: we find the following upon record. *Instances of that monarch's madness and cruelty.*

HE had a brother, by the same father and mother, called by *Xenophon*, *Tanaoxares*, *Smerdis* by *Herodotus*, and by *Justin*, *Mergis*. He attended *Cambyses* on his *Egyptian* expedition; but being the only person in the army that could bend the bow, within two fingers breadth, which the king of *Ethiopia* had sent, *Cambyses* from hence conceived such a jealousy of him, that, being no longer able to bear him in the army, he sent him back into *Persia*. After his departure, *Cambyses* dreamed, that a messenger arriving from *Persia* told him, that *Smerdis* was seated on the throne, and touched the heavens with his head: whereupon suspecting, that his brother aspired to the crown, he dispatched *Prexaspes*, one of his confidents, into *Persia*, with orders to put him to death; which he accordingly executed [z].

THIS murder was followed by another, still more criminal. *Cambyses* had with him, in the camp, his youngest sister, by name *Meroe*. As this princess was very beautiful, he fell violently in love with her; and was desirous to marry her: but, being convinced of the novelty of his design, he summoned all the royal judges of the *Persian* nation, whose office it was to interpret the laws, to know whether there was any law allowing a brother to marry a sister. The judges being unwilling to authorize such an incestuous marriage, and, at the same time, dreading the effects of the king's violent temper, should they contradict him, returned this crafty answer: That they, truly, knew of no law allowing a man to marry his own sister, but had a law which gave the king of *Persia* liberty to do whatever he pleased. Upon this answer, he solemnly married her; and thereby gave the first example of that incest which was afterwards practised by most of his successors, and by some of them carried so far as to marry their own daughters. This sister he took with him in all his expeditions, and gave her name to an island in the *Nile*, between *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*, which he conquered on his wild expedition against the *Ethiopians*. The occasion and manner of her death are reported in the following manner: As *Cambyses* was one day diverting himself, in seeing a young dog, and the whelp of a *He marries his sister.*

[y] HERODOT. l. iii. c. 28, 29. [z] Idem ibid. c. 30.

lion, fighting, the dog being overmatched, another of the same litter, breaking loose, came to his assistance; by which means the lion was mastered. Whilst the king was mightily pleased with this adventure, *Meroe*, who sat by him, began to weep: and, being obliged to tell her husband the cause of her grief, she confessed, that this accident put her in mind of the fate of her brother *Smerdis*, whom nobody had been good-natured enough to assist. There needed no more than this to excite the rage of that brutal prince, who, notwithstanding her being with child, gave her such a blow with his foot on the belly, that she miscarried, and soon after died [m] (N).

*and kills her.*

He caused also several of the chief lords of his court to be buried alive, and daily sacrificed some of them to his wild fury. He one day asked *Prexaspes*, who was his chief favourite, what the *Persians* said of him, and what character they gave him in their private conversations. *Prexaspes* answered, that they highly applauded his actions in general; but thought him too much addicted to wine. I understand you, replied the king: they pretend, that wine deprives me of my understanding; but whether this charge be true or not, you shall be judge. Upon which he began to drink to a far greater excess than he had ever done before: then, ordering the son of *Prexaspes*, who was his cup-bearer, to stand upright at the farther end of the room, with his left-hand upon his head, and turning to *Prexaspes*, If I shoot, said he, this arrow through the heart of your son, the *Persians*, you must own, have slandered me; but, if I miss, I shall willingly allow them to have spoken the truth. He had no sooner uttered these words, than, drawing his bow, he shot the arrow through the body of the young man. Then, commanding him to be opened, and finding the arrow had pierced his heart, he asked the father with great joy, and in an insulting manner, whether he had ever seen a man shoot with a more steady hand, and whether or no the *Persians* had injured his character, by saying, that wine de-

*Prexaspes's son shot to death.*

Year of the flood 1825. Bef. Chr. 523.

[m] Herod. l. iii. c. 31, 32.

(N) The *Egyptians*, as our author informs us (17), relate the matter in a different way. They say, that as *Cambyses* and his sister were at table, she took a lettuce, and pulling the leaves asunder, asked her husband, whether an intire lettuce was not more beautiful than one pulled in pieces. He answered, it was; whereupon *Meroe* replied, that he had represented the broken lettuce, by dismembering the house of *Cyrus*. Upon these words, *Cambyses* struck her with his foot; which, as she was big with child, occasioned her death.

(17) *Herodot, ubi supra, c.* 32.

prived

prived him of his reason. The unfortunate father, being under great apprehensions for his own life, answered, that a god could not have shot more dextrously [n] (O).

WHILE he was proceeding in this furious manner, *Cræsus* king of *Lydia* thought fit to lay before him the bad consequences that might attend so tyrannical a government; which provoked him to such a degree, that he ordered him to be put to death: but the officers, who received his orders, suspended the execution of the sentence, and concealed *Cræsus*, thinking, that, if *Cambyses* should inquire for him, and repent of his rash resolution, they should be well rewarded for saving his life; but, if they found, that *Cambyses* neither altered his mind, nor desired to see him, they might still put him to death, pursuant to their orders. The very next day he asked for *Cræsus*; which the officers hearing, acquainted him, that the king of *Lydia* was still alive. *Cambyses* was transported with joy, when he heard, that his orders had not been put in execution; but at the same time commanded all those who had saved him to be immediately put to death, because they had not obeyed his orders [o]. *Cræsus ordered to be put to death.*

CAMBYSES, in the beginning of the eighth year of his reign, left *Egypt*, in order to return to *Persia*. On his coming into *Syria*, he met an herald, sent from *Susa* to the army, to acquaint them, that *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus* was proclaimed king, and commanding them all to acknowlege and obey him. This event was brought about in the following manner: *Cambyses*, at his departure from *Susa* on the *Egyptian* expedition, had left the administration of affairs, during his absence, in the hands of *Patizithes*, one of the chief of the mages. This *Patizithes* had a brother, who very much resembled *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus*, and was, perhaps on that account, called by the same name. As soon as he was fully assured of the death of that prince, which had been carefully concealed from most others, and at the same time informed, that *Cambyses* indulged his tyrannical temper to such a degree, that he was grown insupportable, he placed his own brother on the throne, giving out, that he was the true *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus*; and immediately dispatched heralds into all the parts of the em- *The conspiracy of Smerdis the mage.*

[n] HEROD. l. iii. c. 35.

[o] Idem ibid. c. 36.

(O) *Seneca* (18), who copied this story from *Herodotus*, after shewing his detestation of such a barbarous and cruel action, condemns still more the monstrous flattery of the father, with these memorable words; *Sceleratius telum illud laudatum est, quam missum.*

(18) *Seneca de ira, l. iii. c. 14.*

pire, to give notice of *Smerdis*'s accession to the crown, and require all the provinces to pay him their obedience. The herald, who was dispatched to *Egypt*, finding *Cambyses*, with his army, at *Ecbatan* in *Syria*, placed himself in the midst of the army, and openly proclaimed the orders of *Patizithes*. *Cambyses* caused him to be seized; and, having strictly examined him in the presence of *Prexaspes*, who had received orders to kill his brother, he found, that the true *Smerdis* was certainly dead; and that he, who had usurped the throne, was *Smerdis* the mage. The mention of that name greatly affected *Cambyses*, and revived in his memory the dream, in which he had seen a messenger, who came to acquaint him, that *Smerdis* was seated on the throne. Reflecting how unjustly he had murdered his brother, he burst out in a flood of tears, and immediately ordered his army to march, with a design to suppress the growing rebellion; but, as he was mounting his horse, his sword slipped out of the scabbard, and wounded him in the thigh. Being thus wounded, he asked the name of the city; and, being informed, that the place was called *Ecbatan*, he said, in the presence of all, Fate has decreed, that *Cambyses*, the son of *Cyrus*, shall die in this place. For, while he was in *Egypt*, having consulted the oracle of *Butus*, which was famous in that country, he was told, that he should die at *Ecbatan*; which he understanding of *Ecbatan* in *Media*, resolved to save his life, by avoiding that place: but what he thought to avoid in *Media*, he found in *Syria*; and therefore, being acquainted, that the place where he received the wound was called *Ecbatan*, and taking it for certain that he must die there, he assembled the chief *Persian* lords that served in the army, and, representing to them the true state of the case, earnestly required them never to submit to the impostor, or suffer the sovereignty to pass again from the *Persians* to the *Medes*, of which nation *Smerdis* the mage was, but to use their utmost endeavours to place on the throne one of their own blood. But the *Persians*, suspecting all this was said by him out of hatred to his brother, had no regard to it; and, *Cambyses* dying a few days after of his wound, which mortified, they quietly submitted to the person whom they found on the throne, supposing him to be the true *Smerdis*. To this delusion *Prexaspes* greatly contributed, by saying, that he had not killed *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus* with his own hand [p].

Cambyses *accidentally wounded.*

*Dies.*

Year of the flood 1826. Bef. Chr. 522.

CAMBYSES reigned seven years and five months. When he came first to the crown, the *Samaritans* begged of him, that he would put a stop to the building of the temple at *Jerusalem*. And their application was not in vain; for though he had so

[p] HEROD. l. iii. c. 61—66.

much

much respect for the memory of his father, as not openly to revoke his decree, yet, in a great measure, he frustrated the design of it, by laying the *Jews* under such difficulties, that they could not pursue the work.

THIS prince is called, in Scripture [q], *Artaxerxes*, by *Herodotus*, *Smerdis*; by *Æschylus*, *Mardys*; by *Ctesias*, *Spendadates*; and, by *Justin*, *Orapastes*. As soon as he had taken upon him the sovereignty, he granted to all his subjects an exemption from taxes, and all military service, for three years, and treated them with such beneficence, that all the nations of *Asia*, the *Persians* only excepted, expressed great sorrow on the revolution that happened a few months after: and, further to secure himself on the throne, he married *Atossa*, the daughter of *Cyrus*, thinking, that, in case of a discovery, he might hold the empire by her title. She had been before married to her brother *Cambyses*, who, upon the above-mentioned decision of the royal judges, having married one of his sisters, took to wife also the other; and the mage, pretending to be her brother, married her upon the same footing. But the precautions he made use of to prevent his being discovered, only increased the suspicion, that he was not the true *Smerdis*. He had married all his predecessor's wives, and, among the rest, *Phedyma*, the daughter of *Otanes*, a *Persian* nobleman of the first rank. *Otanes*, to be fully satisfied in this matter, sent a trusty messenger to his daughter, to know of her, whether the king was really *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus*, or some other man. *Phedyma* returned answer, that, as she had never seen *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus*, she could not satisfy his curiosity. *Otanes*, by a second message, desired her to inquire of *Atossa*, who could not but know her own brother, whether this were he, or not. But his daughter let him know, that she was not allowed to speak with *Atossa*, or see any other of the women; because the king, whoever he was, had, from the very beginning of his reign, lodged his wives in distinct and separate apartments. This answer greatly increased the suspicion of *Otanes*; who thereupon sent a third message to his daughter, directing her, when she should be next invited to his bed, to take the opportunity, while he was asleep, of feeling, whether he had ears, or not; for, *Cyrus* having formerly caused the ears of *Smerdis* the mage to be cut off for a crime he had been guilty of, he told her, that, if the king had ears, she might be sure, that he was *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus*; but, if otherwise, he could be no other than *Smerdis* the mage; and therefore unworthy of possessing the crown, or her person. *Phedyma* answered, that the danger was very great;

*Smerdis the Mage mounts the throne.*

*Marries the daughter of Cyrus.*

*Suspected by Otanes.*

[q] Ezra iv. 7, 11, 23.

because, if the king had no ears, and should surprise her, endeavouring to find out such a truth, he would not fail putting her to death: nevertheless, in obedience to the commands of her father, she would make the attempt, and take upon her to satisfy his doubt; and accordingly, the next time she was called to his bed, as soon as she perceived him fast asleep, she took the opportunity of making the trial; and, finding he had no ears, early next morning acquainted her father therewith; whereby the imposture was discovered. *Otanes*, upon this information, imparted the whole affair to *Gobryas* and *Aspathines*, *Persians* of great distinction, and whose honour he could rely on. These three agreed among themselves, that each of them should name one of his most trusty friends to be admitted into the secret. Pursuant to this resolution, *Otanes* named *Intaphernes*; *Gobryas*, *Megabyzus*; and *Aspathines*, *Hydarnes*. In the mean time *Darius*, the son of *Hystaspes*, arriving at *Susa* from *Persia*, where his father was governor, they all agreed to make him privy to their resolutions; which they did accordingly. *Darius*, at their first meeting, told them, that he thought no man in *Persia*, but himself, had known, that *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus* was really dead, and the crown usurped by a mage; and therefore he was come with a design to kill the usurper, without imparting his design to any other, that the glory of such an action might be intirely his own; but, since others were apprised of the imposture, he was of opinion, that the usurper should be dispatched with all expedition, delays being, in such cases, very dangerous, and the best-concerted designs easily disappointed. *Otanes*, on the other hand, was for putting off the execution of their design till some better opportunity offered, and not attempting the enterprize, till they had increased their number. But *Darius* remonstrating the danger there was of being discovered and betrayed, if they let the present opportunity slip, or imparted their design to others, and openly protesting, that, if they did not make the attempt that very day, he would prevent any one from accusing him, by disclosing the whole matter to the mage, it was unanimously agreed, that they should not separate, under any pretence whatsoever, but immediately, upon the breaking up of their meeting, go to the palace, and either put the usurper to death, or die in the attempt [r].

*Discovered by him.*

Darius *declares the true* Smerdis *dead.*

While they were concerting their measures, the two mages, in order to remove all suspicion, engaged *Prexaspes* in their interest; and, with great promises, prevailed upon him to give his word, and oblige himself by oath, never to discover the fraud they had put upon the *Persians*. *Prexaspes*, as we

[r] Herodot. l. iii. c. 67, & seq.

have

have related above, knew that *Smerdis*, the son of *Cyrus*, was not living, having, by the command of *Cambyses*, put him to death with his own hand. The mages, having engaged *Prexaspes* to be silent, acquainted him farther, that, having determined to assemble all the *Persians* under the walls of the palace, they desired he would ascend a certain tower, and from thence publicly declare, that the king upon the throne was truly *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus*. *Prexaspes* having taken upon him this office, the mages summoned the *Persians* together, and commanded him to mount the tower, and from thence harangue the people. *Prenaspes* began his discourse with the genealogy of *Cyrus*; and then put the *Persians* in mind of the great favours the nation had received from that prince. After having extolled *Cyrus*, and his family, to the great astonishment of all, he sincerely declared all that had passed; and told the people, that the apprehensions of the danger he must inevitably run, by publishing the imposture, had constrained him to conceal it so long; but now, his remorse no longer suffering him to act such a dishonourable part, he acknowleged, that he had been compelled by *Cambyses* to put his brother to death with his own hand; and that the person who possessed the throne was *Smerdis* the mage. He then begged pardon of the gods and men, for the crime he had committed by compulsion, and against his will; and, fulminating many imprecations against the *Persians*, if they should neglect to recover the sovereignty, and punish the usurper, he threw himself headlong from the top of the tower, and died on the spot [s]. It is easy to imagine what confusion the news of this accident occasioned in the palace.

*Prexaspes's noble speech to the Persians.*

*His death.*

In the mean time, the conspirators, not knowing what had happened, were going to the palace, determined to execute their design. On their way they were informed of what *Prexaspes* had said and done, which obliging them to retire, and confer together, *Otanes* earnestly desired them anew to defer the enterprize: but *Darius* still insisting upon the immediate execution, and rejecting all proposals of delay (P), they fell in with his opinion, and went directly to the palace. The guards, respecting their dignity, and not suspecting persons of their rank and figure, permitted them to pass, without asking them any questions: but, as they came near the king's apartment,

*The seven lords force into the palace.*

[s] Herod. l. iii. c. 74, 75.

(P) *Herodotus* (19) tells us, that as they were contending, seven couple of hawks appeared pursuing two couple of vulturs in the air, and tearing them to pieces; which when the seven *Persians* observed, they accepted the omen; all to a man fell in with *Darius*, and marched strait to the palace,

(19) *Herodot. l.* iii. *c.* 76.

the

the eunuchs, who attended there to receive messages, refused them admittance, and threatened the guards for permitting them to pass. Upon this the seven *Persians*, encouraging each other, drew their swords, killed all that opposed their passage, and penetrated to the very room where the two mages were consulting about the late affair of *Prexaspes*. They no sooner heard this tumult and uproar, but the one taking up a bow, and the other a javelin, the weapons that came first to hand in that confusion, they engaged the conspirators. He who had the bow, soon found that weapon of no use in so close an action; but the other, with his javelin, wounded *Aspathines* in the thigh, and struck out the eye of *Intaphernes*: one of the brothers being killed, the other retired into a room adjoining to the place where they fought, with a design to shut himself in; but was so closely pursued by *Darius* and *Gobryas*, that they broke into the room with him: *Gobryas*, having seized him, held him fast in his arms; but, as it was quite dark in that place, *Darius* stood still, not knowing how to direct his blow, and fearing to strike, lest he should kill his friend instead of the enemy: which *Gobryas* perceiving, desired him to strike, though he should kill them both. Upon this, *Darius* resolved to put all to the venture; and, by good fortune, killed the usurper. Having thus dispatched the two brothers, they cut off their heads; and, leaving their two wounded companions to secure the palace, the other five, carrying the heads of the two mages, with their hands all smeared with blood, marched out of the palace, exposed the heads to the eyes of the people, and declared the whole imposture. The *Persians*, being informed of what had passed, were so enraged against the impostors, that they fell upon the whole sect, and killed every mage they met; and, if night coming on had not put an end to the slaughter, no one of that order had been left alive. The day, on which this happened, was ever afterwards celebrated by the *Persians* with the greatest solemnity, called by the name of *magophonia*, or the slaughter of the mages. On that festival the mages durst not, for many years after, appear abroad; but were obliged to shut themselves up in their houses [1].

Smerdis *the mage murdered by* Darius.

*The mages massacred.*

Samaritans *obstruct the rebuilding of the temple.*

SMERDIS reigned only eight months, during which time a stop was put to the rebuilding of the temple at *Jerusalem*; for, as soon as he was seated on the throne, the *Samaritans* acquainted him, that the *Jews* were rebuilding their city and temple; that they had always been a rebellious and stubborn people; and that, if he allowed them to finish that work, they would, without doubt, withdraw their obedience from the king, whereby he would lose all the provinces on that side

[1] HEROD. ibid. c. 76–79.

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the *Euphrates*. For the truth of what they ſaid concerning the ungovernable temper of the *Jews*, they referred him to the records of his predeceſſors, which they deſired him to inquire into touching this matter. And accordingly *Smerdis*, upon theſe remonſtrances, having cauſed the records to be carefully examined, and finding with what difficulty the *Jews* had been reduced by *Nebuchadnezzar*, iſſued an edict, forbidding them to proceed any farther in the work they had begun, and charged the *Samaritans* to ſee it put in execution. Hereupon the work was laid aſide, till the ſecond year of the reign of *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, that is, for the ſpace of two years [u] (Q).

*The ſeven lords debate about ſettling the government.*

BUT, to return to the conſpirators. When the tumult and diſorders which attend ſuch events, were appeaſed, they met, to conſult what form of government they ſhould introduce. *Otanes* was for a republic, *Megabyzus* ſpoke for an oligarchy, and *Darius* declared for monarchy. The opinion of the latter was, after a long debate, embraced by all, except *Otanes*, who, finding his ſentiments over-ruled, told them, That, ſince they were reſolved to ſet up a king, he would not be their competitor for a dignity which he abhorred; and that, being determined not to govern as a king, he would not be governed by one: and therefore was willing to give up his right to the crown, on condition, that neither he, nor his poſterity, ſhould be ſubject to the royal power. The other ſix granted him his demand: whereupon he immediately retired, and his deſcendents alone retained their liberty, which they enjoyed even in our author's days, being then no farther ſubject to the king than it ſuited their conveniency, and only obliged to conform to the cuſtoms and manners of the country [w].

UPON his departure, the other ſix began to deliberate in what manner they ſhould proceed to the election of a new king. But, in the firſt place, they unanimouſly agreed, That whoſoever of them ſhould be choſen, he ſhould every year preſent *Otanes*, and his poſterity, with a *Median* veſt; a mark of great diſtinction among the *Perſians*, becauſe he had been the chief author of the enterprize. In the next place, they de-

[u] Ezra iv. 7---24.

[w] HEROD. l. iii. c. 80---83.

(Q) That *Cambyſes* was the *Ahaſuerus*, and *Smerdis* the *Artaxerxes* of Scripture, is plain from their obſtructing the work of the temple; for they are ſaid in the ſacred hiſtory to have reigned between *Cyrus* and *Darius*, by whoſe decree the temple was finiſhed. But none reigning between *Cyrus* and *Darius*, except *Cambyſes* and *Smerdis*, we muſt conclude that none but *Cambyſes* and *Smerdis* could be the *Ahaſuerus* and *Artaxerxes*, who are ſaid in *Ezra* (20) to have put a ſtop to this work.

(20) *Ezra* iv. 5, 6, 7.

termined,

Year of the flood 1827. Bef. Chr. 521.

termined, That the seven should have full liberty to enter into all the apartments of the palace, without being introduced; and that the king should not be allowed to marry a woman out of any other family than of the seven conspirators. Then taking the future election into consideration, they thought fit to refer it to Providence; and, accordingly, they all agreed to meet the next morning, by the rising of the sun, on horseback, at an appointed place in the suburbs of the city; and that he whose horse first neighed should be king: for the sun being greatly revered by the *Persians*, they imagined, by this method, to refer the election to him. *Oebares*, who had the charge of *Darius*'s horses, hearing of this agreement, led a mare overnight to the place appointed, and brought to her his master's horse. The next morning the six *Persians* repairing to the place, pursuant to their agreement, *Darius*'s horse, remembering the mare, immediately neighed; and his competitors, dismounting, adored him as king [x].

*Darius chosen king by a stratagem of his groom.*

THE *Persian* empire being thus restored, by the valour of these seven lords, they were raised by the new king to the highest dignities, and honoured with most ample privileges: in all public affairs, they were the first to deliver their opinions: and ever afterwards the *Persian* kings of this race had seven chief counsellors, privileged in the same manner; and by whose advice all the public affairs of the kingdom were transacted. Under this character we find them often mentioned in Scripture [y].

*His pedigree*, &c.

DARIUS was the son of *Hystaspes*, a noble *Persian*, of the royal family of *Achæmenes*, who had attended *Cyrus* in all his wars, and was, at that time, governor of the province of *Persia*. *Darius* is called, in the writings of the modern *Persians*, *Gushtasph*, and his father *Lorasph*; and are famous among the *Persians* to this day. *Darius*, the better to establish himself on the throne, married the two daughters of *Cyrus*, *Atossa* and *Artystona* [z]. The former had been wife to her brother *Cambyses*, and also to the mage; but *Artystona* had not been married before, and proved the most favoured and beloved of all his wives: for to these he added *Parmys* the daughter of the true *Smerdis*, and *Phedyma* the daughter of *Otanes*, who detected the mage. Having thus confirmed his power, he divided the whole empire into twenty satrapies, or governments, and appointed a governor over each division, ordering them to pay an annual tribute [a]. *Persia* alone was exempted from all manner of taxes: the *Ethiopians*, and inhabitants of

*Division of the empire.*

[x] HEROD. l. iii. c. 84--87. [y] Ezra vii. 14. Esth. i. 14, &c.
[z] HEROD. l. iii. c. 88. & l. vii. c. 2. JUSTIN. l. i. c. 10.
[a] PLATO, l. iii. de legib.

*Colchis*,

*Colchis*, were injoined only to make some presents, and the *Arabians* to furnish yearly such a quantity of frankincense, as was equal in weight to a thousand talents. By this establishment, *Darius* received the yearly tribute of fourteen thousand five hundred and sixty *Euboic* talents, besides several other sums of small consequence [y]. *His revenue.*

DARIUS, in the very beginning of his reign, put to death *Intaphernes*, one of the seven conspirators, on the following occasion: *Intaphernes* went to the palace to confer with *Darius*; but attempting to enter, pursuant to the agreement above-mentioned, in virtue of which they were to have free access to the king at all hours, except when he was alone with some of his wives, he was stopt by the doorkeeper, and a messenger, under colour that the king was in company with one of his wives. *Intaphernes*, not believing them, drew his scymetar, and, having cut off both their noses and ears, fastened their heads in a bridle, and so left them. In this condition they went in, and, shewing themselves to the king, acquainted him with the cause of the ill usage they had received. *Darius*, apprehending that this attempt might have been concerted by the six, sent for them, one after another, and asked, whether they approved the action; but, finding that *Intaphernes* alone was guilty, he caused him to be seized with his children and family, lest his relations, whom he suspected, should raise a rebellion. While they were under confinement, the wife of *Intaphernes* made such loud complaints and lamentations at the gates of the palace, that *Darius*, touched with compassion, granted her the life of any one of her relations, leaving her the choice of the person. She, after some deliberation, chose her brother. Which *Darius* hearing, asked her, why she had so little regard for her husband and children, as to save the life of her brother rather than theirs. The woman readily answered, that she could get another husband, and have by him other children, if she should be deprived of those she had; but could never have another brother, her father and mother being already dead. The king was so well pleased with this answer, that he not only pardoned her brother, but saved also her eldest son. The others were all put to death with *Intaphernes*, without any regard to his late deserts [z]. Intaphernes *put to death.*

IN the beginning of the second year of *Darius*, the *Jews* resumed the work of the temple, being exhorted thereto by the prophet *Haggai* [a]: which the *Samaritans* understanding, applied themselves to *Tatnai*, whom *Darius* had appointed governor of *Syria* and *Palestine*, acquainting him, Year of the flood 1828. Bef. Chr. 520.

[y] HEROD. l. iii. c. 85-97. [z] Idem ibid. c. 118, 119. [a] Hagg. i. 1.

that the *Jews* were not authorized to pursue that work, which, if perfected, would encourage them to shake off the *Persian* yoke. Upon these remonstrances, *Tatnai*, accompanied by *Setharboznai*, who seems to have been governor of *Samaria*, went up to *Jerusalem*; and, after viewing the work, inquired of the elders, by what authority they had resumed it. The elders produced the decree of *Cyrus*. Whereupon the governor, who was a man of great justice and probity, wrote to the king, fairly stating the case, and desiring, that search might be made into the archives for the decree of *Cyrus*, which the *Jews* produced, to justify themselves in what they were doing. The king, upon the receipt of this letter, ordered the archives of *Babylon* and *Ecbatan* to be carefully examined; and the decree being found in those of the latter, for *Cyrus* was at *Ecbatan* in *Media* when he granted it, the king commanded it to be strictly observed in every particular; and, having sent it to *Tatnai* and *Setharboznai*, injoined them to see it fully and effectually put in execution; decreeing, that whosoever should attempt to alter the edict, or prevent its being put in execution, should have his house pulled down, and, a gibbet being made of the timber of it, should be hanged thereon. On the publication of this decree at *Jerusalem*, the work of the temple went on very successfully, and the state of the *Jews* in *Judea* and *Jerusalem* was intirely restored [b].

*The building of the temple resumed by a new edict of* Darius.

Year of the flood 1832. Bef. Chr. 516.

About the beginning of the fifth year of *Darius*, the *Babylonians*, not being able to live any longer in subjection to the *Persians*, who not only loaded them with heavy taxes, but had removed the imperial seat from *Babylon*, formerly the mistress of the east, to *Susa*, and thereby greatly diminished the splendor of that city, attempted to retrieve their antient grandeur, by setting up for themselves against the *Persians*, as they had done in former times against the *Assyrians*. With this view, taking advantage of the troubles that had happened, first on the death of *Cambyses*, and afterwards on the murder of the usurper *Smerdis*, they had privately stored their city with all manner of provisions for many years; and, at last, broke out into an open rebellion: which drew *Darius*, with all his forces, to besiege the city. The *Babylonians*, seeing themselves shut up by so numerous and powerful an army, turned all their thoughts to the supporting of a long siege, which they imagined would tire out the enemy's troops. To prevent the consumption of their provisions, they took the most desperate and barbarous resolution that ever was put in execution by any nation. They agreed among themselves, to get rid of all unnecessary mouths; and therefore, drawing together all the

*The* Babylonians *revolt.*

[b] Ezra v. 3, 4, 5, 13, 16, 17. & vi. 1—14.

women,

women, old men, and children, they strangled them without distinction, whether wives, fathers, mothers, or sisters, every one being allowed to save only the wife he liked best, and a maid-servant, to do the work of the house [c].

*Their desperate policy.*

DARIUS, having lain before *Babylon* a year and eight months, and being no less tired than his army, with so tedious a siege, endeavoured, by various stratagems and artifices, to take the place; among others, he made use of that which had succeeded so well with *Cyrus*: but all his efforts were rendered ineffectual, by the unwearied vigilance of the *Babylonians*. When he was ready to break up the siege, and return to *Persia*, *Zopyrus*, one of his chief commanders, put him in possession of the town, by the following contrivance: he cut off his nose and ears; and, having mangled his body, in a most cruel manner, with stripes, fled to the *Babylonians*, thus disfigured, feigning to have been so treated by *Darius*, for advising him to raise the siege. The *Babylonians*, seeing a man of that distinction so barbarously used, believed all he said against *Darius*; and, assuring themselves of his fidelity, gave him the command of some forces. With these he sallied out, and having surrounded ten thousand *Persians*, which *Darius*, by agreement, had posted near the walls, he cut them all in pieces on the spot. A few days after, in another sally, he killed two thousand more; which so pleased the *Babylonians*, that he was appointed commander in chief of all their forces. Being vested with this command, he made a third sally, and put four thousand more *Persians* to the sword. Upon this success, *Zopyrus* acquired such credit, that the guard of the city was intirely committed to his care. Not long after, *Darius*, pursuant to the agreement they had made, advanced with the whole body of his army, and surrounded the city. The *Babylonians*, mounting the walls, made a vigorous defence; but, in the mean time, *Zopyrus*, opening the gates of *Belus* and *Cissia*, introduced the *Persians*, and delivered the city up to *Darius*, who, without this stratagem, could never have mastered it. Thus *Babylon* was taken a second time; and *Darius*, being put in possession of it, beat down the walls from two hundred cubits high to fifty: and of these walls only *Strabo* [d] is to be understood to speak, where he tells us, that the walls of *Babylon* were only fifty cubits high. As for the inhabitants, after having impaled about three thousand of the most guilty and active in the revolt, he pardoned the rest. And, because the *Babylonians* had destroyed their women, he took care to furnish them with wives, injoining the neighbouring provinces to send fifty thousand women to *Babylon*, without which supply the place must soon have be-

Zopyrus's *strange stratagem to betray them.*

Babylon *taken by his means.*

[c] HEROD. l. iii. c. 150, 151.

[d] STRABO, l. vi.

come

come depopulated. As for *Zopyrus*, he was deservedly rewarded by *Darius* with the highest honours he could heap upon him, during the whole course of his life. That prince frequently used to say, that he would willingly lose twenty *Babylons*, rather than see *Zopyrus* so disfigured. Besides many other ample rewards, he bestowed upon him the revenues of *Babylon* for life, free from all charges and taxes; and could never after behold him, without shedding many years [e].

Darius's *expedition against the* Scythians.

AFTER the reduction of *Babylon*, *Darius* undertook an expedition against the *Scythians* inhabiting those countries which lie between the *Danube* and the *Tanais*. His pretence for this war was, to revenge the calamities which they had brought upon *Asia*, when they invaded that country about one hundred and twenty years before, and held it in subjection for the space of twenty-eight years, as we have related in part, in the history of *Media* [f], and shall more fully in that of the *Scythians*. This he gave out, as the motive inducing him to a war, which his ambition alone, and desire of extending his conquests, prompted him to. Having made vast preparations for this expedition, and levied an army of seven hundred thousand men, he marched to the *Thracian Bosporus*; and, having there passed over a bridge of boats, he reduced all *Thrace*. From *Thrace* he advanced to the *Ister*, or *Danube*, where he had appointed his fleet to join him. Here he marched over another bridge of boats, and entered *Scythia*. The *Scythians*, after having conferred together about the measures they should take to oppose so powerful an enemy, determined not to venture an engagement in the open field, but to withdraw themselves from the frontiers, in proportion as the *Persians* advanced, laying waste the country, and filling up the wells and springs.

Year of the flood 1834. Bef. Chr. 514.

*His vast army.*

Darius *over-reached by the* Scythians.

Pursuant to this resolution, they met *Darius* on the frontiers, and, finding him disposed to give them battle, they retired from country to country, till his army was quite tired with such tedious and fatiguing marches. At last he began to be sensible of the danger he was in of perishing, with all his forces; and, having resolved to give over that rash enterprize, and retire home, he lighted, in the night, a great number of fires, and, leaving the old men and sick behind him in the camp, he marched off with all possible expedition, in order to reach the *Danube*. The *Scythians*, perceiving the next morning, that the enemy was decamped, detached a considerable body to the *Danube*, who, as they were well acquainted with the roads, arrived at that river before *Darius*. The *Scythians* had sent expresses beforehand, to persuade the *Ionians*, whom

[e] HEROD. ibid. c. 154—160. & JUSTIN. l. i. in fine. [f] See before, p. 33, & seq.

*Darius*

*Darius* had left to guard the bridge, to break it down, and retire to their own country. Now they pressed them to it more earnestly, representing to them, that, as the time prescribed by *Darius* was expired, they were at liberty to return home, without breaking their word, or being wanting to their duty; for *Darius* had given them leave to break down the bridge, and withdraw to their own country, if he did not return at a prefixed time, which was already elapsed. Hereupon the *Ionians* began to consult among themselves, whether or no they should comply with the request of the *Scythians*. *Miltiades*, prince of the *Chersonesus* of *Thrace*, having the public interest more at heart than his own private advantage, was for embracing so favourable an opportunity of shaking off the *Persian* yoke, breaking down the bridge, and thereby cutting off *Darius*'s retreat. All the other commanders fell in with him, except *Hystiæus* prince of *Miletus*, who represented to the *Ionian* chiefs, that their power was linked with that of *Darius*, since it was under his protection: that each of them was lord in his own city: and that the cities of *Ionia* would not fail to depose them, and recover their liberty, if the *Persian* power should sink, or decline. This speech made a deep impression upon the *Ionian* generals; and, private interest prevailing over the public good, they determined to wait for *Darius*. But, in order to deceive the *Scythians*, and prevent them from using any violence, they declared, that their design was to retire, pursuant to their request: and, the better to impose upon the enemy, they began to break down the bridge, encouraging the *Scythians* to return back, meet *Darius*, and defeat him. They readily complied with the *Ionians* request, but missed *Darius*, who arrived safe at the bridge, repassed the *Danube*, and returned into *Thrace*. Here he left *Megabyzus*, one of his chief generals, with part of his army, to complete the conquest of that country. With the rest of his troops he passed the *Bosporus*, and took up his quarters at *Sardis*, where he spent the winter, and the greatest part of the year following, to refresh his army, which had suffered extremely in that rash and unsuccessful expedition [f].

Miltiades's *noble advice to the cowardly* Ionians.

Megabyzus, having brought all *Thrace* under subjection, dispatched seven *Persian* noblemen, that served under him, to *Amyntas* king of *Macedon*, injoining him to acknowlege *Darius* for his master, by the delivery of earth and water. *Amyntas* not only complied with their request, but received them into his house; and, having prepared a sumptuous feast, entertained them with great magnificence. At the end of the en-

[f] Herod. l. iv. c. 1. 85, 86, & seqq. Justin. l. ii. c. 5. Cornel. Nep. in Miltiad.

tertainment, the *Persians*, being heated with wine, desired *Amyntas* to bring in his concubines, wives, and daughters. Though this was contrary to the custom of the country, the king, fearing to displease them, did as they required. But the *Persians* not observing a due decency on that occasion, the king's son, by name *Alexander*, being no longer able to see his mother and sisters treated in such a manner, contrived to send them out of the room as if they were to return immediately; and, at the same time, had the precaution to get his father out of the company. In the mean time, he caused a like number of young men to be dressed like women, and armed with poniards, under their garments: these he brought into the room, instead of the others; and, when the *Persians* began to use them as they had treated the women, they drew their poniards, fell upon the *Persians*, and killed both the noblemen and their attendants. Great search was made by *Megabyzus* for these noblemen: but *Alexander* having, with large presents, bribed *Bubares*, who was sent to inquire after them, their death was concealed, and the whole matter stifled g.

*The* Persian *lords massacred by* Alexander.

Year of the flood 1835. Bef. Chr. 513.

THE *Scythians*, to be revenged on *Darius* for invading their country, having passed the *Danube*, laid waste all that part of *Thrace* which had submitted to the *Persians*, as far as the *Hellespont*; and, loaded with booty, returned home, without meeting with any opposition.

*Thrace plundered by the* Scythians.

DARIUS, having sufficiently refreshed his troops, after the *Scythian* expedition, began to think of extending his dominions eastwards; and, in order to facilitate his design, resolved, in the first place, to make a discovery of those countries. With this view, he caused a fleet to be built and equipped at *Caspatyrus*, a city on the river *Indus*. The command of this fleet he gave to *Scylax*, a *Grecian* of *Caryandia*, a city of *Caria*, who was well versed in maritime affairs. His orders were to sail down the current, and make the best discoveries he could of the countries lying on either side of the river, till he arrived at the southern ocean: from thence he was to steer his course westward, and that way return back to *Persia*. *Scylax*, having exactly observed his instructions, and sailed down the river *Indus*, entered the *Red* sea by the straits of *Babelmandel*; and, on the thirtieth month from his first setting out, landed in *Egypt*, at the same place from whence *Necho* king of *Egypt* formerly sent out the *Phœnicians* who were in his service, to sail round the coasts of *Africa*. From hence *Scylax* returned to *Susa*, where he gave *Darius* a full account of his observations. *Darius* hereupon entered *India* at the head of a numerous army; and, reducing that large country, made it the

Darius's *conquest of* India.

Year of the flood 1839. Bef. Chr. 509.

g HERODOT. l. v. c. 20.

twentieth

twentieth province of the *Perſian* empire. Our author gives us no account of this important war: he only ſays, that *Darius* received from the provinces he conquered in this expedition, an annual tribute of three hundred and ſixty talents of gold, according to the number of the days of the *Perſian* year, at that time [h] (S).

*The revolt of the* Ionians.

DARIUS, after his return to *Suſa* from the *Scythian* expedition, had appointed his brother *Artaphernes* governor of *Sardis*, and given *Otanes* the government of *Thrace*, and the adjacent countries along the ſea-coaſt, in the room of *Megabyzus*. In the mean time, a ſedition happening in *Naxus*, the chief iſland of the *Cyclades* in the *Egean* ſea, now called the *Archipelago*, the principal inhabitants, being overpowered by the populace, were baniſhed the iſland. In their diſtreſs they had recourſe to *Ariſtagoras*, beſeeching him to reſtore them to their country. *Ariſtagoras* at that time reſided at *Miletus*, and governed that city as deputy to *Hyſtiæus* (T), to whom he

[h] HEROD. l. iv. c. 44, & ſeqq.

(S) This payment was made, according to the ſtandard of the *Euboic* talent, the ſame with the *Attic*; and therefore, by the loweſt computation, amounted to one million and ninety-five thouſand pound ſterling.

(T) *Darius*, on his return to *Sardis*, after his unhappy expedition againſt the *Scythians*, being informed, that he owed his own ſafety, and that of his whole army, to *Hyſtiæus*, who had prevailed upon the *Ionians* not to deſtroy the bridge upon the *Danube*, ſent for that prince, and deſired him freely to aſk what favour he pleaſed, for the eminent ſervice he had done him. *Hyſtiæus* deſired the king to grant him the *Edonian Myrcinus*, a territory upon the river *Strymon* in *Thrace*, with the liberty of building a city there. His requeſt being granted, he returned to *Miletus*, and, having there equipped a fleet, he ſailed for *Thrace*, took poſſeſſion of the territory granted him, and began the intended city. *Megabyzus*, who was then governor of *Thrace* for *Darius*, being appriſed how prejudicial that project might prove to the king's affairs, on his return to *Sardis*, repreſented to *Darius*, that this new city ſtood upon a navigable river; that the country round about it afforded abundance of timber for the building of ſhips; that it was inhabited by ſeveral nations, both *Greeks* and barbarians, which could furniſh great numbers of men fit both for the ſea and land ſervice; that if once theſe nations ſhould be governed by ſuch a ſkilful and enterprizing prince as *Hyſtiæus*, they might ſoon become ſo powerful both by ſea and land, that the king of *Perſia* would not be able to keep them in ſubjection, eſpecially ſince they might be ſupplied with gold and ſilver from the mines, with which that country abounded, to carry on any enterprize. *Darius*, being, by theſe remonſtrances, made ſenſible

he was both nephew and son-in-law. When *Aristagoras* understood their case, he resolved to improve the opportunity, and attempt to make himself master of *Naxus*. With this view, he promised to give the exiles all the assistance he could: but, not being powerful enough to accomplish his design himself, he communicated the matter to *Artaphernes* the king's brother, governor of *Sardis*, representing to him, that this was a fair opportunity of reducing *Naxus*: that, if he were once master of that island, all the rest of the *Cyclades* might be easily brought under subjection: that the isle of *Eubœa* lying very near the other, would be an easy conquest; and from thence the king would have a free passage into *Greece*. *Artaphernes* was so well pleased with these proposals, that, instead of the hundred ships which *Aristagoras* demanded, he promised him two hundred, provided the king approved of the enterprize. And accordingly, having obtained the king's consent, he sent the next spring to *Miletus* the number of ships which he had promised, under the command of *Megabates*, a noble *Persian*, of the *Achæmenian* family: but his commission being to obey the orders of *Aristagoras*, and the haughty *Persian* not brooking to be under the command of an *Ionian*, a dissention arose between the two generals; which was carried so far, that *Megabates*, to be revenged on *Aristagoras*, gave the *Naxians* secret intelligence of the design that was carrying on against them. Hereupon they made such preparations for their defence, that the *Persians*, after having spent four months in besieging the chief town of the island, and consumed all their provisions, were obliged to retire. The project having thus miscarried, *Megabates* threw all the blame upon *Aristagoras*; and his false accusations being more favourably heard than the just defence of the other, *Artaphernes* condemned him to defray all the charges of the expedition, giving him to understand, that they would be exacted with the utmost rigour. As he was not able to pay

Aristagoras's *attempt upon* Naxus *frustrated by* Megabates.

Year of the flood 1844. Bef. Chr. 504.

sible of the mistake he had committed, dispatched a messenger to *Hystiæus*, injoining him to repair to *Sardis*, in order to deliver his advice concerning matters of the utmost consequence. Having thus drawn him to *Sardis*, he took him with him to *Susa*, pretending that he wanted such an able counsellor, and faithful friend, to be always about him; and telling him, that he should be able to find him something in *Persia*, which would make him ample amends both for *Myrcinus* and *Miletus*. *Hystiæus*, finding himself under a necessity of complying, attended *Darius* to *Susa*, and left *Aristagoras* governor of *Miletus*, in his absence. To this *Aristagoras* the banished *Naxians* applied for relief (21).

(21) *Herodot. l.* v. 6. 11. 23—25.

so

so large a sum, he foresaw that this must end not only in the loss of his government, but his utter ruin. This desperate situation made him entertain thoughts of revolting from the king, as the only expedient whereby he could extricate himself from his present difficulties. No sooner had he formed this design, but a messenger arrived from *Hystiæus*, who confirmed him in it (U). *Hystiæus*, after several years continuance at the *Persian* court, being weary of the manners of that nation, and desirous to return to his country, thought this the most likely means to accomplish his desire; for he flattered himself, that if any disturbances should arise in *Ionia*, he could prevail with *Darius* to send him thither, to appease them, as in effect it happened. *Aristagoras*, finding his own inclinations backed by the orders of *Hystiæus*, imparted his design to the leading men of *Ionia*, whom he found ready to come into his measures: and therefore, being now determined to revolt, applied himself wholly to make all manner of preparations for so great an undertaking [i].

*Stirs up the* Ionians *to revolt.*

The next year *Aristagoras*, to engage the *Ionians* more resolutely to stand by him, reinstated them in their liberty, and all their former privileges. He began with *Miletus*, where he divested himself of his power, and gave it up into the hands of the people. He then undertook a journey through all *Ionia*, where, by his example and credit, he prevailed upon all the other petty princes, or, as the *Greeks* then called them, tyrants, to do the same. Having this united them all into one common league, of which he himself was declared the head, he openly revolted from the king; and made great preparations both by sea and land, for carrying on a war. To strengthen himself the more against the *Persians*, in the beginning of the following year, he went to *Lacedæmon*, to engage that city in his interest: but, not being able to prevail upon *Cleomenes* (W), who

[i] Herod. l. v. c. 30—37.

(U) *Hystiæus*, being desirous to impart his design to *Aristagoras*, and finding no other means, by reason all the passages leading into *Ionia* were guarded, shaved the hair of one of his servants, in whose fidelity he most confided; and, having imprinted the message on his head, kept him at *Susa* till his hair was grown again. He then dispatched him to *Miletus*, without any other instructions, than that, upon his arrival, he should desire *Aristagoras* to cut off his hair, and look upon his head (22).

(W) *Cleomenes* having appointed him a time and place for an interview, *Aristagoras* represented to him, that the *Lacedæmonians* and *Ionians* were country-

(22) *Herodot. ibid.* c. 35.

who was at that time king of *Lacedæmon*, to send him any succours, he proceeded to *Athens*, where he met with a favourable reception; for he had the good fortune to arrive there at a time when the *Athenians* were disposed to close with any measures against the *Persians*, being highly exasperated against them, on the following occasion: *Hippias*, the son of *Pisistratus*, tyrant of *Athens*, having been banished about ten years

*Is joined by the* Athenians.

men; that *Sparta* being the most powerful city of *Greece*, it would be much to their honour to concur with him in the design he had formed, of restoring the *Ionians* to their antient liberty; that the *Persians*, their common enemy, were not a warlike people, but extremely rich, and consequently would become an easy prey to the *Lacedæmonians*; that, considering the present spirit and disposition of the *Ionians*, it would not be difficult for them to carry their victorious arms even to *Susa*, the metropolis of the *Persian* empire, and the place of the king's residence. At the same time, he shewed him a description of all the nations and cities through which they were to pass, engraved on a plate of brass, which he had brought along with him. *Cleomenes* desired three days time to consider of the matter; which being expired, he asked *Aristagoras* in how many days one might travel from the coast of *Ionia* to the city where the king resided. *Aristagoras*, though an artful man, and far superior in all respects to *Cleomenes*, yet made a slip, as our author observes, in his answer to this demand; for as he designed to draw the *Spartans* into *Asia*, he ought to have lessened the distance from the coasts of *Ionia* to *Susa*; whereas he told him plainly, that it was a journey of three months; which *Cleomenes* no sooner heard, than, interrupting him from proceeding in his discourse concerning the way, commanded him to depart *Sparta* before sun-set, for advising the *Spartans* to take a march into *Asia*, not to be performed in less than three months after their landing. *Cleomenes* then withdrew; but *Aristagoras*, taking an olive-branch in his hand, after the manner of suppliants, followed him home to his house, and endeavoured to prevail upon him by arguments of another nature, that is, by presents; but before he made any offer, he desired him to bid his daughter *Gorgo*, a child about eight or nine years old, to withdraw; but *Cleomenes* telling him, that he might speak freely without apprehending any thing from so young a child, *Aristagoras* began with the promise of ten talents, in case *Cleomenes* would comply with his request; and, receiving a denial, proceeded gradually in his offers till he came to the sum of fifty talents; and then the girl cried out, *Fly, father, fly, else this stranger will corrupt you. Cleomenes* was so well pleased with the child's admonition, that he immediately retired to another apartment, and ordered *Aristagoras* that instant to depart his dominions (23).

(23) *Herodot. l. v. c. 51.*

before,

before, and tried, in vain, several other ways to bring about his restoration, at length applied himself to *Artaphernes*, at *Sardis*; and, having insinuated himself into his favour, did all that lay in his power to stir him up against them. The *Athenians*, having intelligence of this, sent embassadors to *Sardis*, desiring *Artaphernes* not to give ear to what any of their outlaws should insinuate to their disadvantage. The answer of *Artaphernes* to this embassy was, that, if they desired to live in peace, they must recal *Hippias*. This haughty message incensed the *Athenians* to a great degree against the *Persians*; and *Aristagoras*, arriving there just at this juncture, easily obtained whatever he desired. The *Athenians* ordered a fleet of twenty ships to be immediately equipped, and sent to the assistance of the *Ionians*.

THE *Ionians* having, at last, drawn together all their troops, and being reinforced with the twenty *Athenian* ships, and five more from *Eretria*, a city in the island of *Eubœa*, they set sail for *Ephesus*; and, having left their ships there, they marched by land to the city of *Sardis*, which they easily made themselves masters of. As most of the houses were built with reeds, an *Ionian* soldier having accidentally set one of them on fire, and the flame spreading, the whole city was reduced to ashes; but the citadel, whither *Artaphernes* had retired, was preserved. After this accident, the *Persians* and *Lydians* drawing together their forces, and other troops coming full march to their assistance, the *Ionians*, who had not been able to force the citadel, judged it was high time for them to withdraw; and accordingly marched back with all possible expedition, in order to reimbark at *Ephesus*: but, before they had reached that place, they were overtaken by the enemy, and defeated with great slaughter[i]. The *Athenians* who escaped, immediately hoisted sail, and returned home; nor could they ever afterwards be prevailed upon to concern themselves in this war: however, their having engaged thus far, gave rise to that war which was carried on afterwards for several generations by the two nations, and ended at last in the utter destruction of the *Persian* empire; for *Darius*, being informed of the burning of *Sardis*, and hearing that the *Athenians* had been concerned in that undertaking, determined from that time to make war upon *Greece*: and, that he might never forget his resolution, he commanded one of his officers to cry every day to him, with a loud voice, while he was at dinner, three times, *Remember the* Athenians[k]. In the burning of *Sardis*, the temple of *Cybele*, the chief goddess of that country, accidentally taking fire, was intirely consumed. This accident

Sardis *taken and burnt by the* Ionians.

Year of the flood 1848. Bef. Chr. 500.

Ionians *defeated.*

Darius's *resentment against the* Athenians

[i] HEROD. l. v. c. 38—102. [k] Idem ibid. c. 105.

served afterwards as a pretence to the *Persians* for burning all the temples of *Greece* [k]. But the true motive which led them to this, we shall have occasion to mention hereafter.

*The* Ionians *success against the* Persians.

THE *Ionians*, though deserted by the *Athenians*, and considerably weakened by their late overthrow, did not lose courage, but pursued their point with great resolution. Their fleet sailed to the *Hellespont* and the *Propontis*, where they reduced the city of *Byzantium*, and most of the other *Greek* cities on those coasts. As they were sailing back, they made a descent on *Caria*, and obliged the inhabitants to join them in this war: the people of *Cyprus* likewise entered into the same confederacy, and openly revolted from the *Persians*. The *Persian* generals in those quarters, finding that the revolt began to be universal, drew together what troops they had in *Cilicia*, and the neighbouring provinces; and, at the same time, injoined the *Phœnicians* to assist them with their whole naval power. The *Ionians*, as they were sailing to *Cyprus*, fell in with the *Phœnician* fleet, attacked and dispersed them. But at the same time the *Persian* troops, that were landed in *Cyprus*, having gained a complete victory over the rebels, and killed in the engagement *Aristagoras* himself, the leading man and first author of the revolt, the *Ionians* reaped no advantage from their victory by sea; for the whole island of *Cyprus* was again brought under subjection [l].

Aristagoras *defeated and killed.*

AFTER the reduction of *Cyprus*, *Daurises*, *Hymees*, and *Otanes*, three *Persian* generals, and all sons-in-law to *Darius*, having divided their forces into three bodies, marched three different ways against the revolters: *Daurises* held his course to the *Hellespont*, and from thence, after possessing himself of the revolted cities, marched against the *Carians*, whom he overthrew in two successive battles; but, in a third, being drawn into an ambuscade, he was slain, with several other *Persians* of distinction, and his whole army cut in pieces. *Hymees*, after having taken the city of *Cius* in *Mysia*, reduced all the *Ilian* coast; but, falling sick at *Troas*, soon after died. *Artaphernes* and *Otanes*, with the rest of the *Persian* generals, finding that *Miletus* was the centre of the *Ionian* confederacy, resolved to march thither with all their forces, concluding that, if they could carry that city, all the others would submit of their own accord. Pursuant to this resolution, they entered *Ionia* and *Æolia*, where their main strength lay, and took the city of *Cleomena* in *Ionia*, and *Cyma* in *Æolia*; which was such a blow to the whole confederacy, that *Aristagoras*, not finding himself in a condition,

[k] HEROD. l. v. c. 98—103. [l] Idem ibid. c. 108—116.

dition, after that loss, to make head against the enemy, resolved to abandon *Miletus*, and consult his own safety, by retiring to some distant place. Accordingly, he embarked with such as were willing to follow him, and set sail for the river *Strymon* in *Thrace*, where he seized on the territory of *Myrcinus*, which had been formerly given by *Darius* to *Hystiæus*; but, as he was besieging a place situated beyond those limits, he was killed by the *Thracians*, and all his army cut in pieces. On his departure from *Miletus*, he left the government in the hands of *Pythagoras*, an eminent citizen; who, being informed that *Artaphernes* and *Otanes* designed to bend all their force against *Miletus*, summoned a general assembly of the *Ionians*. In this meeting, it was agreed, that they should not attempt to bring an army into the field, but only to fortify and store their city with all manner of provisions for a siege, and to draw all their forces together, to engage the *Persians* at sea, thinking themselves, by reason of their skill in maritime affairs, most likely to have the advantage in a naval engagement. The place appointed for their general rendezvouz was *Lada*, a small island, over-against *Miletus*; where accordingly they met with a fleet of three hundred and fifty-three sail. At the sight of this fleet, the *Persians*, tho' double their number, avoided engaging, till, by their emissaries, they had secretly corrupted the greatest part of the confederates, and engaged them to desert the common cause. When they came to an engagement, the *Samians*, *Lesbians*, and several others, hoisting sail, returned to their respective countries. As the remaining fleet of the confederates did not consist of above an hundred ships, they were quickly overpowered by the *Persians*, and almost intirely destroyed. The city of *Miletus* was immediately besieged both by sea and land, and soon taken by the conquerors, who rased it to the ground, the sixth year after the revolt of *Aristagoras*. All the other towns that had revolted, returned, either by force, or of their own accord, to their duty. Those that stood out were treated as they had been threatened beforehand. The handsomest of their youths were made eunuchs, and their young women sent into *Persia*: their cities and temples were reduced to ashes. Such were the calamities the *Ionians* drew upon themselves, by seconding the ambitious views of two enterprising men, *Aristagoras* and *Hystiæus* [m].

*The Ionians defeated at sea, and reduced.*

Miletus *taken by the Persians.*

Year of the flood 1851. Bef. Chr. 497.

THE latter had his share in the general calamity; for, being taken by the *Persians*, and carried to *Sardis*, he was immediately crucified by order of *Artaphernes*, who hastened his execution, without consulting *Darius*, lest his affection for him

Hystiæus *crucified.*

[m] HEROD. l. v. c. 122, & seqq. & l. vi. c. 18.

should

should incline him to pardon one, who, if he were again let loose, would not fail to create new disturbances. It afterwards appeared, that *Artaphernes*'s conjecture was well-grounded; for, when *Hystiæus*'s head was brought to *Darius*, he expressed great displeasure against the authors of his death, and caused his head to be honourably interred, as the remains of a person, to whom he professed infinite obligations [n]. He was the most bold, restless, and enterprising genius of his age: with him all means were good and lawful, that served to promote the end he had in view, acknowleging no other rule of his actions, than his own interest and ambition, to which he readily sacrificed the good of his country, and the lives of his nearest relations. But we shall have occasion to bring him again upon the scene in the history of *Ionia*, and the *Greek* colonies in *Asia*.

Darius's *unsuccessful expedition against* Greece.

THE *Phœnician* fleet having reduced all the islands on the coast of *Asia*, *Darius* recalled all his other generals, and appointed *Mardonius*, the son of *Gobryas*, a young *Persian* nobleman, who had lately married one of his daughters, to be commander in chief of all the forces quartered on the coasts of *Asia*, ordering him to invade *Greece*, and revenge, on the *Athenians* and *Eretrians*, the burning of *Sardis*. *Mardonius*, having rendezvoused his forces at the *Hellespont*, marched, pursuant to his orders, through *Thrace* into *Macedonia*, ordering his fleet first to reduce *Thasus*, and then to coast along the shore, as he marched by land, that they might be at hand to act in concert with each other. On his arrival in *Macedonia*, all the country, terrified at such a mighty army, submitted; but the fleet, in doubling the cape of mount *Athos*, in order to gain the coasts of *Macedonia*, was intirely dispersed by a violent storm, which destroyed upwards of three hundred ships, and twenty thousand men. His land-army met, at the same time, with a misfortune no less fatal; for, being encamped in a place not sufficiently secured and fortified, the *Bryges*, a people of *Thrace*, attacking him in the night, broke into his camp, slew a great number of his men, and wounded *Mardonius* himself, who, being disabled, by these losses, to prosecute his design either by sea or land, marched back into *Asia*, without reaping any advantage for his master, or glory for himself, in this expedition [o].

Mardonius *defeated and recalled.*

Year of the flood 1854. Bef. Chr. 494.

DARIUS, hearing of the ill success of *Mardonius*, and ascribing it to his want of experience, thought fit to recall him, and appoint two other generals in his room, *Datis* a *Mede*, and *Artaphernes* his own nephew, being the son of *Artaphernes* the king's brother, and late governor of *Sardis*. But, before he

[n] HEROD. l. vi. c. 29—30. [o] Idem ibid. c. 43, 45.

would

would make any further attempts upon *Greece*, he judged it expedient first to sound the *Greeks*, and try how those different states stood affected to, or were averse from, the *Persian* government. With this view, he sent heralds to all their cities, to demand earth and water, in token of submission. On the arrival of these heralds, many of the *Greek* cities, dreading the power of the *Persians*, complied with their demands; as did also the inhabitants of *Ægina*, a small island over-against, and not far from, *Athens*; but, at *Athens* and *Sparta*, they did not meet with so favourable a reception, being, in one place, thrown into a deep ditch, and, in the other, into a well, and bid to fetch earth and water from thence. This they did in the heat of their passion; but, when they came to a cooler temper, they were ashamed of what they had done, looking upon it as a violation of the law of nations; and accordingly sent embassadors to the king of *Persia* at *Susa*, to offer him what satisfaction he pleased for the affront they had put upon his heralds. But *Darius*, declaring himself fully satisfied with that embassy, sent the embassadors back to their respective countries, though those of *Sparta* voluntarily offered themselves as victims, to expiate the crime which their countrymen had been guilty of [p].

*Darius's heralds murdered by the Athenians and Spartans.*

Darius, being intirely bent upon the reduction of *Greece*, hastened the departure of his generals *Datis* and *Artaphernes*. Their instructions were to plunder the cities of *Eretria* and *Athens*, to burn down to the ground all their houses and temples, to make all the inhabitants of both places slaves, and send them to *Darius*; for which purpose they went provided with a great number of chains and fetters. The two generals, having appointed their fleet to meet at *Samos*, set sail from thence with six hundred ships, and five hundred thousand men [q], steering their course to *Naxus*; which island they easily made themselves masters of, and, having burnt the chief city, and all the temples both of this and the other islands in those seas, they stood directly for *Eretria*, a town in *Eubœa*, which they took, after a siege of seven days, by the treachery of *Euphorbus* and *Philagrus*, two chief citizens. Having taken *Eretria*, pillaged the city, set fire to the temples, in revenge for those that had been burnt at *Sardis*, and enslaved the inhabitants, pursuant to their orders, they sailed to *Attica*. *Hippias*, the son of *Pisistratus*, who, as we have said above, had fled to the *Persians*, conducted them, after they had landed, to the plains of *Marathon*. Hence they sent heralds to *Athens*, acquainting the citizens with the fate of *Eretria*, in hopes

*Naxus taken by the Persians.*

Year of the flood 1858. Bef. Chr. 490.

*Etreria betrayed to the Persians.*

[p] Herod. l. vi. c. 46—49. & l. vii. c. 133. [q] Plutarch. in moral. p. 829.

that

that this news would frighten them into an immediate ſurrender. The *Athenians* had ſent to *Lacedæmon*, to deſire ſuccours againſt the common enemy; which the *Lacedæmonians* granted: but they could not ſet out till ſome days after, by reaſon of an antient and ſuperſtitious cuſtom which obtained at *Sparta*, and did not allow them to begin a march before the full moon. Not one of their allies offered to aſſiſt them, ſuch a terror had the *Perſian* army ſtruck into the cities of *Greece*. The inhabitants of *Platæa* alone furniſhed them with a thouſand men. In this extremity, the *Athenians* were obliged to arm their ſlaves; which was contrary to their practice on all other occaſions [r].

THE *Perſian* army, commanded by *Datis*, conſiſted of one hundred thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe; that of the *Athenians* amounted, in the whole, but to ten thouſand men. It was commanded by ten generals, one of which was *Miltiades*, whom we ſhall have occaſion to mention often in the hiſtory of *Greece*. Theſe ten generals were to have the command of the army, each for one day in his turn. When the army was aſſembled, a diſpute aroſe among them, whether they ſhould venture an engagement in the field, or only fortify and defend the city. They were all for the latter opinion, except *Miltiades*; who declared, that the only way to raiſe the courage of their own troops, and ſtrike a terror into the enemy, was to advance boldly, and attack them with intrepidity. *Ariſtides*, convinced by the ſpeech of *Miltiades*, embraced his opinion, and brought over to it ſome of the other commanders. *Callimachus* likewiſe, who had been very ſanguine at firſt againſt ſuch a raſh enterprize, fell in at laſt with *Miltiades*; and a reſolution was taken to engage the enemy in the open field. All the commanders, who were for venturing a battle, when their turn came to command the army, yielded that honour to *Miltiades*, all ſentiments of jealouſy giving way to the public good; but, though he accepted the power, he would not hazard an engagement before his own day. As ſoon as that came, he endeavoured, by the advantage of the ground, to make up what he wanted in ſtrength and number. He drew up his army at the foot of a mountain, that the enemy might not ſurround him, or fall upon his rear. He covered his flanks with large trees, which he cauſed to be cut down for that purpoſe, and to render the *Perſian* cavalry uſeleſs. The *Athenian* forces were ſo drawn up, that they were equal in front to the *Perſians*; but, becauſe they had not a ſufficient number of men in the centre, that part was extremely weak, the main ſtrength of the army conſiſting in the wings.

Miltiades's *brave reſolution.*

*The battle of* Marathon.

Year of the flood 1858. Bef. Chr. 490.

[r] HEROD. l. vi. c. 94—99.

All

All things being thus diſpoſed, and the ſacrifice, according to the cuſtom of the *Greeks*, performed, *Miltiades*, without waiting the motions of the *Perſians*, commanded the ſignal for the battle to be given; when the *Athenians* fell upon the enemy with ſuch courage and reſolution, as can hardly be expreſſed. The *Perſians*, ſeeing the *Athenians* advance, imputed their conduct to folly and deſpair, being not only few in number, but intirely deſtitute of horſe; and, without ſtirring, prepared themſelves to receive them. After a long and obſtinate fight, the *Perſians* and *Sacæ* broke the centre of the *Athenians*, having made their greateſt efforts againſt that part. The centre was commanded by *Ariſtides* and *Themiſtocles*, who, with great intrepidity, made head againſt the whole *Perſian* army, till, being born down by numbers, and quite overpowered, they were obliged to give ground. But the *Athenians* and *Platæans*, who were in the two wings, having defeated the wings of the enemy, came up to the relief of their centre, juſt as they were betaking themſelves to a precipitate flight, after having maintained a running fight for ſome hours. At their arrival, the ſcale was quickly turned; for, attacking the enemy in flank, they ſoon put them in diſorder, and obliged them, with great ſlaughter, to fly to their fleet, whither they purſued them, took ſeven of their ſhips, and burnt a great many more [P]. In this action, ſeveral *Athenians* of great diſtinction were ſlain, and, amongſt others, *Callimachus* and *Staſileus*, two of the chief commanders, with only two hundred private men; whereas the *Perſians* left, even according to *Herodotus*, who makes it much leſs than any other author, above ſix thouſand dead on the field of battle; and beſides, a great many more were killed in the flight, burnt in their ſhips, and drowned in the ſea, as they attempted to ſave themſelves on board their veſſels (X). *Hippias* was killed *in ſlain.*

Perſians *defeated by the* Athenians.

Hippias

[P] Herod. l. vi. c. 101--117. Justin. l. ii. c. 9. Val. Max. l. v. c. 3. Plutarch. in parall. ſub init. Æmil. Prob. in Miltiad.

(X) *Juſtin* tells us (24), that the *Perſians* loſt on this occaſion, what by the ſword, what by ſhipwreck, two hundred thouſand men; on the other hand, *Herodotus*, who flouriſhed very near thoſe times, makes the loſs of the *Perſians*, if no error has crept into his copy, to have amounted only to ſix thouſand three hundred; which bears no proportion to the vaſtneſs of their army, and one hundred and ninety-two *Athenians*. The whole *Perſian* army, according to *Valerius Maximus* (25), conſiſted of three hundred thouſand men. *Plutarch* ſeems to infinuate the ſame (26). *Juſtin* (27) and *Oroſius* ſay, that they were in all ſix

(24) *Juſtin. l.* ii. *c.* 9. (25) *Val. Max. l.* v. *c.* 3. (26) *Plutarch. in parall.* (27) *Juſtin. ubi ſupra.*

hundred

in the battle, that ungrateful citizen, who, in order to recover the unjust dominion usurped by his father *Pisistratus*, had put himself at the head of those who were come with a design to reduce to ashes that city to which he owed his birth [q]. Immediately after the battle, an *Athenian* soldier, stained all over with blood, hastened to *Athens*, to acquaint his fellow-citizens with the good success of their army at *Marathon*. When he arrived at the public palace, where the magistrates were assembled, he was so spent, that, having uttered these words, *Rejoice, rejoice, the victory is ours*, he fell down dead at their feet [r]. The *Persians* were so sure of the victory, that they had brought marble along with them to *Marathon*, in order to erect a trophy there. This marble the *Athenians* seized, and caused a statue to be formed of it, by the famous *Phidias*, in honour of the goddess *Nemesis*, whose province it was to punish unjust actions [s].

*Their design against* Athens *frustrated.*

After this defeat, the *Persian* fleet, instead of sailing by the islands, in order to return to *Asia*, doubled the cape of *Sunium*, with a design to surprise *Athens* before the return of the army: but the *Athenian* troops being apprised of their design, decamped from the plains of *Marathon*, and marched

[q] Justin. l. ii. c. 9. [r] Plutarch. de glor. Athen. p. 347. [s] Paus. l. i. p. 62.

hundred thousand men. *Emilius Probus* (28) tells us, that they were one hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse. Of the *Athenians* there were ten thousand, and a thousand *Platæans*, say *Justin* and *Orosius*; but *Probus* assures us, that the *Athenians*, with their auxiliaries, were in all but one thousand. This ever-memorable victory was gained, if we believe *Plutarch* (29), upon the sixth day of *Boedromion*, the third month in the *Attic* calendar, after the summer solstice, *Phanippus* being at that time prætor at *Athens*; that is, in the third year of the seventy-second Olympiad, four years before the death of *Darius*, as we read in *Severus Sulpitius* (30), and ten years before *Xerxes* passed over into *Greece*, as *Thucydides* informs us (31). Most authors tell us, that *Hippias* was slain in this battle; but *Suidas* says, that he escaped, and died afterwards in the island of *Lemnos*. *Themistocles*, who became afterwards so famous, on this occasion first entered the school of war. We cannot omit, in this place, the glorious behaviour of one *Cenegyrus*, an *Athenian* soldier, who, having first his right and then his left hand cut off, while he was endeavouring to prevent one of the enemy's ships from putting off, took hold of it at last with his teeth.

(28) *Æmil. Prob. in Miltiad.* (29) *Plut. in Camill.* (30) *Sever. Sulp. l.* ii. *sacr. hist.* (31) *Thucyd. l.* i.

with

with such expedition, that they arrived at *Athens* before the enemy's fleet; and, by that means disappointed their measures [t].

Datis and *Artaphernes* arriving in *Asia*, that they might seem to have reaped some advantage from this expedition, sent the *Eretrian* captives to *Susa*. *Darius* had expressed great indignation against the *Eretrians* before the reduction of their city, and charged them with the guilt of beginning the war; but, seeing they were now his prisoners, and intirely in his power, he could not find in his heart to do them any harm, but gave them a village in the country of *Cissia*, to inhabit, which was but a day's journey distant from *Susa* [u]. Here *Apollonius Tyaneus* [w] found their descendants, a great many ages after.

As soon as the day of the full moon was over, the *Lacedæmonians* began their march with two thousand men, and arrived in three days on the confines of *Attica*, having marched, in so short a time, one thousand two hundred stades [x]; such was their eagerness to be present at the battle: but a silly and ridiculous superstition prevented their having a share in the most glorious action recorded in history; for the battle was fought the day before they arrived: however, they proceeded to *Marathon*, where they found the fields covered with dead bodies; and, having congratulated the *Athenians* on the happy success of the battle, they returned home [y].

Darius *resolves to carry on the war in person.*

Darius, upon the news of the unsuccessful return of his army, was so far from being discouraged by such a disaster, that he added the defeat at *Marathon* to the burning of *Sardis*, as a new motive spurring him on to pursue the war with more vigour. He therefore resolved to head the army in person; and issued orders to all his subjects, in the several provinces of the empire, to attend him in this expedition: but, after he had spent three years in making the necessary preparations, a new war broke out, occasioned by the revolt of *Egypt*. This gave him no small uneasiness: however, as he was wholly bent on his expedition against *Greece*, he resolved not to lay that aside, but, at the same time, to send part of his forces to reduce *Egypt*, and, with the rest, to march in person against his old enemies the *Greeks* (Y). But, when he had prepared all things

Egypt *revolts against* Darius.

for

[t] Herod. l. vi. c. 116. [u] Idem ibid. c. 119. [w] Philostrat. in vita Apollonii, l. i. c. 117. [x] Isocr. in paneg. p. 113. [y] Idem ibid.

(Y) *Diodorus Siculus* (32) seems to insinuate, that *Darius* marched into *Egypt* to reduce the rebels, and that he succeeded

(32) *Diod. Sic. l.* i. *p.* 54, *et* 85.

*The contest of his two sons about the succession.*

for these two expeditions, a great contest arose between his sons, concerning the succession; for, according to an antient custom among the *Persians*, the king was obliged, before he set out on any expedition, to name his successor: a custom wisely established, to prevent the many inconveniencies that attend an unsettled succession. *Darius* thought himself the more obliged to comply with this custom, as he was already advanced in years, and two of his sons seemed to have a just claim to the crown, upon his demise. *Darius* had three sons by the daughter of *Gobryas*, his first wife, all born before he came to the crown; and four more by *Atossa*, the daughter of *Cyrus*, all born after his accession to the throne: of the first, *Artabazanes* was the eldest; of the latter, *Xerxes*: and these two were competitors for the succession. *Artabazanes*, or, as *Justin* calls him, *Artamenes*, urged, that he was the eldest son: and therefore, according to the custom of all nations, ought to be preferred in the succession to the younger. On the other hand, *Xerxes* alleged, that he was the son of *Atossa* daughter of *Cyrus*, who had founded the *Persian* monarchy; and claimed the kingdom in the right of his mother; it being more agreeable to justice, said he, that the crown of *Cyrus* should devolve upon one who was a descendant of *Cyrus*, than upon one that was not. *Darius* had not yet declared in favour of either, when *Damaratus* king of *Sparta*, being driven out by his subjects, arrived at *Susa*; and, hearing of this dispute, secretly suggested to *Xerxes* another argument to support his pretensions; namely, that he was born after his father was invested with the royal dignity; whereas *Artabazanes* was only the son of *Darius*, a private man: to him therefore the crown belonged, as the king's eldest son, and not to *Artabazanes* the eldest son of *Darius*. He further supported his argument by the example of the *Lacedæmonians*, who excluded from the

in the enterprize. That historian relates, that, upon *Darius*'s desiring to have his statue placed before that of *Sesostris*, the chief priest of the *Egyptians* told him, that he had not equalled the glory of that conqueror; and that the king, no ways offended at the *Egyptian* priest's freedom, replied, that he would endeavour to surpass it. He adds further, that *Darius* had several conferences with the *Egyptian* priests, upon matters of religion and government; and that, having learned of them, with what gentleness their antient kings used to treat their subjects, he endeavoured, after his return into *Persia*, to form himself upon their model. But *Herodotus*, more worthy of belief in this particular than *Diodorus*, only observes, that *Darius* resolved to make war at the same time upon *Egypt* and *Greece*, and to invade *Greece* in person, while part of his troops were employed in the reduction of *Egypt*.

crown the children that were born before their father's acceſſion, if they had any to ſucceed born after their advancement to the throne. Theſe reaſons appeared ſo juſt to *Darius*, that he declared *Xerxes* heir apparent to the crown. Our author is of opinion, that *Xerxes* was named to the ſucceſſion, not ſo much by the ſtrength of this plea, as by the influence his mother *Atoſſa* had over the inclinations of *Darius*, who, in this matter, was intirely governed by her authority [z] (Z). Xerxes *named to it.*

THE ſucceſſion being thus ſettled, and all things ready both for the *Egyptian* and *Grecian* expedition, *Darius* died, in the ſecond year of the revolt of *Egypt*, after having reigned thirty-ſix years [a]. This prince was endowed with many excellent qualities: his wiſdom, clemency, and juſtice, are greatly commended by the antients. He had the honour to have his name recorded in holy writ [b], as a favourer of GOD's people, a reſtorer of the temple, and a promoter of the true worſhip at *Jeruſalem* (A). His kindneſs towards the *Iſraelites* was rewarded Darius *dies.*

[z] HEROD. l. vii. c. 2, & 3. [a] Idem ib. c. 4. JUSTIN. l. ii. c. 10. PLUTARCH. in Artaxerx. & apophthegm. [b] Ezra iv. & paſſ. Haggai & Zechar. paſſ.

(Z) *Juſtin* and *Plutarch (33)* place this diſpute after the deceaſe of *Darius*, and both take notice of the prudent conduct of the two brothers on ſo nice an occaſion. *Artabazanes*, according to them, was abſent when the king died; and *Xerxes* immediately took all the enſigns of royalty, exerciſing all the functions of the regal dignity; but, upon his brother's returning home, he quitted the diadem and tiara, went out to meet him, and ſhewed him all imaginable civility. They agreed to make their uncle *Artabanus* the arbitrator of their difference, and to acquieſce, without any further appeal, to his deciſion. During the whole time this diſpute laſted, all the demonſtrations of an intire and fraternal affection paſſed between the two competitors: and when it was decided, as the one did not inſult, ſo the other did not repine or expreſs any diſſatisfaction at the ſentence; but, immediately proſtrating himſelf before him, acknowleged him for his maſter, and placed him upon the throne with his own hand. He continued all his life firmly attached to his intereſt, and at laſt died in his ſervice at the battle of *Salamis*.

(A) The *Jews (34)* have a tradition, that the prophets *Haggai*, *Zechariah*, and *Malachi*, died in the laſt year of *Darius*; and that, on their death, the ſpirit of prophecy ceaſed among the *Jews*; which was the *ſealing up of viſion and prophecy*, ſpoken of by *Daniel* (35). And, miſled by the ſame tradition, they tell us, that the kingdom of *Perſia* ended the ſame year; for they

(33) *Juſtin. l.* ii. *c.* 10. *Plutarch. de frat. amor. p.* 448. (34) *Abr. Zacut. in Juchaſin. Dav. Ganz. in Zemach. David. Seder Olam Zuta, &c.* (35) *Dan.* xx. 24.

warded with a numerous issue, a long reign, and great prosperity; for, though the *Scythian* and *Greek* expeditions proved unsuccessful, yet he was very fortunate in all his other undertakings, having not only restored, and intirely settled, the empire of *Cyrus*, which had been very much shaken by the unpolitic government of *Cambyses*, and usurpation of *Smerdis*, but also added many great and rich provinces to that prince's conquests, namely *India*, *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, and the isles of the *Ionian* sea.

Xerxes *succeeds* Darius.

XERXES, succeeding his father, employed the first year of his reign in carring on the preparations for the reduction of *Egypt*, which his father had begun. He confirmed, upon his first accession to the crown, all the privileges granted by his father to the *Jews*, and particularly that, which assigned them the tribute of *Samaria*, for furnishing them victims to be offered in the temple [b].

Year of the flood 1863. Bef. Chr. 485.

IN the second year of his reign, he marched against the *Egyptians*; and, having reduced the rebels, and brought the country to a worse condition of slavery than what they had felt under his predecessors, he appointed his brother *Achæmenes* governor of that province, and returned to *Susa* [c]. Puffed up with this success against the *Egyptians*, he determined to invade *Greece*; but, before he engaged in an enterprize of that importance, he thought fit to assemble his council, and take the advice of the most illustrious persons of his court. When they were assembled, he laid before them the design he had of invading *Greece*, and acquainted them with the motives that prompted him to that expedition (B). *Mardonius*, the same person

*Reduces* Egypt.

*Declares his design of invading* Greece

[b] JOSEPH. antiquitat. l. xi. c. 5.

[c] See vol. ii. p. 99.

confound this *Darius* with the other, who was conquered by *Alexander*; and will have the *Persian* empire to have lasted only fifty-two years, which they reckon thus: *Darius* the *Mede* reigned one year, *Cyrus* three, *Cambyses*, according to them, the *Ahasuerus* who married *Esther*, thirty-two years. This last *Darius* they take to be the same with *Artaxerxes*, who sent *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* to *Jerusalem*, to restore the *Jews* to their antient state; for they tell us that *Artaxerxes* was a name common to the *Persian* kings, as that of *Pharaoh* was to those of *Egypt*. This shews how little *they* were acquainted with the *Persian* history; and their countryman, *Josephus*, seems to have been as much in the dark, with respect to *Persia*, as they were.

(B) These were, the desire of following the footsteps of his predecessors, who had distinguished their names and reigns by noble enterprizes; the obligation he was under to be revenged on the *Athenians*, who, without any provocation, had fallen upon *Sardis*, and burnt down the sacred groves and temples;

perſon who had been ſo unſucceſsful in the reign of *Darius*, hoping, that the command of the army would be beſtowed upon him, not only approved of the king's determination, but extolled him above all the kings that had preceded him, and endeavoured to ſet forth the indiſpenſable neceſſity they all lay under of revenging the diſhonour done to the *Perſian* name at *Sardis* and *Marathon*. The reſt of the council, perceiving, that the flattering diſcourſe of *Mardonius* pleaſed the king, durſt not venture to contradict it; but all kept ſilence for ſome time. At laſt *Artabanus*, the king's uncle, a prince venerable both for his age and prudence, addreſſing *Xerxes*, uſed all his endeavours to divert him from his preſent reſolution; and, at the ſame time, reproached *Mardonius* with want of ſincerity, and ſhewed how much he was to blame for deſiring raſhly to engage the nation in a war, which nothing but his own ambitious and ſelf-intereſted views could tempt him to adviſe. He concluded with theſe words: "If a war "be reſolved upon, let the king remain in *Perſia*, and our "children be depoſited in his hands: then go on with your "expedition, attended by the beſt forces you can chuſe, and "in what numbers you think fit. If the iſſue be favourable, "I am willing to forfeit my own life, and the lives of my "children; but, on the contrary, if the event be ſuch as I "have foretold, then let your children ſuffer death, and you "alſo, if ever you return." *Artabanus* expreſſed his ſentiments in very reſpectful and inoffenſive terms; but nevertheleſs *Xerxes* was extremely chagrined, and replied with indignation, that, if *Artabanus* were not his uncle, he ſhould ſuffer that moment the due puniſhment for ſuch an audacious behaviour; and commanded him to ſtay at home among the women, whom he too much reſembled, while he marched, at the head of his troops, where his duty and glory called him. However, when the firſt emotion of his anger was paſt, he owned that he had been to blame for treating his uncle with ſuch harſh language; and was not aſhamed to repair his fault,

Artabanus's *noble ſpeech againſt it.*

ples; the eager deſire he had to wipe off the diſhonour his country had received at *Marathon*; and laſtly, the proſpect of many great advantages that would accrue to him from this war, which would be attended by the conqueſt of *Europe*, the moſt rich and fertile country in the univerſe. He added, that this war had been reſolved on by his father *Darius*, and that he meant only to execute his deſigns. He concluded his ſpeech, with promiſing ample rewards to ſuch as ſhould diſtinguiſh themſelves in this expedition, and deſiring them to deliver their opinions in this matter with freedom (36).

(36) *Herodot. l.* vii. *c.* 5, 6.

by openly confeſſing, that the heat of his youth, and want of experience, had made him treſpaſs againſt the regard that was due to a prince ſo worthy of reſpect as *Artabanus* [c]. At the ſame time, he declared, that he was ready to follow his advice, and lay aſide the deſign of invading *Greece*, notwithſtanding a phantom had appeared to him the night before in his ſleep, and warmly exhorted him to undertake the war. All the *Perſians*, who compoſed the council, were overjoyed to hear the king ſpeak in that manner; and, proſtrating themſelves before him, ſtrove to outdo each other in extolling the prudence of his conduct. But he did not long continue in that mind; nay, *Artabanus* himſelf, the only man who had openly diſapproved the expedition, whether frightened by a dream (C), or

[c] Herodot. l. vii. c. 8—12.

(C) *Herodotus* tells us, that *Xerxes*, reflecting in the night-time on the opinion of *Artabanus*, was very much perplexed, and concluded at laſt, that a war with *Greece* could not turn to his advantage. Having thus altered his reſolution, he fell aſleep, and ſaw in a dream a man of an uncommon ſtature and beauty ſtanding by him, and uttering theſe words: "Have you "then changed your deſign of "leading an army into *Greece*, "after having ordered the *Perſians* to aſſemble their forces? "You have not done well to "alter your reſolution, nor will "you find any man of your "opinion: reſume, therefore, "without delay, the enterprize "you determined to undertake." The phantom, having pronounced theſe words, diſappeared; and the next morning, *Xerxes*, neglecting his dream, ſummoned the council, and acquainted them, that he had altered his mind with regard to the *Grecian* expedition, and wiſhed them joy of the advantages of peace, which they were to reap at home. But the night following, the ſame phantom appeared again to *Xerxes*, telling him, that if he did not undertake, without delay, a war againſt *Greece*, he ſhould become little and contemptible in as ſhort a time as he had been raiſed to greatneſs and power. The king, terrified with this ſecond dream, ſent for *Artabanus*, acquainted him with what had happened, and intreated him to put on the royal robes, to ſit on the throne, and paſs the night in his bed. *Artabanus* at firſt begged to be excuſed, as not deſerving the honour of ſitting in the king's throne; but, being preſſed by *Xerxes*, who was perſuaded, that if the dream was from the gods, *Artabanus* would ſee the ſame viſion, he at laſt complied with his deſire, and cloathed himſelf with the royal robes. As he ſlept in the king's bed, the ſame phantom appeared to him, threatening him with the greateſt calamities, if he continued to oppoſe the king's intentions. This ſo terrified *Artabanus*, that he came over to the king's firſt opinion, believing

or dreading the king's displeasure, became a most sanguine and zealous promoter of the war [d].

*Becomes a zealous promoter of it.*

XERXES, being now resolved to attack *Greece*, that he might omit nothing which could contribute to the success of his undertaking, entered into an alliance with the *Carthaginians*, who were, at that time, the most powerful people of the west; whereby it was agreed, that, while the *Persians* invaded *Greece*, the *Carthaginians* should fall upon the *Greek* colonies in *Sicily* and *Italy*, that thereby they might be diverted from helping each other. The *Carthaginians* appointed *Hamilcar* their general, who not only raised what forces he could in *Afric*, but, with the money sent him by *Xerxes*, hired a great many mercenaries in *Spain*, *Gaul*, and *Italy*; so that his army consisted of three hundred thousand men, besides a proportionable number of ships for transporting his forces, and the necessary provisions [e]. And thus *Xerxes*, agreeable to the prophecy of *Daniel* [f], having, *by his strength through his riches, stirred up all the nations of the then known world against the realm of* Greece, that is, all the west under the command of *Hamilcar*, and all the east under his own banners, set out from *Susa*, to enter upon this war, in the fifth year of his reign, after having spent three years in making vast preparations throughout all the provinces of his wide-spreading empire. From *Susa* he marched to *Sardis*, which was the place appointed for the general rendezvous of all his land-forces, while his navy advanced along the coasts of *Asia Minor* towards the *Hellespont*.

*The Carthaginians ally with Xerxes.*

Two things *Xerxes* commanded to be done before he came to the sea-side; the one was a passage to be cut through mount *Athos*. This mountain reaches a great way into the sea, in the form of a peninsula, and is joined to the land by an isthmus twelve furlongs over. The sea, in this place, is very tempestuous, and the *Persian* fleet had formerly suffered shipwreck in doubling this promontory. To prevent the like disaster, *Xerxes* caused a passage to be cut through the mountain, broad enough to let two galleys, with three banks of oars each, pass in front. By this means he severed from the continent the cities of *Dion*, *Olophyxus*, *Acrothoon*, *Thysus*, and *Cleone*. Our author observes, that *Xerxes* undertook this enterprize only out of ostentation, and to perpetuate the memory of his name,

*The mountain Athos cut through.*

[d] HEROD. l. vii. c. 17, 18, & seqq. [e] DIOD. SIC. l. xi. p. 1.
[f] Dan. xi. 2.

ing that there was something divine in these repeated visions; and the war against *Greece* was resolved on (37).

(37) *Herodot. l.* vii. *c.* 17, 18.

since he might, with far less trouble, have caused his fleet to be conveyed over the isthmus, as was the practice in those days [f] (D).

*A bridge built over the* Hellespont,

He likewise commanded a bridge of boats to be laid over the *Hellespont*, for the passing of his forces from *Asia* into *Europe*. The sea which separates *Sestos* and *Abydus*, where the

[f] Herod. l. vii. c. 22—24.

(D) This prince, believing that the very elements were under his command, wrote to mount *Athos* in the following terms: "*Athos*, "thou proud and aspiring moun- "tain, that liftest up thy head to "the very skies, I advise thee not "to be so audacious as to put "rocks and stones, that cannot "be cut, in the way of my "workmen. If thou makest "that opposition, I will cut "thee intirely down, and throw "thee headlong into the sea "(38)." Our modern travellers tell us, that they can perceive no traces of this great work, and most of them are of *Juvenal*'s opinion, expressed in these words; *Perforatus Athos, & quicquid Græcia mendax Audet in historia*. The directors of this enterprize were *Bubaris*, the son of *Megabyzus*, and *Artachæus* the son of *Arbæus*, both *Persians*. It was carried on in the following manner: All the forces on board the fleet were employed in the undertaking; they first drew a line before the city of *Sana*, situated at the foot of mount *Athos* towards the land, and then divided the ground among themselves, each nation having their portion allotted them. When the trench was considerably sunk, those who were at the bottom, continued to dig, delivering the earth to their companions standing on ladders, who handed it to such as stood higher, till it was conveyed to those that waited to receive it at the edge of the canal, and by them carried to another place. Our author observes (39), that by digging perpendicularly, and making the bottom of equal breadth with the top, all the workmen, except the *Phœnicians*, had double the labour, by reason the earth fell down continually in great quantities from the upper parts. But the *Phœnicians* opened the ground, which was assigned to them, twice as large as others had done, and sloped the ground gradually, till they came to the bottom. In a large meadow adjoining to this place, there was a court of justice, and a market furnished with corn and other necessaries brought from *Asia*. This work does not seem to us so very surprising and incredible, as some would make it, when we consider the number of hands, and the time, that were employed in perfecting it; for *Herodotus* tells us, that three whole years were spent in the undertaking, and an infinite number of workmen obliged to labour day and night in their turns. Besides, the canal was not cut through, as *Juvenal* seems to insinuate, but behind mount *Athos*, where the isthmus was a mile and an half over, and broad enough only to let two galleys pass in front.

(38) *Plutarch. de ira cohib. p.* 455. (39) *Idem ibid. c.* 34.

bridge

bridge was built, is ſeven furlongs over. The work was carried on with great expedition by the *Phœnicians* and *Egyptians*, who had no ſooner finiſhed it, but a violent ſtorm ariſing, broke it in pieces, and diſperſed or daſhed againſt the ſhore the veſſels of which it was compoſed: which when *Xerxes* heard, he fell into ſuch a violent tranſport of anger, that he commanded three hundred ſtripes to be inflicted on the ſea, and a pair of fetters to be thrown into it, injoining thoſe who were truſted with the execution of his orders, to pronounce theſe words: *Thou ſalt and bitter element, thy maſter has condemned thee to this puniſhment, for offending him without cauſe; and is reſolved to paſs over thee, in ſpite of thy billows, and inſolent reſiſtance.* The extravagant folly and madneſs of this prince did not ſtop here; he commanded the heads of thoſe who had the direction of the work, to be ſtruck off g.

*and preſently after broken.*

*Xerxes's pride, madneſs, and cruelty.*

In their room he appointed more experienced architects to build two other bridges, one for the army, the other for the beaſts of burden, and the baggage. When the whole work was completed, and the veſſels which formed the bridges ſecure againſt the violence of the winds, and the current of the water, *Xerxes* departed from *Sardis*, where the army had wintered, and directed his march to *Abydus*. When he arrived at that city, he deſired to ſee all his forces together; and, to that end, aſcending a ſtately edifice of white ſtone, which the *Abydenians* had built, on purpoſe to receive him in a manner ſuitable to his greatneſs, he had a free proſpect to the coaſt, ſeeing at one view both his fleet and land-forces. The ſea was covered with his ſhips, and the large plains of *Abydus* with his troops, quite down to the ſhore. While he was ſurveying the vaſt extent of his power, and deeming himſelf the moſt happy of mortals, his joy being all on a ſudden turned into grief, he burſt out into a flood of tears; which *Artabanus* perceiving, asked him, what had made him, in a few moments, paſs from an exceſs of joy to ſo great a grief. The king replied, that, conſidering the ſhortneſs of human life, he could not reſtrain his tears; for, of all theſe numbers of men, not one, ſaid he, will be alive an hundred years hence. *Artabanus*, who neglected no opportunity of inſtilling into the young prince's mind ſentiments of kindneſs towards his people, finding him touched with a ſenſe of tenderneſs and humanity, endeavoured to make him ſenſible of the obligation that is incumbent upon princes, to alleviate the ſorrows, and ſweeten the bitterneſs, which the lives of their ſubjects are liable to, ſince it is not in their power to prolong them. In the ſame converſation, *Xerxes* aſked his uncle, whether, if he had not ſeen the viſion which

*Views his numerous army and fleet, and weeps over it.*

*Artabanus's generous leſſons to him.*

g Herod. l. vii. c. 34—36.

made him change his mind, he would ſtill perſiſt in the ſame opinion, and diſſuade him from making war upon *Greece*. *Artabanus* ſincerely owned, that he ſtill had his fears, and was very uneaſy concerning two things, the ſea and the land; the ſea, becauſe there were no ports capable of receiving and ſheltering ſuch a fleet, if a ſtorm ſhould ariſe; the land, becauſe no country could maintain ſo numerous an army. The king was very ſenſible of the ſtrength of his reaſoning; but as it was now too late to go back, he made anſwer, That, in great enterprizes, men ought not to enter into ſo nice a diſcuſſion of all the inconveniencies that may attend them: that bold and daring undertakings, though ſubject to many evils and dangers, are preferable to inaction, however ſafe: that great ſucceſſes are no otherwiſe to be obtained than by venturing boldly; and that, if his predeceſſors had obſerved ſuch ſcrupulous and timorous rules of politics, the *Perſian* empire would never have attained to ſo high a degree of glory and grandeur [h].

*Marches over the* Helleſpont.

Year of the flood 1868. Bef. Chr. 480.

ALL things being now in readineſs, and a day appointed for the paſſing over of the army, as ſoon as the firſt rays of the ſun began to appear, all ſorts of perfumes were burnt upon the bridge, and the way ſtrewed with myrtle. At the ſame time, *Xerxes*, pouring a libation into the ſea out of a golden cup, and addreſſing the ſun, implored the aſſiſtance of that deity, begging that he might meet with no impediment ſo great as to hinder him from carrying his conquering arms to the utmoſt limits of *Europe*. This done, he threw the cup into the *Helleſpont*, with a golden bowl, and a *Perſian* ſcymitar; and the foot and horſe began to paſs over that bridge, which was next to the *Euxine*, while the carriages and beaſts of burden paſſed over the other, which was placed nearer the *Ægean* ſea. The bridges were boarded, and covered over with earth, having rails on each ſide, that the horſes and cattle might not be frightened at the ſight of the ſea. The army ſpent ſeven days and ſeven nights in paſſing over, though they marched day and night, without intermiſſion, and were, by frequent blows, obliged to quicken their pace. At the ſame time, the fleet made to the coaſts of *Europe*. After the whole army was paſſed, *Xerxes* advanced with his land-forces, through the *Thracian Cherſoneſus* to *Doriſcus*, a city at the mouth of the river *Hebrus*, in *Thrace*: but the fleet ſteered a quite different courſe, ſtanding to the weſtward for the promontory of *Sarpedon*, where they were commanded to attend farther orders. *Xerxes*, having encamped in the large plains of *Doriſcus*, and judging them convenient for reviewing and numbering his troops, diſpatched orders to his admirals to

[h] HEROD. l. vii. c. 45—48.

bring

bring the fleet to the adjacent ſhore, that he might take an account both of his ſea and land-forces. His land-army, upon the muſter, was found to conſiſt of one million and ſeven hundred thouſand foot, and fourſcore thouſand horſe; which, together with twenty thouſand men that conducted the camels, and took care of the baggage, amounted to one million eight hundred thouſand men. His fleet conſiſted of twelve hundred and ſeven large ſhips, and three thouſand gallies and tranſports: on board all theſe veſſels, there were found to be five hundred ſeventeen thouſand ſix hundred and ten men [i]. So that the whole number of ſea and land-forces, which *Xerxes* led out of *Aſia* to invade *Greece*, amounted to two millions three hundred and ſeventeen thouſand ſix hundred and ten men. Our author tells us, that, on his paſſing the *Helleſpont*, to enter *Europe*, an inhabitant of that country cried out: O *Jupiter*, why art thou come to deſtroy *Greece*, in the ſhape of a *Perſian*, and under the name of *Xerxes*, with all mankind following thee; whereas thy own power is ſufficient to do this, without their aſſiſtance? After he had entered *Europe*, the nations on this ſide the *Helleſpont* that ſubmitted to him, added to his land-forces three hundred thouſand more, and two hundred and twenty ſhips to his fleet, on board of which were twenty-four thouſand men. So that the whole number of his forces, when he arrived at *Thermopylæ*, was two millions ſix hundred and forty-one thouſand ſix hundred and ten men, without including ſervants, eunuchs, women, ſutlers, and other people of that ſort, who were computed to equal the number of the forces: ſo that the whole multitude of perſons that followed *Xerxes* in this expedition, amounted to five millions two hundred eighty-three thouſand two hundred and twenty [k] (E).

*The number of his land and ſea-forces.*

Among

[i] Herod. l. vii. c. 60, 72, 87. [k] Idem, ubi ſupra.

(E) This is the computation of *Herodotus*, and with him agree *Plutarch* (40) and *Iſocrates* (41); but *Diodorus Siculus* (42), *Pliny* (43), *Ælian* (44), and others, fall ſhort of this number, makeing the army which *Xerxes* led againſt *Greece*, not much more numerous than that with which his father invaded *Scythia*. Theſe probably miſtook the one for the other. *Herodotus* is the moſt antient author that has written of this war, and lived in the very age wherein it happened: wherefore we have preferred his account to that of others, the rather becauſe we find it to be the general opinion of all the antients, whether *Greeks* or *Latins*, that this was the greateſt army that ever was brought into

(40) *Plutarch. in Themiſt.* (41) *Iſocr. in Panathenaico.* (42) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* xi. (43) *Plin. l.* xxxiii. *c.* 10. (44) *Ælian. var. hiſt. l.* xiii. *c.* 3.

the

Among theſe millions of men, there was not one that could vie with *Xerxes*, either in comelineſs or ſtature, or that ſeemed more worthy of that great empire g. But this is a poor commendation, when it is not accompanied with other qualifications. Accordingly, *Juſtin*, after he has mentioned the number of his troops, emphatically concludes, *But this vaſt body wanted a head.* Beſides the ſubordinate generals of each nation, who commanded the troops of their reſpective countries, the whole army was under the command of ſix *Perſian* generals; *viz.* *Mardonius*, the ſon of *Gobryas*; *Triatatæchmes*, the ſon of *Artabanus*; *Smerdones*, the ſon of *Otanes* (the two latter were couſins to *Xerxes*); *Maſiſtes*, the ſon of *Darius* by *Atoſſa*; *Gergys*, the ſon of *Ariazus*; and *Megabyzus*, the ſon of the celebrated *Zopyrus*. The ten thouſand *Perſians*, who were called the *Immortal band*, obeyed no other commander but *Hydarnes*. The fleet was commanded by four *Perſian* admirals: and likewiſe the cavalry had their particular generals and commanders.

*His generals.*

XERXES, having thus numbered his ſea and land-forces at *Doriſcus*, marched from thence through *Thrace*, *Macedon*, and *Theſſaly*, towards *Attica*, ordering his fleet to follow him along the coaſt, and to regulate their motions according to the motions of the army. Where-ever he came, he found

g HEROD. l. vii. c. 187.

the field; and the account of *Herodotus* beſt agrees with the verſes engraved on the monument of thoſe *Greeks* that were ſlain at *Thermopylæ*, where it is ſaid, that they fought againſt three millions, as we read the inſcription in *Herodotus*; or againſt two, as we find in *Diodorus Siculus* (45). *Joſephus* (46) tells us, that his countrymen too bore a part in this expedition, and proves it from a paſſage out of *Chærilus* (47), where it is ſaid, that *Xerxes* was attended by a *people who uſed the* Phœnician *language, and dwelt in the* Solymæan *land on hills near a great lake.* As *Jeruſalem* was alſo called *Solyma*, and all the country thereabouts was mountainous, and lay near the great lake *Aſphaltites*, commonly called the lake of *Sodom*, this deſcription ſeems plainly to ſuit the *Jews*. But *Scaliger* (48), *Cunæus* (49), and *Bochart* (50), underſtand thoſe verſes of *Solymi* in *Piſidia*. However, *Salmaſius* (51) maintains the contrary opinion; and truly it is not at all likely, that when *Xerxes* obliged all the other nations to ſend their quotas of men, the *Jews* alone ſhould be exempted. Whether, therefore, thoſe mentioned by *Chærilus* were *Jews* or not, it muſt be allowed, that they alſo bore part in this expedition.

(45) *Herodot. l.* vii. *c.* 222. *Diodor. Sic. l.* xi. *p.* 26. (46) *Joſeph. contra Apion. l.* i. (47) *Chœril. apud eundem.* (48) *Scaliger in notis ad fragm.* (49) *Cunæus de rep. Hebr. l.* ii. *c.* 18. (50) *Bochart. geogr. ſacra, part* ii. *l.* i. *c.* 2. (51) *Salmaſ. in linguæ Helleniſticæ oſſilegio.*

pro-

proviſions prepared before hand, purſuant to the orders he had ſent: and each city was obliged to entertain him; which coſt immenſe ſums, and gave occaſion to the ſaying of a citizen of *Abdera*, after the king's departure, that his countrymen might thank the gods for *Xerxes*'s moderation, in being ſatisfied with one meal a day [h].

In the mean time, *Lacedæmon* and *Athens*, the two moſt powerful cities of *Greece*, againſt which *Xerxes* was moſt exaſperated, having had intelligence of the enemy's preparations and motions, ſent embaſſadors to *Argos*, into *Sicily*, to the iſlands of *Corcyra* and *Crete*, to deſire ſuccours, and conclude a league againſt the common enemy. The people of *Argos* offered a very conſiderable number of troops, on condition they ſhould have an equal ſhare with the *Lacedæmonians* in the command. The latter conſented, that the king of *Argos* ſhould have the ſame authority as either of the kings of *Sparta:* but this offer did not ſatisfy the *Argians*, who thereupon ordered the embaſſadors to depart the territories of *Argos* before ſunſet. From *Argos* they proceeded to *Sicily*, where *Gelo*, the moſt powerful prince in all the *Greek* colonies, offered to aſſiſt them with a very numerous army, and a mighty fleet, provided they appointed him commander in chief of all their forces, both by ſea and land. This propoſal was rejected by the *Athenian* embaſſadors, who told him, that they did not want a general, but an army; and, without preſſing him any further, departed. The inhabitants of *Corcyra*, now *Corfu*, immediately put to ſea with a fleet of ſixty ſhips, but advanced no farther than the coaſts of *Laconia*, where they waited the iſſue of an engagement, deſigning to ſide afterwards with the conqueror. The people of *Crete*, having conſulted the oracle, to know what reſolution they ſhould take on this occaſion, abſolutely refuſed to enter into the league. Thus were the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* abandoned by all their countrymen, except the *Theſpians* and *Platæans*, who ſent ſmall bodies to their aſſiſtance. The firſt thing they took care of, in ſo critical a conjuncture, was to put an end to all inteſtine diviſions and diſcords; and accordingly, a peace was concluded between the *Athenians* and the people of *Egina*, who were actually at war. In the next place, they appointed a general, the *Athenians* chooſing *Themiſtocles*, and the *Spartans* conferring the ſupreme command of their forces upon *Leonidas*, one of their kings. The only thing that now remained, was to determine in what place they ſhould meet the *Perſians*, in order to diſpute their entrance into *Greece*. After various propoſals and diſputes, it was reſolved, that they ſhould ſend a body of

*and* Spartans *prepare againſt him.*

*Forſaken by all the other* Greeks.

[h] Herod. l. vii. c. 120.

four

four thousand men to *Thermopylæ*, which is a narrow pass, being but twenty-five feet broad, between the mountains that divide *Thessaly* from *Greece*, and the only way through which the *Persians* could enter *Achaia*, and advance by land to *Athens*. The command of this small body was given to *Leonidas*, a prince of extraordinary courage, who accordingly marched with all possible expedition to his post, determined either to stop the innumerable army of *Xerxes* with that handful of men, or die in the attempt. Such was also the resolution of the three hundred *Spartans* who attended him, and had been all chosen by himself [i].

Thermopylæ *defended by* Leonidas.

Year of the flood 1868. Bef. Chr. 480.

In the mean time *Xerxes*, advancing near the streights, was strangely surprised to find, that the *Greeks* were resolved to dispute his passage; for he had always flattered himself, that, on his approach, they would betake themselves to *flight*, and not attempt to oppose his innumerable forces *with so small a* body, their whole army consisting of but eleven thousand two hundred men, and of these scarce four thousand being employed to defend the pass. He sent out a scout on horseback to view their numbers, and discover how they were encamped. The scout brought back word, that the *Lacedæmonians* were some performing their military exercises, and others putting their hair in order; for their custom was, as *Damaratus* (F), who was then in the *Persian* camp, informed the king, to comb and put in order their hair, when they were to expose their lives to the greatest dangers. However, *Xerxes*, entertaining still some hopes of their flight, waited four days, without undertaking any thing, on purpose to give them time to retreat. During this time, he used his utmost endeavours to gain and corrupt *Leonidas*, promising to make him master of all *Greece*,

[i] Herod. l. vii. c. 148—163.

(F) *Damaratus* was one of the two kings of *Sparta*, who, being banished by the adverse party, had sought refuge at the *Persian* court, where he was entertained with the greatest marks of honour and distinction. As the courtiers were one day expressing their surprize, that a king should suffer himself to be banished, *Damaratus* told them, that at *Sparta* the laws were more powerful than the king. This prince was in great esteem at the *Persian* court; but neither the injustice of the *Spartan* citizens, nor the kind treatment of the *Persian* king, could make him forget his country. He no sooner knew that *Xerxes* designed to invade *Greece*, but he secretly acquainted the *Greeks* with his resolution; and on all occasions spoke his sentiments to the king with a noble freedom and dignity (52).

(53) *Plutarch. in apoph. Lacon. p.* 220.

if he would come over to his party. His offers being rejected by that public-ſpirited prince with contempt and indignation, the king ordered him, by an herald, to deliver up his arms. *Leonidas*, in a ſtile, and with a ſpirit, truly laconical, anſwered in a few words, *Come thyſelf, and take them* [k]. *Xerxes*, at this reply, tranſported with rage, commanded the *Medes* and *Ciſſians* to march againſt them, take them all alive, and bring them in fetters to him. The *Medes*, not able to ſtand the ſhock of the brave *Greeks*, ſoon betook themſelves to flight, and ſhewed, as our author obſerves, that *Xerxes* had many men, but few ſoldiers. In their room, *Hydarnes* was ordered to advance with that body which was called *Immortal*, and conſiſted of ten thouſand choſen men; but, when they came to cloſe with the *Greeks*, they ſucceeded no better than the *Medes* and *Ciſſians*, being obliged to retire with great ſlaughter. The next day, the *Perſians*, reflecting on the ſmall number of their enemies, and ſuppoſing ſo many of them to be wounded, that they could not poſſibly maintain a ſecond fight, reſolved to make another attempt; but could not, by any efforts, make the *Greeks* give way: on the contrary, they were themſelves put to a ſhameful flight. The valour of the *Greeks* exerted itſelf, on this occaſion, in ſuch an extraordinary manner, that *Xerxes* is ſaid to have three times leaped out of his throne, apprehending the intire deſtruction of his army [l].

*His noble anſwer to Xerxes.*

*The Perſians repulſed at Thermopylæ.*

XERXES, having loſt all hopes of forcing his way through troops, that were determined to conquer or die, was extremely perplexed and doubtful what meaſures he ſhould take in this poſture of affairs; when one *Epialtes*, the ſon of *Eurydemus*, in expectation of a great reward, came to him, and diſcovered a ſecret paſſage to the top of the hill, which overlooked and commanded the *Spartan* forces. The king immediately ordered *Hydarnes* thither, with his ſelect body of ten thouſand *Perſians*; who, marching all night, arrived at break of day, and poſſeſſed themſelves of that advantageous poſt. The *Phocæans*, who defended this paſs, being overpowered by the enemy's numbers, retired with precipitation to the very top of the mountain, prepared to die gallantly. But *Hydarnes*, neglecting to purſue them, marched down the mountain with all poſſible expedition, in order to attack thoſe, who defended the ſtreights in the rear. *Leonidas*, being now appriſed, that it was impoſſible to bear up againſt the enemy, obliged the reſt of his allies to retire; but ſtaid himſelf, with the *Theſpians*, *Thebans*, and three hundred *Lacedæmonians*, all reſolved to die

Epialtes *reſcues Xerxes out of his dangerous ſituation.*

[k] PLUTARCH. in Lacon. apoph. p. 225. [l] HEROD. l. vii. c. 211, 212. DIOD. SICUL. p. 6. CTESIAS in Perſicis, c. 23.

with

with their leader; who, being told by the oracle, that either *Sparta* ſhould be deſtroyed, or the king loſe his life, determined, without the leaſt heſitation, to ſacrifice himſelf for his country. The *Thebans* indeed remained againſt their inclination, being detained by *Leonidas* as hoſtages; for they were ſuſpected to favour the *Perſians*. The *Theſpians*, with their leader *Demophilus*, could not, by any means, be prevailed upon to abandon *Leonidas* and the *Spartans*. The augur *Megiſtias*, who had foretold the event of this enterprize, being preſſed by *Leonidas* to retire, ſent home his only ſon; but remained himſelf, and died by *Leonidas*. Thoſe who ſtaid did not feed themſelves with any hopes of conquering, or eſcapeing, but looked upon *Thermopylæ* as their graves; and when *Leonidas*, exhorting them to take ſome nouriſhment, ſaid, that they ſhould all ſup together with *Pluto*, with one accord they ſet up a ſhout of joy, as if they had been invited to a banquet [m].

Leonidas's *valour, and death.*

XERXES, after pouring out a libation at the riſing of the ſun, began to move, with the whole body of his army, as he had been adviſed by *Epialtes*. Upon their approach, *Leonidas* advanced to the broadeſt part of the paſſage, and fell upon the enemy with ſuch undaunted courage and reſolution, that the *Perſian* officers were obliged to ſtand behind the diviſions they commanded, in order to prevent the flight of their men, who, not being able to ſtand ſo violent a ſhock, would, without that precaution, have immediately turned their backs. Great numbers of the enemy, falling into the ſea, were drowned; others were trampled under foot by their own men, and a great many killed by the *Greeks*; who, knowing they could not avoid death upon the arrival of thoſe who were advancing to fall upon their rear, exerted their utmoſt efforts. In this action fell the brave *Leonidas*; which *Abrocomes* and *Hyperanthus*, two of the brothers of *Xerxes*, obſerving, advanced, with great reſolution, to ſeize his body, and carry it in triumph to *Xerxes*.

*The* Lacedæmonians *defend his body with ſingular valour.*

But the *Lacedæmonians*, more eager to defend it than their own lives, repulſed the enemy four times, killed both the brothers of *Xerxes* with many other commanders of diſtinction, and reſcued the body of their beloved general out of the enemy's hands. But in the mean time, the army that was led by the treacherous *Epialtes*, advancing to attack their rear, they retired to the narroweſt place of the paſſage, and, drawing all together, except the *Thebans*, poſted themſelves on a riſing ground. In this place they made head againſt the *Perſians*, who poured in upon them on all ſides, till at length,

[m] HERODOT. l. vii. c. 213—225, & ſeqq. DIODOR. SICUL. p. 7. CTESIAS, ubi ſupra, c. 24.

not

not vanquiſhed, but oppreſſed and overwhelmed by numbers, they all fell, except one who eſcaped to *Sparta*, where he was treated as a coward and traitor to his country, every one avoiding his company, and giving him the ignominious nick-name of *Ariſtodemus the run-away* (G); but not long after he made a glorious reparation of his fault in the battle of *Platæa*, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in an extraordinary manner. Thoſe who ſignalized themſelves moſt among the *Lacedæmonians*, were *Alpheus* and *Marón*, both ſons of *Oriſiphantus*; among the *Theſpians*, *Dithyrambus*, but, above all, *Leonidas* and *Dieneces*. *Dieneces* was a *Spartan*, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf on this occaſion above all his countrymen, the king excepted. When a *Trachinian* told him before the battle, that the army of the barbarians was ſo numerous, that, with one flight of their arrows, they would hide the ſun, he anſwered, without betraying the leaſt fear, that he was

*overpowered and vanquiſhed.*

Dieneces's *ſignal bravery.*

(G) Some ſay, as our author informs us (53), that *Eurytus* and *Ariſtodemus*, both *Spartans*, being obliged by a violent diſtemper in their eyes to retire to *Alpeni*, were there ſome time in ſuſpenſe whether they ſhould return to *Sparta*, or to *Thermopylæ*, and there die with the reſt of their countrymen. At laſt *Eurytus*, hearing that the *Perſians* had gained the top of the mountain, called for his armour, and ordered his ſervant to lead him into the field of battle (for he had almoſt quite loſt his ſight) where he was killed. But *Ariſtodemus*, wanting courage, ſtaid at *Alpeni*, and after the battle returned ſafe to *Sparta*. Others ſay, that both *Eurytus* and *Ariſtodemus* had been diſpatched ſomewhere with orders from the army; and that the latter might have been back before the fight, but delayed on purpoſe to avoid the danger; whereas his companion arrived in due time, and died in the field. It is alſo ſaid, that another of the three hundred *Spartans*, by name *Pantites*, ſurvived this action, and returned to *Sparta*; but, not being able to bear the reproaches of the *Spartans*, he laid violent hands on himſelf. As for the *Thebans*, and their general *Leontides*, they were obliged for ſome time to fight againſt the *Perſians* in conjunction with the other *Greeks*. But they no ſooner ſaw the *Perſians* deſcending the hill to attack them in the rear, but they abandoned the reſt of their allies, and, approaching the *Perſians* with their arms ſtretched out, told them, that they had been the firſt among the *Greeks* to preſent them with earth and water, and that they were come to *Thermopylæ* againſt their will, and no ways guilty of the loſs they had ſuſtained. Thus the *Thebans* ſaved their lives, though the enemies killed many of them as they advanced to ſurrender themſelves. Many others were, by command of *Xerxes*, branded with the royal mark as ſlaves, and among theſe was *Leontides* their general (54).

(53) *Herodot. l.* vii. *c.* 229---231.

(54) *Idem, ubi ſuprà, c.* 233.



glad

Xerxes's *indignity to the body of* Leonidas.

glad to hear it, because he liked to fight in the shade. *Xerxes*, enraged at *Leonidas* to the last degree for daring to oppose him, caused his head to be struck off, and his body to be put up upon a cross; which barbarous treatment redounded more to his own ignominy, than to the dishonour of that great hero [n]. Some time after, a magnificent monument was erected at *Thermopylæ*, in honour of those brave defenders of *Greece*, with two inscriptions; the one general, and relating to all those who died on this occasion, importing, that the *Greeks* of *Peloponnesus*, to the number only of four thousand, made head against the *Persian* army, consisting of three millions: the other related to the *Spartans* in particular, and was composed by the poet *Simonides*, to this purport: *Go, passenger, and acquaint the* Spartans, *that we died here in obedience to their just commands.* At those tombs a funeral oration was yearly pronounced in honour of the dead heroes, and public games performed with great solemnity, wherein none but the *Lacedæmonians* and *Thespians* had any share, to shew, that they alone were concerned in the glorious defence of *Thermopylæ* [o] (H).

Xerxes, on this occasion, lost twenty thousand men; and, being sensible that so great a loss was capable of alarming and discouraging his friends, he caused all those that were killed, except a thousand, whose bodies he left in the field, to be privately buried; and then proceeded in his march through *Bœotia* to *Attica*, where he arrived four months after he had passed the *Hellespont*.

*The famed sea-fight of* Artemisium.

The very same day, on which happened the glorious action at *Thermopylæ*, the two fleets engaged at *Artemisium*, a promontory of *Eubœa*. That of the *Greeks* consisted of two hundred and seventy-one sail; but the *Persian* fleet was far more numerous, though they had lost, a few days before, in a violent storm, which continued four days, above four hundred ships. Notwithstanding this loss, they sent two hundred ships, with orders to sail round the island of *Eubœa*, and encompass the *Grecian* fleet, that none of their ships might escape. The *Greeks*, having intelligence of this design, set sail in the night-time, in order to attack them by day-break. But, hav-

[n] Herod. l. vii. c. 238.

[o] Idem ibid. & seqq.

(H) There was, besides these inscriptions, a third relating to the augur *Megistias*, expressed in these words: "Under this stone "lies divine *Megistias*, slain by "the *Medes*; with an undaunted "heart he saw his fate approach-"ing, and refused to live when "the *Spartans* had resolved to "die (55)."

(55) *Herodot. l.* vii. *c.* 228.

ing

ing missed this squadron, they advanced to *Aphetæ*, where the whole *Persian* fleet lay; and, after several encounters, in which the *Athenians* gained considerable advantages, they came to a general engagement, which was very obstinate, and the success pretty equal: however, the *Greeks* found it necessary, their ships having suffered a great deal, to retire to some safer place, to refit; and accordingly, steered their course to the streights of *Salamis*, a small island very near, and over-against *Attica*. Though the engagement at *Artemisium* did not bring matters to an absolute decision, yet it contributed greatly to encourage the *Athenians*, who were now convinced, that the enemies, notwithstanding their great number, were not invincible [m].

*Athens deserted by its citizens.*

As *Xerxes* entered *Attica*, the *Athenians*, not being in a condition to make head against so powerful an army, were prevailed upon by *Themistocles* to put all the citizens on board the fleet, to secure their wives and children in *Salamis*, *Ægina*, and *Træzene*, and to abandon the city of *Athens*, which they were no-ways in a condition to defend. The *Persians*, arriving in the neighbourhood of *Athens*, wasted the whole country, putting all to fire and sword. A detachment was sent to plunder the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, which was exceeding rich, by reason of the many offerings and donatives sent thither from all the parts of the east. If we may believe what *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus* relate of this matter, the *Persians* no sooner advanced near the temple of *Minerva*, but a violent storm arising, accompanied with impetuous winds, thunder and lightning, two great rocks rolled down from mount *Parnassus*, and crushed the greatest part of that detachment [n]. The main body of the army arriving at *Athens*, found it deserted by all its inhabitants, except a small number of citizens, who literally interpreting *Apollo*'s oracle, *That* Athens *should be saved by wooden walls*, had fortified that place with boards and palisadoes. They defended themselves with incredible courage and resolution; and, at last, as they would hearken to no terms of accommodation whatsoever, were all cut in pieces. *Xerxes* burnt the city, and all its temples, down to the ground; and immediately dispatched a messenger to *Susa*, with the agreeable news of his success to his uncle *Artabanus*, in whose hands he had left the government, during his absence [o].

*Taken and burnt by the* Persians.

In the mean time, the *Grecian* fleet being reinforced by a great many ships, which joined them from several parts of *Greece*, to the number of three hundred sail, *Eurybiades*, com-

[m] Herod. l. viii. c. 1—18. [n] Idem ibid. c. 37. [o] Idem ibid. c. 51—53.

mander in chief of all the naval forces, summoned a council, in order to consult about the measures that seemed most proper in the present state of affairs. In this council, a great debate arose among the commanders; some, and among these *Eurybiades*, were for retiring to the isthmus of *Corinth*, that they might be nearer the army which guarded that passage, under the command of *Cleombrotus* the brother of *Leonidas*. Others, at the head of whom was *Themistocles*, who commanded the *Athenian* fleet, was for remaining at *Salamis*, the most advantageous place they could choose to engage the numerous fleet of the enemies: for in the streights of *Salamis* the *Persians* could not, by reason of the narrowness of the sea, extend their line beyond that of the *Greeks*; and consequently, would be obliged to fight upon equal terms, without reaping any advantage from their numbers. After many warm disputes, *Eurybiades*, with all the other commanders, came over to the opinion of *Themistocles*, fearing that the *Athenians*, whose ships made up above one half of the fleet, would separate from the allies, if they abandoned that post, as *Themistocles* in his speech had insinuated. It was therefore unanimously resolved, that, in the streights of *Salamis*, they should wait for the *Persian* fleet, and there engage them P.

*The* Grecian *fleet at* Salamis.

A council of war likewise was held on the side of the *Persians*, in order to determine whether they should hazard a naval engagement, or not. All the commanders were for engaging, because they knew this advice to be most agreeable to the king's inclinations. Queen *Artemisia* was the only person that opposed this resolution. She was queen of *Halicarnassus*, and followed *Xerxes* in this war with five ships, the best equipped of any in the fleet, except those of the *Sidonians*. This princess distinguished herself, on all occasions, by her singular courage, and still more by her prudence and conduct; for our author observes, that there was not one who gave *Xerxes* so good advice as this heroine. She represented, in the council of war we are speaking of, the dangerous consequences of engaging a people that were far more expert in maritime affairs than the *Persians*, alleging, that the loss of a battle at sea would be attended with the ruin of their army; whereas, by spinning out the war, and advancing into the heart of *Greece*, they would create jealousies and divisions among their enemies, who would separate from one another, in order to defend each of them their own country: and that the king might, almost without striking a blow, make himself master of *Greece* q. This advice, though very prudent, was not followed, but an engagement unanimously resolved upon. *Xerxes*, in order to

Artemisia *dissuades the* Persians *from engaging at sea.*

P Herod. l. viii. c. 45, 57, 60, 65. q Idem ibid. c. 68.

encou-

encourage his men with his preſence, cauſed a throne to be erected on the top of an eminence, whence he might ſafely behold whatever happened, having ſeveral ſcribes about him, to write down the names of ſuch as ſhould ſignalize themſelves againſt the enemy. The approach of the *Perſian* fleet, with the news, that a ſtrong detachment from the army was marching againſt *Cleombrotus*, who defended the iſthmus, ſtruck ſuch a terror into the *Peloponneſians*, that they could not, by any intreaties, be prevailed upon to ſtay any longer at *Salamis*. Being therefore determined to put to ſea, and ſail to the iſthmus, *Themiſtocles* privately diſpatched a truſty friend to the *Perſian* commanders, informing them of the intended flight; and exhorting them to ſend part of their fleet round the iſland, in order to prevent their eſcape. The ſame meſſenger aſſured *Xerxes*, that *Themiſtocles*, who had ſent him that advice, deſigned to join the *Perſians*, as ſoon as the battle began, with all the *Athenian* ſhips. The king, giving credit to all he ſaid, immediately cauſed a ſtrong ſquadron to ſail round the iſland, in the night, in order to cut off the enemy's flight. Early next morning, as the *Peloponneſians* were preparing to ſet ſail, they found themſelves encompaſſed on all ſides by the *Perſian* fleet; and were, againſt their will, obliged to remain in the ſtreights of *Salamis*, and expoſe themſelves to the ſame dangers with their allies [r]. The *Grecian* fleet conſiſted of three hundred and eighty ſail, that of the *Perſians* of two thouſand, and upwards. *Themiſtocles* avoided the engagement, till a certain wind, which roſe regularly every day at the ſame time, and was intirely contrary to the enemy, began to blow. As ſoon as he found himſelf favoured by this wind, he gave the ſignal for battle. The *Perſians*, knowing that they fought under their king's eye, advanced with great reſolution; but the wind blowing directly in their faces, and the largeneſs and number of their ſhips embaraſſing them, in a place ſo ſtreight and narrow, their courage ſoon abated: which the *Greeks* obſerving, uſed ſuch efforts, that, in a ſhort time breaking into the *Perſian* fleet, they intirely diſordered them, ſome flying towards *Phalerus*, where their army lay encamped, others ſaving themſelves in the harbours of the neighbouring iſlands. The *Ionians* were the firſt that betook themſelves to flight [s]. But queen *Artemiſia* diſtinguiſhed herſelf above all the reſt, her ſhips being the laſt that fled: which *Xerxes* obſerving, cried out, that the men behaved like women, and the women with the courage and intrepidity of men. The *Athenians* were ſo incenſed againſt her, that they offered a reward of ten thouſand drachmas to any one that ſhould take her alive; but ſhe,

*The* Peloponneſians *overreached by* Themiſtocles.

*The* Perſian *fleet defeated by the* Greeks

Artemiſia's *bravery, and narrow eſcape.*

[r] Herod. l. viii. c. 74—76. [s] Idem ibid. c. 83—85.

in spite of all their efforts, got clear of the ships that pursued her, and arrived safe on the coast of *Asia* [t]. In this engagement, which was one of the most memorable actions we find recorded in history, the *Grecians* lost forty ships, and the *Persians* two hundred, besides a great many more that were taken, with all the men and ammunition they carried. Many of their allies, dreading the king's cruelty, made the best of their way to their respective countries. *Xerxes*, being under no small apprehension lest the conquerors should sail to the *Hellespont*, and there obstruct his return, left *Mardonius* in *Greece*, with an army of three hundred thousand men, and marched with the rest towards *Thrace*, in order to cross the *Hellespont*. As no provisions had been prepared beforehand, his army underwent great hardships during the whole time of his march, which lasted five-and-forty days. The soldiers were obliged to live upon herbs, and even the bark and leaves of trees; which occasioned innumerable distempers, that swept off the greater part of them. The king, finding that his army was not in a condition to pursue the march so expeditiously as he desired, advanced with a small retinue, leaving the rest behind; but, when he arrived at the *Hellespont*, he found the bridge broken down by the violence of the storms; and was reduced to the necessity of crossing over in a fishing-boat. From the *Hellespont* he continued his flight to *Sardis*, where he took up his quarters for the ensuing year.

*Xerxes's retreat and distress*

THE first thing the *Athenians* took care of after the battle, was to send the first-fruits of their victory to *Delphos*, where they enriched the temple with the spoils of those who not long before had pillaged it. Their next thought was, to reward those who had signalized themselves above the rest. It was a custom in *Greece*, that, after an engagement, the commanding officers should declare who, in their opinion, had most distinguished themselves during the conflict, by writing down the names of the person that deserved the first, and of him who deserved the second prize. On this occasion, each captain, being ambitious of that honour, wrote down his own name in the first place, and, in the second, the name of *Themistocles*; which plainly proved, that he deserved the preference to all. And accordingly, he was distinguished with honours, which, to that time, had never been bestowed upon any other, as we shall have occasion to relate, in the history of *Greece* [u].

*Themistocles gains the prize of his valour.*

ABOUT the same time that the actions of *Thermopylæ* and *Salamis* happened, the formidable army of the *Carthaginians*, consisting of three hundred thousand men, was intirely defeated

[t] HEROD. l. viii. c. 86—88, & 92. JUSTIN. l. ii. c. 12. [u] HEROD. l. viii. c. 122, 123.

by *Gelo* king of *Syracuse*. We shall give a particular account of this victory, in the history of the *Carthaginians*.

On *Xerxes*'s departure out of *Greece*, *Mardonius*, having passed the winter in *Thessaly* and *Macedonia*, marched early in the spring into *Bœotia*: from thence he sent *Alexander* king of *Macedon*, with very advantageous offers to the people of *Athens*, in order to draw them off from the common alliance. The offers he made were, to rebuild, at the king's charges, their city, and whatever other edifices had been demolished the year before in *Attica*; to suffer them to live according to their own laws; to reinstate them in all their former possessions; and to add to them whatever other lands they should desire. *Alexander*, as being their antient friend, exhorted them, in his own name, to lay hold on so favourable an opportunity of resettling their affairs, representing that they were not in a condition to stand out against so powerful an enemy. But the *Athenians* could not, by any means, be prevailed upon to desert the interest of *Greece*. Whereupon *Mardonius* marched, with all his army, into *Attica*, wasting and destroying whatever he found in his way. The *Athenians*, not being in a condition to withstand such a torrent, retired to *Salamis*, *Ægina*, and *Træzene*; and the second time abandoned their city. *Mardonius* entered *Athens*, and demolished whatever had escaped their fury the preceding year [w]. In the mean time, the joint-forces of *Greece* being drawn together on the isthmus of *Corinth*, *Mardonius* thought fit to march back into *Bœotia*: for that, being an open and level country, was more fit for him to engage in than *Attica*, which was rough, craggy, full of hills, and narrow passes. On his return into *Bœotia*, he encamped on the banks of the *Asopus*. The *Greeks* followed him thither, under the command of *Pausanias* king of *Sparta*, and of *Aristides*, commander in chief of the *Athenians*. The *Persian* army, according to the computation of *Herodotus*, consisted of three hundred and fifty thousand men; according to *Diodorus*, of five hundred thousand men: that of the *Grecians* did not amount to the number of one hundred and ten thousand. *Mardonius*, in order to try the courage of the *Greeks*, sent out his cavalry, in which the main strength of his army consisted, to skirmish with the enemy. The *Megarians*, who were encamped on a plain, sustained the first onset; but, in spite of all their resolution, were forced to give way, being overwhelmed with the enemies arrows. As they were giving ground, a detachment of three hundred *Athenians*, with a small number of bowmen, advanced to their relief. *Masistius*, general of the *Persian* horse, and one highly esteemed in *Per-*

*Attica wasted by Mardonius.*

*The strength of the Persian and Grecian army.*

[w] Herod. l. viii. c. 113, 114. & l. ix. c. 3, 13, 14.

*sia*, seeing them advance in good order, commanded his cavalry to face about, and attack them. The shock was very violent, both parties endeavouring to shew, by the issue of this encounter, what might be the success of a general engagement. The victory was a long time doubtful, but, at last, *Masistius* being killed, the *Persians* betook themselves to flight. The death of *Masistius* was greatly lamented by the *Persians*, who, to shew their concern for the loss of so brave a commander, cut off their hair, and likewise the manes of their horses, filling the camp with loud cries and lamentations [x]. After this encounter, the two armies continued for the space of ten days only looking at one another. At last, *Mardonius*, who was of a firy temper, not being able to bear any farther delays, and his provisions being almost consumed, called a council of war, in order to deliberate whether they should give battle, or retire till such time as they were supplied with fresh provisions. *Artabazus*, a nobleman of great distinction and experience, was of opinion, that they should not hazard a battle, but retire under the walls of *Thebes*, where they should be in a condition to lay in stores of provisions and forage. He alleged that, by delaying, they might cast a damp upon the ardour of the enemies; and, in the mean time, by sending rich presents to their leaders, prevail upon them to betray the common liberty, without hazarding a battle. The *Thebans* were of the same opinion; but that of *Mardonius*, who was for engaging, prevailed, none of the other commanders daring to contradict him; and the result of their deliberations was, that they should give battle the next day. *Alexander* king of *Macedon*, who in his heart favoured the *Greeks*, came secretly, about midnight, into their camp, and informed *Aristides* of all that had passed [y].

Masistius *defeated and killed.*

*Both armies resolve to engage.*

The *Greek* generals, upon this notice, ordered their officers to prepare for battle. Before they engaged, *Pausanias* thought fit to change the order of battle, and place the *Athenians*, who were in the left wing, on the right, that they might stand opposite to the *Medes* and *Persians*, whom they had formerly conquered at *Marathon*, while he, with his *Spartans*, engaged the *Thebans* and other *Greeks*, who served in the *Persian* army, and had been often routed by the *Spartans*. But *Mardonius*, upon the intelligence he had of this new disposition, made the like change; which obliged the *Greeks* to return to their former stations; and the *Persians* likewise ranged their army according to their first disposition. Thus did all that day pass without any action. In the evening, the *Greeks* held a council of war, in which it was resolved, that they

[x] Herod. l. ix. c. 22, 24. [y] Idem ibid. c. 43.

should

should decamp, and retire to some other place more conveniently situated for water. Night coming on, and the officers endeavouring, at the head of the bodies they commanded, to make what haste they could to the new camp that was marked out for them, great confusion happened, some going one way, and some another, without observing any order in their march. At last they stopped near the little city of *Platæa*. *Mardonius*, being informed that the *Greeks* were retired by night, drew up his army in battle-array, and pursued them with great shouts, as if he were not to fight, but to strip and plunder a flying enemy. He did not fail on this occasion to insult *Artabazus*, reproaching him with his cowardly prudence, and the false notion he had conceived of the *Lacedæmonians*, who never fled, as he pretended, before the enemy. Having passed the *Asopus*, he came up with the *Lacedæmonians* and *Tegeans*, who were separated from the body of the army, to the number of fifty-three thousand men. *Pausanias*, finding himself thus attacked by the whole *Persian* army, dispatched a messenger to acquaint the *Athenians*, who had taken another route, with the danger he was in. The *Athenians* immediately put themselves on their march to succour their distressed allies; but were attacked, and, to their great regret, prevented, by those *Greeks*, who sided with the *Persians*. The battle being thus fought in two different places, the *Spartans* were the first who broke into the very centre of the *Persian* army, and, after a most obstinate resistance, put them to flight. *Mardonius*, mounted on a white horse, signalized himself on this occasion, and, at the head of a thousand chosen men, made a great slaughter of the enemy; but, he falling, the whole *Persian* army was easily routed; which those *Greeks*, who had engaged the *Athenians*, hearing, retired with precipitation, leaving the *Athenians* masters of the field. The *Persians* fled to their former camp, which they had fortified with an inclosure of wood. The *Lacedæmonians* pursued them; but were not able to force the intrenchment, not being accustomed to besiege towns, or storm fortified places. The *Athenians*, hearing that the *Persians* were thus shut up in their camp, gave over pursuing the *Greeks*, and hastened to the assistance of the *Lacedæmonians*, whom they found busied in forcing the enemy's camp with more valour than skill: wherefore they took upon themselves that labour, and soon made a breach in the wall, through which entering, together with the *Lacedæmonians*, they made such a dreadful slaughter of the enemy, that, of three hundred thousand, scarce three thousand made their escape. *Artabazus*, who, from *Mardonius*'s imprudent conduct, had but too well foreseen the misfortune that befel them, after having distinguished himself in the engagement, made a timely retreat, with

Year of the flood 1869. Bef. Chr. 479.

*The battle of Platæa.*

*The Persians defeated.*

Mardonius *killed.*

*The Persian camp forced by the Athenians.*

with the forty thousand men he commanded; and, being arrived safe at *Byzantium*, from thence passed over into *Asia*. During the whole engagement, the *Spartans* lost but ninety-one men, the *Tegeans* sixteen, and the *Athenians* fifty-two. When they came to determine who had behaved with most courage, they all gave judgment in favour of *Aristodemus*, who was the only one that had saved himself at *Thermopylæ*, and had now wiped off the blemish of his former conduct by a most glorious death. The spoil was immense, consisting in vast sums of money, in gold and silver cups, vessels, tables, bracelets, rich beds, and all sorts of furniture. They gave the tenth of all to *Pausanias*, who behaved in a very extraordinary manner; and the others were rewarded each according to his merit [a]. Thus was *Greece* delivered not only from the present, but all future invasions of the *Persians*, who henceforward never appeared on this side the *Hellespont*.

*The immense spoil of it.*

The same day that this battle was fought at *Platæa*, the *Grecian* fleet gained as memorable a victory at *Mycale*, a promontory in *Asia*, over the remainder of the *Persian* navy; for, at the same time that the land-forces of *Greece* rendezvoused on the isthmus of *Corinth*, their fleet met at *Ægina*, under the command of *Leotychides* the other king of *Sparta*, and *Xantippus* the *Athenian*. Thither embassadors came to their commanders from the *Ionians*, inviting them into *Asia*, to deliver the *Greek* colonies from the *Persian* yoke. On this invitation, they immediately set sail for *Asia*, steering their course by *Delos*, where they were met by other embassadors from *Samos*, who brought them intelligence, that the *Persian* fleet, which had wintered at *Cuma*, was then at *Samos*, where it might easily be destroyed, earnestly intreating them at the same time not to neglect so favourable an opportunity. Hereupon they sailed forthwith to *Samos*; but the *Persian* fleet, receiving timely notice of their design, retired to *Mycale*, where the army lay encamped, consisting of an hundred thousand men, the remainder of those *Xerxes* had brought back out of *Greece* the year before. Here they drew their ships ashore, and threw up an intrenchment quite round, which they fortified with palisadoes, being determined to sustain a siege. The *Greeks*, arriving at *Mycale*, found all the enemy's ships within the circumvallation, and a numerous army disposed along the coast; but, however, did not meet with the least opposition in landing their men, and drawing them up in battle-array; which when they had done, they attacked the enemy with such vigour, that they obliged them to fly to their intrenchments, and pursued them so close, that they entered the camp at the same time.

*The* Persians *defeated before* Mycale.

[a] Herod. l. ix. c. 31—69.

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When the enemy ſaw their intrenchments forced, all the auxiliaries betook themſelves to flight; but the *Perſians*, though reduced to a ſmall number, ſtill continued to diſpute the entrance of their camp againſt the *Greeks* pouring in on all ſides. But, in the mean time, the *Lacedæmonians*, who had taken a wider compaſs, arriving with other troops of the allies, the *Perſians* likewiſe abandoned their poſt, and ſaved themſelves by flying to the paſſages of the neighbouring hills. Before the engagement, they had appointed the *Mileſians* to guard the narrow paſſages of the mountains, that they might have a ſafe retreat, in caſe they were put to flight, and ſure guides to conduct them through the mountains, the *Mileſians* being well acquainted with the country; but they treacherouſly brought back, by other ways, to the enemy, ſuch as fled to them, by which means a very ſmall number eſcaped the general ſlaughter of that day. The two *Perſian* generals, *Mardontes* and *Tigranes*, died in the field, with many other commanders of great diſtinction. The *Greeks*, having made a prodigious havock of the enemy both in the action, and in the purſuit, ſet fire to their ſhips, burnt the whole camp, and ſailed for *Samos*, loaded with an immenſe booty, conſiſting of ſeventy cheſts of money, beſides many other things of ineſtimable value [t]. And thus ended all the great deſigns of *Xerxes* in a moſt miſerable diſappointment, a ſmall number of thoſe millions of men now remaining, with which the year before he marched ſo proudly over the *Helleſpont*.

*Betrayed by the* Mileſians.

THE battle of *Platæa* was fought in the morning, and that of *Mycale* in the afternoon of the ſame day; and yet all the *Greek* writers pretend, that the victory at *Platæa* was known at *Mycale* before the engagement began there, though thoſe two places were parted by the whole *Ægean*, a ſea of ſeveral days ſail. But *Diodorus Siculus* clears up this matter, telling us, that *Leotychides*, obſerving his troops to be in great pain for their countrymen at *Platæa*, leſt they ſhould be overpowered by the numerous army of *Mardonius*, in order to raiſe their ſpirits and courage, cauſed a report to be ſpread in the army, that the *Perſians* were defeated at *Platæa*, though, at that time, he knew nothing of the matter [u].

Leotychides's *ſtratagem.*

XERXES, upon the news of theſe two overthrows, left *Sardis* with the ſame hurry and precipitation as he had left *Athens* after the battle of *Salamis*, making all the haſte he could towards *Perſia*, that he might get as far as poſſible out of the reach of the conquering enemy. But, before he ſet out, he gave orders, that all the temples of the *Greek* cities in *Aſia* ſhould

Xerxes's *haſty flight*

*The Greek temples deſtroyed.*

[t] HEROD. l. ix. c. 89, 96, 99--103. [u] DIOD. SICUL. l. xi. p. 28.

should be burnt and demolished; and his orders were so far executed, that not one was left standing, except that of *Dianæ* at *Ephesus* [w] (I).

Xantippus *conveys the* Persian *spoils to* Athens.

THE *Grecian* fleet, after the battle of *Mycale*, steered their course first to *Samos*, and thence to the *Hellespont*, in order to possess themselves of the bridges, which *Xerxes* had caused to be laid over those streights; but, finding them broken by storms, *Leotychides*, with his *Peloponnesian* forces, sailed home. *Xantippus*, with the *Athenians*, and his allies the *Ionians*, remaining there, made himself master of *Sestus*, and the whole *Thracian Chersonesus*, where the army was enriched with an immense booty, which, on the approach of the winter, they carried home, every one returning then to their respective countries. *Xantippus*, finding all the materials of the bridges at *Cardia*, whither they had been conveyed by order of *Xerxes*, carried them with him to *Athens*, where they were preserved for many years, as a monument of the many victories, which the *Greeks* obtained in this war [x]. From this time, the *Ionian* cities in *Asia*, shaking off the *Persian* yoke, recovered their antient liberty, and maintained it as long as that empire subsisted.

Persians *driven out of* Cyprus. Year of the flood 1871. Bef. Chr. 477.

THE *Greeks*, having settled their affairs at home, resolved to pursue the war, and drive the *Persians* out of all the *Greek* cities in *Asia*, and the neighbouring islands. With this view, they equipped a powerful fleet, which, sailing to *Cyprus*, under the command of *Pausanias* and *Aristides*, drove the *Persians* out of that island, and restored the inhabitants to their antient liberty [y].

[w] STRABO, l. xiv. CURT. l. vii. c. 5. SOLIN. c. 40. [x] HEROD. l. ix. c. 118, 119, 120. & DIOD. SIC. l. xi. ad ann. 2. olymp. 75. [y] DIOD. SIC. ad ann. 4. olymp. 75. & THUCYD. l. i. & PLUTARCH. in Aristide.

(I) We will not pretend to determine whether *Xerxes*'s resentment, after so many defeats, prompted him to this, or a singular zeal for the institution of the mages, in whose religion he had been thoroughly instructed by *Zoroastres*; for, that religion expressing a great detestation of worshiping GOD by images, its zealots were for destroying all idolatrous temples where-ever they came: and, to keep *Xerxes* steady in their party, not only several of the chief doctors of the mages, but *Ostanes* himself, who was then at the head of the whole sect, attended him during the whole time of this expedition (56): so that, if we may credit *Cicero* (57), it was at their instigation, that all those temples were destroyed.

(56) *Clem. Alexandrin. in protrept. Laert. in proœm. Pocock. specim. hist. Arab.* p. 148, 149. (57) *Cic. de legib. l.* ii.

WHILE

WHILE *Xerxes* resided at *Sardis*, he conceived a violent passion for the wife of his brother *Masistes*, a prince of extraordinary merit, and who had served the king with great zeal and fidelity. As she was a woman of great virtue, and had a singular value for her husband, she could, by no solicitations, be prevailed upon to defile his bed. However, the king, still flattering himself, that, by heaping favours upon her, he might at last conquer her virtue, married his eldest son *Darius*, whom he appointed his successor to the crown, to *Artaynta*, this princess's daughter. As this was the greatest favour he could bestow on the mother, he expected it would engage her to comply with his desires. But *Xerxes*, finding her virtue proof against all temptations, changed his inclinations for the mother, and fell passionately in love with the daughter, who was now the wife of his own son, and did not follow the glorious example of her mother's firmness and virtue. While this intrigue was carrying on, *Hamestris*, wife to *Xerxes*, having wrought a very rich and curious mantle, presented it to the king; which he, being wonderfully pleased with it, put on when he first visited his mistress. In the conversation he had with her, he desired her to ask whatever favour she pleased; binding himself by an oath to deny her nothing. Hereupon *Artaynta* desired him to give her the mantle. *Xerxes*, foreseeing the bad consequences that would necessarily ensue from his complying with her request, did all that lay in his power to dissuade her from insisting upon her first demand. He offered her immense treasures, with cities, and an army, to be solely at her disposal; which was one of the greatest presents that the *Persian* kings could make. But, not being able to prevail upon her, and thinking himself bound by his imprudent promise, and rash oath, he yielded to her demand, and gave her the mantle; which she immediately put on, and publicly wore, as a trophy of her power over the king's affections.

Xerxes's *incestuous intrigue with his daughter-in-law.*

*Hamestris*, being now confirmed in the suspicion she had entertained, was incensed to the highest degree; but, instead of venting her rage against the daughter, who alone was faulty, resolved to be revenged on the mother, whom she looked upon as the author of the whole intrigue, though she was no ways privy to it. For the better executing her design, she waited the great festival, which was annually celebrated on the king's birth-day: on which occasion the king, according to the established custom of the country, used to grant the queen whatever she demanded. This day being come, she asked, that the wife of his brother *Masistes* might be delivered into her hands. *Xerxes*, who apprehended the queen's design, was struck with horror at her demand, both out of regard to his brother, and because he knew, that his wife was

Hamestris's *cruelty to the innocent wife of* Masistes.

quite innocent; and therefore at first withstood her request: but, being at last overcome by her importunity, he consented with the utmost reluctancy to her request; and, ordering his guards to seize the innocent princess, delivered her into the hands of the revengeful and enraged *Hamestris*, impowering her to treat her as she pleased. In consequence of this power, *Hamestris* caused her breasts, tongue, nose, ears, and lips, to be cut off, and thrown to the dogs before her face; and then sent her home in that miserable condition to her husband. In the mean time, *Xerxes* had sent for his brother, to prepare him for this melancholy and tragical adventure. He first told him, that he must part with his wife, and that he designed to supply her place with one of his own daughters. But *Masistes*, who was passionately fond of his wife, could not be induced, by any offers whatsoever, to divorce her. Whereupon *Xerxes*, in great warmth, told him, that, since he refused his daughter, he should neither have her, nor his own wife; and, with this inhuman reply, dismissed him. *Masistes*, from this speech, apprehending some great misfortune, made all the haste he could home, to see what had passed during his absence. On his arrival, he found his wife in that deplorable condition we have described; and, being exasperated to the highest degree, as the case did justly deserve, he immediately assembled all his family, servants, and dependents; and set out with all possible expedition for the province of *Bactriana*, of which he was governor, with full resolution, as soon he arrived there, to induce the *Bactrians* to revolt, and revenge such a barbarous usage in the severest manner. But *Xerxes*, hearing of his sudden departure, and suspecting from thence his design, sent a party of horse after him; who, overtaking him, cut him in pieces, with his wife, children, and all his retinue. There is another action no less cruel and impious related of *Hamestris*: she caused fourteen children of the best families in *Persia* to be buried alive, as a sacrifice to the infernal gods [x].

Masistes, *and his wife and family, massacred by* Xerxes.

A fresh *instance of* Hamestris's *cruelty.*

Upon the death of *Masistes*, *Xerxes* appointed *Hystaspes*, his second son, to be governor of *Bactria*; which, obliging him to live at a distance from court, gave his younger brother *Artaxerxes* an opportunity of mounting the throne before him, as will be seen in its proper place.

The *Grecian* fleet, having driven the *Persians* out of *Cyprus*, sailed from thence to the *Hellespont*, and reduced the city of *Byzantium*, where they took several prisoners of eminent note, and some nearly related to *Xerxes* himself; but they were all treacherously released by *Pausanias*, pretending they had made

Byzantium *taken from the* Persians.

[x] Herod. l. ix. c. 107, 112.

their

their escape [y], as we shall relate more at length in the history of *Greece*. A few years after, the *Athenian* fleet, under the command of *Cimon* the son of *Miltiades*, took *Eione* on the river *Strymon*, and brought again under subjection the islands of *Scyrus* and *Naxus*, which had revolted [z]. *Cimon*, encouraged with this success, passed over to the coasts of *Asia*; and, having driven the *Persians* out of all the maritime cities of *Caria* and *Lycia*, he sailed from thence in quest of their fleet; and, finding it riding at the mouth of the river *Eurymedon* on the coast of *Pamphylia*, while the army was encamped on the shore, he first attacked the fleet, and then the army, overthrew both, and gained two victories on the same day, whereof the one was equal to the victory of *Salamis*, and the other to that of *Platæa* [a]. The next year, *Cimon* drove the *Persians* out of the *Thracian Chersonesus*, subdued the *Thasians*, who had revolted from the *Athenians*, and then, landing his army on the opposite shore of *Thrace*, seized on the gold-mines on those coasts, and reduced all that country as far as *Macedon* [b], as we shall relate at length in a more proper place.

Year of the flood 1872. Bef. Chr. 476.

*The Persian fleet and army defeated by Cimon.*

Year of the flood 1878. Bef. Chr. 470.

XERXES, being wholly discouraged by a continual series of heavy losses, and shameful defeats, gave over all thoughts of war and conquests, and never afterwards suffered his ships to appear in the *Ægean* sea, or his forces on the coasts. He gave himself intirely up to luxury and ease, minding nothing, but the gratifying his lusts and vitious inclinations. This dissolute manner of life drew upon him the contempt and hatred of his subjects; which induced *Artabanus*, a native of *Hyrcania*, captain of his guards, and who had long been his chief favourite, to conspire against him. He prevailed upon *Mithridates*, one of the eunuchs of the palace, to engage in the conspiracy; and, being by him let into the king's bed-chamber, murdered him, in the twenty-first year of his reign, while he was asleep (K). He then went to *Artaxerxes* the king's third son, and

*Artabanus's treachery.*

*Xerxes murdered.*

Year of the flood 1892. Bef. Chr. 456.

[y] THUCYD. l. i. [z] DIODOR. l. ii. PLUTARCH. in Cimone.
[a] DIODOR. & PLUT. ibid. THUCYD. l. i. ÆMIL. PROB. in Cimone.
[b] PLUTARCH. ibid.

(K) Archbishop *Usher* places the death of *Xerxes*, and consequently the accession of *Artaxerxes*, in the year of the world 3530, before Christ 474; taking thereby nine years from the reign of the former, and adding them to the reign of the latter, and of his son *Xerxes*, whom he supposes to have reigned a year. The primate is herein countenanced, in some degree, by the authority of *Thucydides* (57). But as that historian is contradicted by *Ptolemy*'s canon, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Africanus*, *Eusebius*, and all

(57) *Vide Uss. ad A. M.* 3531, 3532.

who

and charged *Darius* his elder brother with the murder, as though an eager desire of ascending the throne had prompted him to that execrable crime. He told him at the same time, that he designed to cut him off next, in order to secure the crown to himself; and therefore he ought to guard against all dangers. *Artaxerxes*, being then a very young man, rashly believed whatever *Artabanus* told him; and, without further examination, went immediately to his brother's apartment; and there, being assisted by *Artabanus* and his guards, murdered him. The next heir was *Hystaspes*, the second son of *Xerxes*; but, as he was then in *Bactriana*, of which province he was governor, *Artabanus* placed *Artaxerxes* on the throne, but with a design to let him enjoy the sovereignty only till such time as he had formed a party strong enough to drive him from it, and seize it himself [c]. His great authority had gained him many dependents; and besides, he had seven sons, who were all of robust bodies, courageous, and raised to the highest dignities of the empire. His confidence in these inspired him with this design; but, while he was hastening to put it in execution, *Artaxerxes*, being informed of the whole plot by *Megabyzus*, who had married one of his sisters, was beforehand with him in a counter plot, and killed him, before his treason was ripe for execution. His death secured to *Artaxerxes* the possession of the kingdom [d] (K). He is said to have been

*Darius murdered.*

*Artaxerxes mounts the throne.*

*Artabanus discovered, and put to death.*

[c] Diod. Sic. l. xi. p. 53. [d] Idem ibid. p. 52. Ctesias, c. 2. Justin. l. iii. c. 1.

who have written of those times, we are inclined to think he was mistaken in this particular: for, tho' he is universally allowed to be very exact in the affairs of *Greece*, of which he professedly writes, yet he might be mistaken in those of *Persia*, which he speaks of only by-the-by. What induced the archbishop to prefer the authority of *Thucydides* to that of all other writers, was, its wonderfully helping his hypothesis concerning the computation of the seventy weeks of *Daniel*'s prophecy. For if we place the twentieth year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, from whence he reckons the beginning of the seventy weeks, nine years higher than others do, the middle of the last week will exactly fall in with the time when Christ was crucified. But the authority of *Thucydides*, especially as it is contradicted by all the antients, is not, in our opinion, a sufficient foundation for an hypothesis of this nature.

(K) Whether *Artabanus* possessed himself of the throne, and held it seven months, as some authors affirm, or was killed by *Artaxerxes* before he accomplished his design, is no easy matter to determine with any certainty. The seven first months, however, of the reign of *Artaxerxes* (58), are, by *Eusebius*, assigned to *Artabanus*; but whether be-

(58) *Euseb. in chron.*

cause

been the handsomest man of the age he lived in, and a prince of a very mild and generous disposition. By the *Greeks* he is called, or rather nicknamed, *Macrocheir*, that is, long-handed, by reason of the more than ordinary length of his hands (L); but, in Scripture, he bears the name of *Ahasuerus*, as well as that of *Artaxerxes*, and is the same who had *Esther* for his queen (M).

HAVING,

cause he ruled so long in his name, or on what other account, is not easy to determine.

(L.) *Strabo* (59) tells us, that he was so called, because his hands were so long, that when he stood upright, he could touch his knees with them; but, according to *Plutarch* (60), he had that name, because his right hand was longer than his left. He is named by the *Latins Longimanus*, which answers the *Greek* Μακρόχειρ.

(M) Some are of opinion, that *Darius Hystaspis* was the king *Ahasuerus* who married *Esther*; and that *Atossa* was the *Vashti*, and *Artystona* the *Esther* of Scripture (61). But this opinion is quite inconsistent with what we read of these persons in profane history; for *Herodotus* tells us (62), that *Artystona* was the daughter of *Cyrus*, and therefore she could not be *Esther*; and that *Atossa* had four sons by *Darius*, all born after he had ascended the throne (63); and therefore she could not be that queen *Vashti*, whom the king divorced in the third year of his reign (64); nor he, consequently, that king *Ahasuerus*. Besides, *Atossa* had such an ascendant over the king, that he was influenced by her, on his death-bed, to disinherit his elder sons by a former wife, and settle the crown on *Xerxes* her son; whereas the *Ahasuerus* of Scripture divorced *Vashti* by an unalterable decree, and therefore could never admit her again to his bed (65). What induced the learned primate of *Ireland* to be of this opinion, was, that *Ahasuerus*, in the book of *Esther* (66), is said to have laid a tribute on the land, and on the isles; and the same is said of *Darius Hystaspis* by *Herodotus* (67); but this, *Strabo* ascribes to *Darius Longimanus* (68), as we read in the printed copies; and the surname of *Longimanus*, with the description of the person in that place, plainly shews, that *Darius* was there, by mistake of the transcribers, put instead of *Artaxerxes*, seeing no *Darius* ever bore that name; and what is said there of *Darius*, is applicable to none but *Artaxerxes*.

*Scaliger* is of opinion (69), that *Xerxes* was the *Ahasuerus*, and his queen *Hamestris* the *Esther* of Scripture; induced thereunto by the similitude he finds between *Hamestris* and *Esther*. But the dissimilitude of their characters is a stronger proof, that *Hamestris* could not be *Esther*, as must appear from

(59) *Strabo, l.* xv. *p.* 735. (60) *Plutarch. in Artax.* (61) *Usher. ad A. M.* 3485. (62) *Herodot. l.* iii. *c.* 88. & *l.* vii. *c.* 69. (63) *Idem, l.* vii. *c.* 3. (64) *Esther* i. 3. (65) *Ibid.* (66) *Ibid.* x. 1. (67) *Herodot. l.* iii. *c.* 95, 96. (68) *Strabo, l.* xv. *p.* 735. (69) *Scal. de emendat. temp. l.* vi.

what

Artaxerxes Longimanus.

HAVING, by the death of *Artabanus*, removed one dangerous competitor, he had still two great obstacles in his way, *viz.* his brother *Hystaspes* in *Bactria*, and the party of *Artabanus* at home, which gave him the first trouble. *Artabanus*, as we have hinted above, had seven sons, and many partisans, who immediately gathered together to revenge his death. Whereupon a bloody conflict ensued, in which many *Persians* of distinction fell on both sides. But at length *Artaxerxes*, having prevailed, put to death all those who were privy to the plot; those especially, who had any hand in the murder of his father, were punished in a most severe and exemplary manner. The eunuch *Mithridates*, who betrayed him, was boated; a punishment which was in use among the *Persians*, and we have already described where we give an account of the manners of that nation.

*Crushes the faction of* Artabanus.

*Artaxerxes*, having thus crushed the faction of *Artabanus* at home, was in a condition to send an army into *Bactria*, which had declared in favour of his brother. But here he was not attended with the like success; for,

what we have already related of queen *Hamestris*, and shall have occasion to add in the sequel of this history. A woman of so vile a character cannot have been that queen of *Persia*, who, by the name of *Esther*, is so renowned in holy writ, and is celebrated there as the instrument by whom GOD was pleased, in so signal a manner, to deliver his people from that utter destruction which was designed against them. Besides, we are told by *Herodotus* (70), that *Xerxes* had a son by *Hamestris*, who was marriageable in the seventh year of his reign; and *Esther* was not till that time married to *Ahasuerus* (71).

There being no such objections as to *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, he must, in our opinion, have been the *Ahasuerus* who married *Esther*. This we find confirmed by the *Septuagint*, by the apocryphal additions of the book of *Esther*, and by *Josephus*. The *Septuagint*, throughout the whole book of *Esther*, translate *Ahasuerus* by *Artaxerxes*. The apocryphal additions to that book constantly call *Esther*'s husband *Artaxerxes*; and, from several circumstances related of him both in the canonical and apocryphal *Esther*, it is very plain that this *Artaxerxes* could not be *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, *Josephus* (72) tells us in express terms, that *Esther*'s husband was *Artaxerxes Longimanus*. *Severus Sulpitius*, and many others, both antient and modern writers, fall in with *Josephus*. The extraordinary favour and kindness, which *Artaxerxes Longimanus* shewed the *Jews*, beyond all other kings that reigned in *Persia*, is a convincing proof, that they had such a powerful advocate as *Esther* to intercede for them (73).

(70) *Herodot. l.* ix. *c.* 107. (71) *Esther* ii. 16. (72) *Joseph. antiquit. l.* xi. *c.* 6. (73) *See Prid. connect. part* i. *book* iv. *at the end, & Calmet dict. under Assuerus.*

the

the two armies engaging, *Hystaspes* stood his ground, and, though he did not carry the day, he sustained no considerable loss, both parties retiring, with equal fortune, to prepare for a second encounter. The next year, *Artaxerxes*, drawing together a far more powerful army, as having the greater part of the empire at his devotion, overpowered *Hystaspes*, and, by a complete victory, secured to himself the quiet possession of the empire. To prevent all further disturbances, he removed such governors of cities and provinces as he suspected to be affected to either of the factions he had overcome, putting others in their room, whom he could safely trust. He afterwards applied himself to the reforming of many abuses and disorders that had crept into the government; whereby he gained great reputation, and won the hearts of his subjects throughout all the provinces of the empire [a]. *Artaxerxes*, being now settled in the peaceable possession of the whole *Persian* empire, appointed rejoicings and feasts to be made for the space of an hundred and eighty days in the city of *Susa*, on the conclusion of which, he gave a grand entertainment to all the princes and people that were then in that city, which lasted seven days [b]. *Vashti* the queen at the same time made a like feast in her apartment for the women. And here the history of *Hadassah* or *Esther*, for which we refer the reader to that book, takes place.

*Defeats his brother.*

In the fifth year of *Artaxerxes*'s reign, the *Egyptians* revolted, and, making *Inarus*, prince of the *Libyans*, their king, called in the *Athenians* to their assistance, who, having, at that time, a fleet of two hundred ships lying off the island of *Cyprus*, laid hold of that invitation, looking upon it as a very favourable opportunity of weakening the *Persian* power, by driving them from so rich a kingdom. But how fatal this war proved both to them, and their *Egyptian* allies, we have related elsewhere [c].

*The Egyptians revolt, assisted by the Athenians.*

Year of the flood 1888. Bef. Chr. 460.

The *Athenians*, having equipped another fleet of two hundred sail, after the loss of that in *Egypt*, gave the command of it to *Cimon*, injoining him to drive the *Persians* from the island of *Cyprus*. *Cimon*, in pursuance of his orders, took *Citium*, *Malum*, and several other cities of that island; and from thence sent sixty sail to the assistance of *Amyrtæus*, in the fens of *Egypt*. *Artabazus* being then in those seas, with a fleet of three hundred ships, *Cimon*, as soon as his squadron returned from *Egypt*, fell upon him, took one hundred of his ships, destroyed many others, and pursued the remainder to the coasts of *Phœnicia*. Being flushed with his success, on his return he

*Cimon's success in Cyprus, and against the Persian fleet.*

[a] Plutarch. in Artaxerx. Ctes. c. 31. Diod. Sic. l. xi. p. 54.
[b] Esth. i. Joseph. antiq. l. xi. c. 6. [c] Vol. ii. p. 99—101.

landed his men in *Cilicia*, where he found *Megabyzus*, with an army of three hundred thousand men, marched against him; and, having put him to flight, with a great slaughter of his men, returned to *Cyprus* with a double triumph [f].

Artaxerxes *makes peace with the* Athenians.

Artaxerxes, tired with a war in which he had sustained so great losses, resolved, with the advice of his counsellors and ministers, to put an end to so many calamities, by coming to an accommodation with the enemy. Accordingly, he sent orders to his generals, who were charged with the management of the *Cyprian* war, to conclude a peace with the *Athenians* on the best terms they could. Hereupon *Megabyzus* and *Artabazus* sent embassadors to *Athens*, to propose an accommodation, which was agreed upon by the deputies of both sides, on the following terms: 1. That all the *Greek* cities of *Asia* should be made free, and allowed to live according to their own laws. 2. That no *Persian* ships of war should enter those seas that lie between the *Cyanean* and the *Chelidonian* islands; that is, from the *Euxine* sea to the coasts of *Pamphylia*. 3. That no *Persian* general should come, by land, within three days march of those seas. 4. That the *Athenians* should not commit any hostilities in the territories of the king of *Persia*. These articles being sworn to by both parties, peace was proclaimed. Thus ended this war, which had lasted, from the burning of *Sardis* by the *Athenians*, fifty-one years complete, and destroyed numberless multitudes both of *Greeks* and *Persians* [g].

Inarus *crucified.*

Megabyzus *revolts, and defeats* Osiris.

Artaxerxes, being continually importuned, by his mother, for five years together, to deliver to her *Inarus*, and the *Athenians* who had been taken with him in *Egypt*, that she might sacrifice them to the manes of her son *Achæmenes*, yielded at last to her unwearied solicitations. Whereupon this inhuman princess, without any regard to the conditions which had been with the greatest solemnity ratified, caused *Inarus* to be crucified, and the heads of all the rest to be struck off. *Megabyzus*, who had engaged his word, that their lives should be spared, looked upon this as a dishonour done him; and therefore, retiring to *Syria*, of which province he was governor, raised there an army, and openly revolted. The king immediately sent *Osiris*, one of the chief lords of the court, with an army of two hundred thousand men, to suppress this rebellion: but *Megabyzus*, in a general engagement, wounded him, took him prisoner, and put his numerous army to flight. *Artaxerxes* hearing that his general was taken, sent a messenger to demand him; and *Megabyzus* generously released him, as soon as his wounds were cured [h].

Year of the flood 1900. Bef. Chr. 448.

[f] Plutarch. in Cimon. Thucyd. l. i. Diod. Sic. l. xi. p. 73.
[g] Diodor. ubi supra, p. 74. Thucyd. l. i. Plutarch. in Cimone. [h] Ctesias, c. 35.

The

THE next year *Artaxerxes* sent another army against him, under the command of *Menostanes* son to *Artarius*, the king's brother, and governor of *Babylon*. This general was attended with no better success than the other; for he was, in the same manner, defeated and put to flight, leaving *Megabyzus* master of the field, and all the baggage. The king, being sensible that he could not get the better of him by dint of arms, sent his brother *Artarius*, and his sister *Amytis*, who was wife to *Megabyzus*, with several other persons of distinction, to persuade him to return to his duty. By their mediation the difference being made up, the king granted him his pardon; and he returned to court. Not long after, a lion being ready to fall upon the king as he was hunting, *Megabyzus*, to shew his zeal and affection for his sovereign, threw a dart at the lion, and killed him. But the king, still retaining ill-will against him, upon pretence that he had affronted him in shooting first at the lion, commanded his head to be struck off: and it was with the utmost difficulty, that *Amytis* his sister, and *Hamestris* his mother, prevailed upon him to change the sentence of death into that of perpetual banishment: *Megabyzus* was therefore sent to *Cyrta*, a city standing on the *Red* sea, and sentenced to lead the rest of his life there, under confinement. However, five years after, he made his escape from thence, and, under disguise, got safe to his own house at *Susa*, where, by the intercession of his wife, and mother-in-law, he was reinstated in the king's favour, and enjoyed it till his death, which happened some years after, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. He was greatly lamented by the king and the whole court, being the best counsellor, and greatest general, of the whole empire. To him *Artaxerxes* owed both his life, and his crown, at his first accession to the government: but it is of dangerous consequence, in a subject, to have too much obliged his sovereign; for this was the true source of all the misfortunes that befel *Megabyzus*.

*Pardoned, and reinstated.*

*Banished.*

*Reinstated.*

IN the thirty-fourth year of the reign of *Artaxerxes*, a war breaking out between the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*, commonly called the *Peloponnesian* war, both parties sent embassadors to the king, imploring his assistance. But we do not find, that *Artaxerxes* returned them any answer before the seventh year of that war, when he sent an embassador to the *Lacedæmonians*, named *Artaphernes*, with a letter written in the *Assyrian* tongue, wherein he told them, that several embassadors had come to him from them; but the purport of their embassies differed so widely, that he could not comprehend what they requested; and that therefore he had thought proper to send them a *Persian*, to let them know, that if they had

Year of the flood 1917. Bef. Chr. 431.

Artaxerxes's *letter to the* Lacedæmonians.

any propoſals to make, they ſhould ſend a truſty perſon along with him, by whom he might be informed what they deſired him to do. This embaſſador, arriving at *Eion*, on the river *Strymon* in *Thrace*, was there taken priſoner by one of the admirals of the *Athenian* fleet, who ſent him to *Athens*, where he was treated with the utmoſt civility and reſpect, the *Athenians* being extremely deſirous to regain the favour of the king his maſter [k]. The year following, as ſoon as the ſeaſon allowed the *Athenians* to put to ſea, they ſent back the embaſſador, in one of their own ſhips, at the expence of the public; and appointed ſome of their citizens to attend him to the court of *Perſia*, with the character of embaſſadors. But, when they landed at *Epheſus*, they there received news of the king's death; whereupon the *Athenians* not thinking it adviſeable to proceed farther, took their leave of *Artaphernes*, and returned to *Athens* [l].

ARTAXERXES favoured the *Jews* above all the kings of *Perſia*: but what happened to them during his reign, we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of that people, as in a more proper place. This prince died in the forty-firſt year of his reign, and was

Xerxes II. ſucceeded by *Xerxes*, the only ſon he had by his queen: but by his concubines he had ſeventeen, among whom were *Sogdianus*, or, as *Cteſias* calls him, *Secundianus*, *Ochus*, and *Ariſtes*. *Xerxes*, having drank immoderately at a great entertainment, retired to his bedchamber, to refreſh himſelf with ſleep, after his debauch. This opportunity *Sogdianus* laid hold of; and, being led into the bedchamber by *Pharnacyas*, one of *Xerxes*'s eunuchs, ſlew him after he had reigned forty-five days; and poſſeſſed himſelf of the kingdom [m].

Year of the flood 1924. Bef. Chr. 424.

*Slain.*

Sogdianus's *cruelties.*

SCARCE was *Sogdianus* ſeated on the throne, when he put to death *Bagorazus*, the moſt faithful of all his father's eunuchs. He had been appointed to ſuperintend the interment of *Artaxerxes*, and of the queen, *Xerxes*'s mother, who had died the ſame day as her royal conſort. After he had conveyed both their bodies to the burial-place of the *Perſian* kings, he found, on his return, *Sogdianus* in poſſeſſion of the crown, with whom he had formerly had ſome ſmall difference. This *Sogdianus* remembred, and, taking, for a pretence to quarrel with him, ſomething relating to the obſequies of his father, cauſed him to be ſtoned to death. By theſe two murders, he became very odious both to the nobility and the army; and, being jealous leſt ſome of his brothers might treat him as he had treated *Xerxes*, he ſent for *Ochus*, whom he chiefly ſu-

[k] THUCYD. l. iv. p. 285, 286. [l] Idem ibid. p. 322.
[m] CTES. c. 47. DIOD. SIC. l. xii. p. 115.

ſpected,

ſpected, with a deſign to murder him the moment he arrived. *Ochus* had been by his father appointed governor of *Hyrcania*; and, being well appriſed of his brother's deſign, under ſeveral pretences, put off his coming to court till he had drawn together a powerful army, with which he advanced to the confines of *Perſia*, openly declaring, that he deſigned to revenge the death of his brother. This declaration brought over to him many of the nobility, and ſeveral governors of provinces, who, being highly diſſatisfied with the cruelty and ill-conduct of *Sogdianus*, put the tiara on *Ochus*'s head, and proclaimed him king. *Sogdianus*, ſeeing himſelf thus deſerted, contrary to the advice of his beſt friends, came to an accommodation with *Ochus*, who, having him in his power, cauſed him to be thrown into aſhes (O), where he died a cruel death [o].

*Depoſed by* Ochus.

*His cruel death.*

Ochus, being ſettled on the throne by the death of *Sogdianus*, changed his name, taking that of *Darius*; and is by hiſtorians commonly called *Darius Nothus*, or *Darius the baſtard* (P).

Ochus *takes the name of* Darius.

Arsites, ſeeing in what manner *Sogdianus* had ſupplanted *Xerxes*, and had been afterwards driven from the throne by *Ochus*, began to entertain thoughts of treating *Ochus* in the ſame manner. With this deſign, though he was his brother by the ſame father and mother, he broke out into an open rebellion againſt him, being encouraged thereunto, and aſſiſted,

Arſites *rebels.*

Year of the flood 1926. Bef. Chr. 422.

[o] Ctesias, c. 47. Diodor. l. xii. p. 322.

(O) This puniſhment was invented for him, and became afterwards common in *Perſia*. *Ochus* had ſworn, that *Sogdianus* ſhould not die by the ſword, by poiſon, or of hunger. To keep his word, he contrived this new ſort of puniſhment; it is deſcribed in the thirteenth chapter of the ſecond book of *Maccabees*, thus: An high tower was filled to a certain height with aſhes, and the criminal being thrown headlong into them, they were, by a wheel, perpetually turned round him, till he was ſuffocated. Thus this wicked prince loſt his life, and his empire, after he had reigned ſix months and fifteen days (75).

(P) He is placed in *Ptolemy*'s canon as the immediate ſucceſſor to *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, according to the ſtile of that canon, which conſtantly aſcribes to the predeceſſor the whole year in which he dies, and places him as the next ſucceſſor, who was on the throne in the beginning of the enſuing year. As the reigns of *Xerxes* and *Sogdianus* made up but eight months, and theſe did not reach to the end of the year, in which *Artaxerxes* died, they are, in the canon, caſt into the laſt year of *Artaxerxes*, and *Darius* is placed next him, as if he had been his immediate ſucceſſor.

(75) 2 *Maccab.* xiii. 4, & 5. *Val. Max. l.* ix. *c.* 2.

by *Artyphius* the son of *Megabyzus*. *Ochus*, whom henceforth we shall call *Darius*, sent *Artasyras*, one of his generals, against *Artyphius*, while he marched in person against his brother *Arsites*. *Artyphius*, with the assistance of his *Greek* mercenaries, twice defeated the general who had been sent against him: but these being gained over with large bribes, he lost the third battle; and, being reduced to great streights, surrendered himself to *Darius*, upon hopes given him of mercy. The king was for putting him to death immediately, but was diverted from it by *Parysatis* his wife and sister: she was daughter to *Artaxerxes* by another mother, an intriguing and crafty woman; and, by her advice, the king was intirely governed in affairs of the highest importance. The counsel she gave him, on this occasion, was, to treat *Artyphius* with great clemency, that by such usage of a rebellious servant he might the better encourage his brother to throw himself upon his mercy; and then dispose of them both as he pleased. *Darius* followed her counsel, and had the success he proposed; for *Arsites* being informed of the gentle usage *Artyphius* had met with, concluded that he, as a brother, should be treated, at least, with the same indulgence and good-nature. Flattered with this hope, he came to an agreement with the king, and surrendered himself into his hands. *Darius* having him in his power, was very much inclined to pardon him; but was prevailed upon by *Parysatis* to put both him and *Artyphius* to death, by suffocating them in ashes P.

Artyphius *surrendering, is pardoned.*

*Put to death with* Arsites.

He also put to death *Pharnacyas*, for being concerned in the murder of *Xerxes*; and *Monasthenes*, another eunuch, who was the chief favourite of *Sogdianus*, was condemned to die a cruel death; which he prevented, by laying violent hands on himself. These executions did not procure him the tranquillity he expected; for his whole reign was disturbed with violent commotions, raised in various parts of the empire. One of the most dangerous was that which was stirred up by *Pisuthnes*, governor of *Lydia*, who, setting up for himself, raised an army of *Greek* mercenaries, under the command of *Lycon*, an *Athenian*. Against him *Darius* sent *Tissaphernes*, appointing him, at the same time, governor of *Lydia*, in his room. *Tissaphernes*, who was an artful and crafty man, found means of gaining the *Greeks* who served under *Pisuthnes*, and inducing both them and their general to change sides. Whereupon *Pisuthnes*, not being in a condition to carry on the war, surrendered, upon promise of pardon: but the king, the instant he was brought before him, sentenced him to death; and accordingly he was, pursuant to the king's order, suffocated in ashes.

Year of the flood 1934. Bef. Chr. 414.

Pisuthnes *and his son put to death.*

P Ctesias, c. 49.

But

But his death did not put an end to the troubles which he had raiſed; for his ſon *Amorgas*, with the remainder of the army, ſtill oppoſed *Tiſſaphernes*; and for two years continued to infeſt the maritime powers of *Aſia Minor*, till he was, at length, taken priſoner by the *Peloponneſians*, at *Iaſus*, a city of *Ionia*, and delivered by the inhabitants to *Tiſſaphernes*, who put him to death [q].

DARIUS had ſcarce quelled this rebellion, when he found himſelf involved in new troubles. His court, and we may ſay, the whole empire, were governed by the eunuchs *Artoxares*, *Artibarzanes*, and *Athous*. Theſe he conſulted, and followed their advice, in all the momentous affairs of the government; but *Artoxares* was the chief favourite, and nothing was tranſacted but by his direction: intoxicated with this power, he began to entertain thoughts of aſcending the throne; and, accordingly, formed a deſign of cutting off *Darius*. With this view, that he might not be thought an eunuch, which was a ſtrong objection to his being acknowleged king, he married, and wore an artificial beard, giving out, that he was not what, to that time, the *Perſians* had taken him to be. But his wife, who was privy to the whole plot, and, perhaps, glad to get rid of ſuch a huſband, diſcovered the whole matter to the king. Whereupon he was ſeized, and delivered up to *Paryſatis*, who cauſed him to be put to a cruel and ignominious death [r]. *Artoxares put to death.*

THE ſame year that *Piſuthnes* rebelled, the *Egyptians* not only ſhook off the *Perſian* yoke, but, entering into a confederacy with the *Arabians*, reſolved to carry the war into *Phœnice* [s]. News of this being brought to the court of *Perſia*, the fleet which the king had equipped, with a deſign to aſſiſt the *Lacedæmonians*, was recalled to the defence of his own dominions [t].

WHILE *Darius* was carrying on a war againſt the *Egyptians* and *Arabians*, the *Medes* revolted; but being defeated, were forced to return to their former allegiance; and, in puniſhment of their rebellion, reduced to harder ſubjection than before, as is uſually the caſe. *Darius* ſeems to have been likewiſe ſucceſsful againſt the *Egyptians*; for *Amyrtæus* being dead, after a reign of ſix years, his ſon *Pauſiris* ſucceeded him, as *Herodotus* informs us [u], in the kingdom, with the conſent of the *Perſians*; which ſhews, that they were maſters of *Egypt*. Darius's *ſucceſs againſt the revolted provinces.*

DARIUS, having thus ſettled the affairs of *Media* and *Egypt*, inveſted *Cyrus*, his youngeſt ſon, with the ſupreme command of all the provinces of *Aſia Minor*. He was a very young man, Cyrus the younger *appointed governor of* Aſia Minor.

[q] CTESIAS, c. 51. [r] Idem ibid. [s] See vol. ii. p. 101. [t] THUCYD. l. viii. init. JUSTIN. l. v. c. 2. DIODOR. l. xiii. p. 160. [u] HEROD. l. iii. c. 15.

Year of the flood 1941. Bef. Chr. 407.

man, to be intrusted with so much power; for, being born after his father's accession to the crown, he could not have been above sixteen years old when he received this important commission: but, as he was the darling of his mother *Parysatis*, who had an absolute sway over the king her husband, she obtained this command for him, with a view to put him in a condition to contend for the crown, after his father's death: and this use he accordingly made of it, to the great disturbance of the whole empire, as we shall see hereafter [x]:

*Sent to assist the* Lacedæmonians.

On his receiving his commission, he was ordered to assist the *Lacedæmonians* against the *Athenians*, contrary to the wise measures observed by *Tissaphernes*, who, by sometimes helping one side, and sometimes the other, had so balanced matters between them, that they continued to harass each other, without being at leisure to disturb the *Persians*, who had so long been the common enemies of both. This order given, *Cyrus* soon discovered the weakness of the king's politics; for the *Lacedæmonians*, having, with the assistance given them by *Cyrus*, soon overpowered the *Athenians*, sent first *Thimbro*, and after him *Dercyllidas*, and at last *Agesilaus* their king, to invade the *Persian* provinces in *Asia*, where they made great conquests, and would have endangered the whole empire, had not *Darius*, by distributing large sums of money among the demagogues, or governors of the *Greek* cities, found means to rekindle the war in *Greece*; which obliged the *Lacedæmonians* to recal their troops for their own defence [y].

*Becomes obnoxious to his father.*

Cyrus having put to death two noble *Persians*, sons to a sister of *Darius*, for no other reason but because they had not, in meeting him, wrapped up their hands in their sleeves, as was customary among the *Persians* in the presence of their kings, *Darius* recalled him to court, on pretence that he was indisposed, and desired to see him. *Cyrus*, well knowing how great an ascendant his mother had over the king, prepared for his journey; but, before he set out, he ordered such large subsidies to be sent to *Lysander*, general of the *Lacedæmonians*, as enabled him to gain that memorable victory over the *Athenians* at the *Goats-river* on the *Hellespont*, which put an end to the *Athenian* power, and the *Peloponnesian* war, after it had lasted twenty-seven years [y]. *Darius* was highly incensed against *Cyrus*, not only on account of the death of his two nephews, but because he had presumed to challenge honours that were due only to the king; and therefore designed to deprive him of his government. But, upon his arrival, the queen not only

[x] Xenoph. Hellen. l. i. Plutarch. in Artax. & Lysandro. Justin. l. v. c. 5. Diod. l. xiii. p. 368. [y] Xenoph. Diod. Justin. ibid. Thucyd. l. ii. Plutarch. in Lysandro.

reconciled his father to him, but used all her art to have him declared heir to the crown, by reason he was born after his father's accession to the throne; which had given the preference to *Xerxes* in the reign of *Darius Hystaspis*. *Darius* could not by any means be prevailed upon to comply with her request; but however bequeathed him the government of those provinces which he ruled before. Not long after, *Darius Nothus* died, after he had reigned nineteen years; and was succeeded by *Arsaces*, his eldest son by *Parysatis*, who, on his ascending the throne, took the name of *Artaxerxes*, and was, for his extraordinary memory, by the *Greeks* called *Mnemon*, that is, rememberer [z]. While he was attending his father on his death-bed, he desired to be informed by what art he had so happily managed the government, that, by following the same rule, he might be blessed with the like success. The dying king gave him this memorable answer, *that he had ever done, to the best of his knowlege, what religion and justice required, without swerving from the one or the other* [a].

Darius Nothus *dies.* Year of the flood 1944. Bef. Chr. 404.

Upon the death of *Darius*, his son *Artaxerxes* went to *Pasargada*, to be there inaugurated, after the *Persian* custom, by the priests of *Bellona*. He was no sooner arrived there, but he was informed by one of the priests, that his brother *Cyrus* had formed a conspiracy against him, with a design to murder him in the very temple. Upon this information, *Cyrus* was seized, and sentenced to death; but his mother *Parysatis* prevailed upon the king not only to save his life, but to send him back to the government of *Asia Minor*, which his father had left him [b].

Artaxerxes Mnemon. Cyrus's *conspiracy.*

Artaxerxes was no sooner settled on the throne, but *Statira* his queen, whom he was very fond of, on account of her extraordinary beauty, employed her power with him to the utter ruin of *Udiastes*, who had killed her brother *Teriteuchmes*. This quarrel had its rise in the reign of *Darius*, and the whole was a complication of adultery, incest, and murder; which raised great disturbances in the royal family, and ended in the ruin of all who were concerned in it. *Statira* was daughter to *Hydarnes*, a *Persian* lord, and governor of one of the chief provinces of the empire. *Artaxerxes*, then called *Arsaces*, falling in love with her, married her; and at the same time *Teriteuchmes* her brother married *Hamestris*, one of the daughters of *Darius*, and sister to *Arsaces*; by reason of which

Statira's *resentment against* Udiastes.

[z] Xenoph. Hellen. l. ii. Plutarch. in Lysandro & Artaxer. Diodor. l. xiii. [a] Athenæus, l. xii. dipnosophist. Justin. l. v. c. 8, & 11. [b] Plutarch. in Artax. Xenoph. de expedit. Cyri, l. i. Justin. l. v. c. ult.

marriage

marriage he was appointed, on his father's death, to succeed him in his government; but, falling in love with his own sister *Roxana*, no-ways inferior in beauty to *Statira*, that he might, without any constraint, enjoy her, he resolved to dispatch his wife *Hamestris*, and raise a rebellion in the kingdom. *Darius*, being acquainted with his wicked designs, engaged *Udiastes*, an intimate friend of *Teriteuchmes*, to murder him; which he did accordingly, and was rewarded by the king with the government of his province. *Mithridates* the son of *Udiastes*, who was one of *Teriteuchmes*'s guards, and greatly attached to his master, hearing that his father had committed this murder, uttered all manner of imprecations against him; and, to shew his abhorrence of so vile an action, seized on the city of *Zaris*, and, openly revolting, declared for the son of *Teriteuchmes*. *Mithridates* was, by the king's forces, blocked up in the city of *Zaris*, and with him the son of *Teriteuchmes*. All the rest of the family of *Hydarnes* were apprehended, and delivered to *Parysatis*, to execute her revenge upon them for the ill usage done, or intended, against her daughter. That cruel princess began with *Roxana*, whose beauty had been the occasion of all this mischief, and caused her to be sawed in two. The others were all beheaded, except *Statira*, whom she spared, at the earnest intreaties, and through the importunate tears, of her husband *Arsaces*, contrary to the opinion of *Darius*, who told her, that she would afterwards have occasion to repent it. Thus the case stood at the death of *Darius*. But *Arsaces* was no sooner settled on the throne, than *Statira* prevailed upon him to deliver *Udiastes* into her hands; whereupon she caused his tongue to be drawn out at his neck, and made him die in the most exquisite torments she could invent, in revenge of the part he had acted in the ruin of her family. His son *Mithridates* she appointed governor of his province, for the attachment he had shewn to *Teriteuchmes*. But *Parysatis*, bitterly resenting this fact, poisoned the son of *Teriteuchmes*, and, not long after, *Statira* herself, as we shall hereafter relate [b].

*Parysatis's cruel revenge.*

Cyrus *designs a war against his brother.*

CYRUS, returning to his government of *Asia Minor*, full of resentment for the sentence of death, which his brother had pronounced against him, resolved to revolt, and use his utmost endeavours to drive him from the throne. With this view, he employed *Clearchus*, a *Lacedæmonian* general, to raise a body of *Greek* troops for his service, under pretence of a war which the *Lacedæmonians* were to carry into *Thrace*. *Alcibiades* the *Athenian*, being well apprised of the true end for which these levies were made, passed over into the province of *Pharnabazus*, with a design to proceed from thence to the *Per-*

Year of the flood 1945. Bef. Chr. 403.

[b] CTES. in Pers.

*sian* court, and acquaint *Artaxerxes* with the whole scheme. Had he arrived there, a discovery of such importance had, without all doubt, procured him the favour of that prince, and the assistance he wanted for the re-establishment of his country. But the partisans of the *Lacedæmonians* at *Athens*, that is, the thirty tyrants, fearing the negotiations of so superior a genius, found means to induce *Pharnabazus* to put him to death; whereby the *Athenians* lost the great hopes they had conceived of speedily recovering their former state [c].

THE cities that were under the government of *Tissaphernes* revolted from him to *Cyrus*. This incident, which was the effect of the secret practices of that prince, give birth to a war between them. *Cyrus*, under pretence of arming against *Tissaphernes*, assembled troops openly, and, to amuse the court more speciously, made grievous complaints to the king against that governor, demanding his protection and assistance in the most submissive manner. *Artaxerxes*, being deceived by these appearances, believed that all *Cyrus*'s preparations were designed only against *Tissaphernes*; and, not being displeased that they should be at variance with each other, suffered him to raise what forces he pleased [d].

Artaxerxes *overreached by* Cyrus.

THE young prince lost no time on his side, and hastened the execution of his great design. As he had assisted the *Lacedæmonians* against the *Athenians*, and put them in a condition of gaining those victories, which made them masters of *Greece*, he thought he might safely disclose to them his intent, and ask their assistance in accomplishing of it. The *Lacedæmonians* readily granted him his demand, dispatching immediately orders to their fleet to join that of the prince, and to obey in all things the command of *Tamos* his admiral; but they took care not to mention *Artaxerxes*, pretending not to be privy to the designs that were carrying on against him. This precaution they used, that, in case *Artaxerxes* should get the better of his brother, they might justify themselves to him for what they had done [e].

THE army, which *Cyrus* had raised, consisted of thirteen thousand *Greeks*, who were the flower of his army, and an hundred thousand regular troops of other nations. *Clearchus* the *Lacedæmonian* commanded all the *Peloponnesian* troops, except the *Achæans*, who were led by *Socrates* of *Achaia*. The *Bœotians* were under *Proxenes* a *Theban*, and the *Thessalians* under *Menon*. The other nations were commanded by *Persian* generals, of whom the chief was *Ariæus*. The fleet con-

Cyrus's *great army*

[c] XENOPH. de expedit. Cyri, l. i. PLUT. in Artax. [d] XENOPH. ubi supra. PLUT. in Artaxer. [e] XENOPH. ubi supra. PLUTARCH. ibid. JUSTIN. l. v. c. 11.

sisted

sisted of thirty-five ships under *Pythagoras* a *Lacedæmonian*, and twenty-five commanded by *Tamos* an *Egyptian*, admiral of the whole fleet [f]. *Cyrus* opened his design to none of the *Greeks*, except *Clearchus*, fearing the boldness of the enterprize might discourage the officers, as well as the soldiers. *Proxenes*, between whose family and *Xenophon*'s an antient friendship subsisted, presented that young *Athenian* to *Cyrus*, who received him favourably, and gave him a commission among the *Greek* mercenaries [g]. *Cyrus*, having at length got all things ready, set out from *Sardis*, directing his march towards the upper parts of *Asia*, the troops neither knowing where, nor in what war, they were to be employed; for *Cyrus* had only given out, that he was marching against the *Pisidians*, who, with frequent incursions, harassed his province. However, *Tissaphernes*, judging these preparations to be too great for so small an enterprize, set out with all possible expedition from *Miletus*, to give the king a true account of them. *Artaxerxes*, being now well apprised of his brother's designs, assembled a numerous army to receive him. In the mean time *Cyrus*, advancing with long marches, arrived at the streights of *Cilicia*, where he found *Syennesis*, king of that country, prepared to dispute his passage; wherein he would have easily succeeded, had he not been obliged to abandon that important pass, to defend his own territories against *Tamos*, and the *Lacedæmonian* fleet, which appeared upon the coasts [h].

Tissaphernes *discovers* Cyrus's *intention.*

*The* Greeks *mutiny against* Cyrus.

When they arrived at *Tarsus*, the *Greeks* refused to proceed any farther, suspecting that they were marching against the king, and protesting, that they did not enter into the service upon that condition. *Clearchus* at first made use of his authority to quell the tumult; but with very ill success: and therefore, desisting from force, he pretended to enter into their views, and advised them to send deputies to *Cyrus*, to know from his own mouth against whom they were to be employed.

*Reduced by* Clearchus

By this artful evasion, he appeased the tumult, and was himself chosen one of the deputies. *Cyrus*, whom he had acquainted beforehand with what had happened, answered, that he was going to attack *Abrocomas*, who was at twelve days march distance, encamped on the banks of the *Euphrates*. The *Greeks* plainly saw, that this was not his true design; but nevertheless shewed themselves willing to proceed, on condition that their pay was increased. This *Cyrus* willingly granted; and, having gained their affections during the march, by treating them with extraordinary kindness and humanity, he at last declared, that he marched against *Artaxerxes*. Upon this, some com-

[f] Xenoph. de expedit. Cyr. l. i. p. 252. [g] Idem, l. ii. p. 294. [h] Idem, l. i. p. 248–261.

plaints

plaints were heard at first; but they soon gave way to expressions of joy and satisfaction, occasioned by that prince's magnificent promises [i].

CYRUS, after a long march, arriving in the plains of *Cunaxa* in the province of *Babylon*, found there *Artaxerxes*, with an army of nine hundred thousand men, ready to engage him; whereupon, leaping out of his chariot, he ordered his troops to stand to their arms, and fall into their ranks; which was done with great expedition, he not allowing them time to refresh themselves. *Clearchus* advised *Cyrus* not to charge in person, but to remain in the rear of the *Greek* battalions. This advice *Cyrus* rejected with indignation, saying, that he would not render himself unworthy of the crown for which he was fighting. As the king's army drew near, the *Greeks* fell upon them with such fury, that the wing opposite to them was, at the very first onset, put to flight; whereupon *Cyrus* was, with loud shouts of joy, proclaimed king by those who stood round him. But he, in the mean time, perceiving that *Artaxerxes* was wheeling about to attack him in flank, advanced against him with six hundred chosen horse, killed *Artagerses*, captain of the king's guards, with his own hand, and put the whole body to flight. In this encounter, discovering his brother, he cried out, *I see him*; and, spurring on his horse, engaged him with great resolution, which, in some degree, turned the battle into a single combat, each of the two brothers endeavouring to assure himself of the crown by the death of his rival. *Cyrus* killed his brother's horse, and wounded him on the ground; but he immediately mounted another, when *Cyrus* attacked him again, and gave him a second wound, and had already lifted up his hand to give him a third; which the king's guards observing, they all discharged their arrows, aiming at him alone; and he, at the same time, throwing himself headlong upon the king, was run through by his javelin, and pierced with innumerable arrows. He fell dead upon the spot; and all the chief lords of his court, resolving not to survive their master, were killed in the place where he fell: a certain proof, says *Xenophon*, that he well knew how to chuse his friends, and that he was truly beloved by them. Some writers tell us, that *Cyrus* was killed by a *Carian* soldier. *Mithridates*, a young *Persian* nobleman, boasted, that he had given him the mortal blow with his javelin, which entered his temples, and pierced his head quite through. *Artaxerxes*, after having caused his head and right-hand to be cut off, pursued the enemy to their camp, and there possessed himself of great part of their baggage and provisions. The *Greeks* had defeated the king's

*The battle of Cunaxa.*

*Cyrus wounds the king;*

*but is slain with all his friends.*

Year of the flood 1947. Bef. Chr. 401.

[i] XENOPH. & PLUT. ibid.

left

left wing, commanded by *Tissaphernes*; and the king's right wing, commanded by himself, had routed the enemy's left; and, as neither knew what had happened elsewhere, both parties believed they had gained the day: but, *Tissaphernes* acquainting the king, that his men had been put to flight by the *Greeks*, he immediately rallied his troops, in order to attack them. The *Greeks*, under the command of *Clearchus*, easily repulsed them, and pursued them to the neighbouring hills. As night was drawing near, the *Greeks* halted at the foot of the hill, much surprised that neither *Cyrus* himself, nor any messenger from him, appeared; for they yet knew nothing of his death, or the defeat of the rest of the army. They determined therefore to return to their camp; which they did accordingly: but found there, that the greatest part of their baggage had been plundered, and all their provisions taken; which obliged them to pass the night in the camp, without any sort of refreshment. The next morning, as they were still expecting to hear from *Cyrus*, they received the sad news of his death, and the defeat of that part of the army: whereupon they sent deputies to *Ariæus*, who had retired to the place whence they had marched the day before the action, offering him, as conquerors, the crown of *Persia*, in the room of *Cyrus*. *Ariæus* rejected the offer, and acquainted them, that he intended to set out early next morning on his return to *Ionia*, advising them to join him in the night. They followed his directions, and, under the conduct of *Clearchus*, began their march, and arrived at his camp about midnight, whence they set out on their return to *Greece*[k]. They were at a vast distance from their own country, in the very heart of the *Persian* empire, surrounded by a numerous and conquering army, and had no way to return again into *Greece*, but by forcing their retreat through an immense tract of the enemy's country. But their valour and resolution mastered all these difficulties, and, in spite of a powerful army, which pursued and harassed them all the way, they made a retreat of two thousand three hundred and twenty-five miles through provinces belonging to the enemy, and got safe to the *Greek* cities on the *Euxine* sea. This was the longest march, and most memorable retreat, that ever was made through an enemy's country. *Clearchus* had the conduct of it first; but, he being cut off by the treachery of *Tissaphernes*, *Xenophon* was chosen in his room, and to his valour and wisdom it was chiefly owing, that at length they got safe into *Greece*. As the same *Xenophon* has given a minute account

*The camp of the* Greeks *plundered by* Darius.

*Their noble retreat.*

*Under* Xenophon.

[k] Xenoph. l. i. p. 272—292. Diodor. l. xiv. p. 255—257. Plut. in Pericl. & Artax. Diog. Laert. in vita Xenoph. Justin. l. v. c. 11.

account of this expedition, and the retreat of the *Greeks* from the place of the battle to their own country, we shall find a more proper place to mention it in the history of *Greece*, and return to what passed in the court of *Artaxerxes* after the battle of *Cunaxa*.

As he believed, that he had killed *Cyrus* with his own hand, and looked upon that as the most glorious action of his life, to dispute that honour with him, was wounding him in the most tender part. Being therefore informed, that the *Carian* soldier, whom we have mentioned above, laid claim to that glory, he caused him to be delivered to *Parysatis*, who had sworn the destruction of all those who were any ways concerned in the death of her son. She made that unhappy wretch suffer the most exquisite torments she could invent, during ten days, and then put him to a most cruel death. *Mithridates* likewise having boasted, that it was he who gave *Cyrus* his mortal wound, was treated in the manner we have described, where we spoke of the punishments used among the *Persians* [l]. *Masabates*, one of the king's eunuchs, who, by his order, had cut off the head and hand of *Cyrus*, being delivered to *Parysatis*, was flayed alive, and his skin stretched before his eyes, upon two stakes prepared for that purpose. Nor did the cruelty and resentment of *Parysatis* stop here; for, having conceived an implacable hatred against *Statira* for reproaching her, as if she had countenanced her son *Cyrus*'s revolt against his brother, that revengeful woman poisoned her own daughter-in-law, in the following manner: *Parysatis*, feigning to be reconciled to her, invited her one night to supper; and a certain bird being served up, which was a great rarity among the *Persians*, she divided it between *Statira* and herself, with a knife, which was poisoned on one side only: the sound part she immediately eat, which encouraged *Statira*, though upon her guard, to eat the other: whereupon she was that instant seized with horrible convulsions, and died in a few hours. *Artaxerxes*, being greatly afflicted for the loss of his beloved wife, and suspecting his mother, caused all her domestics to be put to the rack, when *Gygis*, one of her confidents, discovered the whole. *Artaxerxes* caused *Gygis*, who was privy to the crime, to be put to a cruel death; and confined his mother to *Babylon*, telling her, that he would never set his foot within the gates of that city, while she was there; but, at length, time having alleviated his grief, he allowed her to return to court, where, by an intire submission to his will, she regained his favour, and bore a great sway at court to her death [m].

Paryſatis becomes the king's bloody executioner.

Statira poisoned by her.

Paryſatis confined to Babylon.

Reconciled.

[l] See before, p. 128. [m] Plutarch. in Artaxer.

After

Tissaphernes *oppresses the* Greeks.

AFTER the death of *Cyrus*, *Tissaphernes* being sent back to his former government, and moreover invested with the same power which had been given to *Cyrus*, he began to harass and oppress the *Greek* cities, that were within the verge of his authority, and had sided with that unfortunate prince. Whereupon they sent embassadors to the *Lacedæmonians*, imploring their assistance and protection. The *Lacedæmonians*, having now ended the long war which they had waged with the *Athenians*, laid hold of this opportunity of breaking again with the *Persians*, and sent *Thimbro* with an army against them, which being strengthened by the conjunction of those forces that *Xenophon* brought back from *Persia*, they took the field against *Tissaphernes*: but *Thimbro* being soon recalled, upon some complaints, and sent into banishment, *Dercyllidas* was appointed to succeed him. As he was both a brave general, and a famous engineer, he was attended with far better success than his predecessor. Upon his first arrival, finding that *Tissaphernes* and *Pharnabazus*, governors of the two neighbouring provinces, were at variance with each other, he made a truce with the former, and, marching against the latter with all his forces, drove him quite out of *Æolis*, and several cities of other provinces. *Pharnabazus*, fearing he might invade *Phrygia*, the chief province of his government, was glad to make a truce with him, leaving him in possession of what he had taken. Upon this truce he marched into *Bithynia*, where he took up his winter-quarters, to avoid being chargeable to his allies. At the same time *Pharnabazus* took a journey to the *Persian* court, and there made loud complaints against *Tissaphernes*, for concluding a peace with *Dercyllidas*, instead of assisting him against the common enemy. He likewise earnestly pressed the king to equip a great fleet, and appoint *Conon* the *Athenian*, then an exile in *Cyprus*, admiral, telling him, that as *Conon* was the best sea-commander of his time, he might, by that means, obstruct the passage of all farther recruits from *Greece*, and soon put an end to the power of the *Lacedæmonians* in *Asia*. His proposal was approved of by the king, who immediately ordered five hundred talents to be paid him for the equipment of a fleet, with instructions to give *Conon* the command of it [n].

*The* Lacedæmonians *make war upon the* Persians.

Year of the flood 1948. Bef. Chr. 400.

Dercyllidas's *success against* Tissaphernes.

*A* Persian *fleet put under* Conon's *command.*

IN the mean time *Dercyllidas*, having reduced *Atarna*, marched into *Caria*, where *Tissaphernes* usually resided; for the *Lacedæmonians*, believing that, if he were attacked there, he would comply with all their demands, in order to save that province, had sent *Dercyllidas* express orders to march thither.

[n] DIODOR. l. xiv. p. 417. JUSTIN. l. vi. c. 8. PAUSAN. in Atticis.

This

This *Tiſſaphernes* and *Pharnabazus* no ſooner heard, but they united againſt *Dercyllidas*, whom they came up with in ſo diſadvantageous a poſt, that, had they charged him immediately, he muſt inevitably have periſhed. *Pharnabazus* was for attacking him; but *Tiſſaphernes*, who at the battle of *Cunaxa* had experienced their valour, could not be brought to venture an engagement, but ſent heralds to *Dercyllidas*, to invite him to a parley, in which propoſals for a peace being offered on both ſides, they made a truce till the anſwer of their reſpective maſters ſhould be known. Thus *Dercyllidas*, and his army, were ſaved from utter deſtruction, through the cowardice of his enemy, when nothing elſe could have delivered them [o]. Dercyllidas's *narrow eſcape*

In the mean time, the *Lacedæmonians*, receiving accounts from *Aſia*, that the king of *Perſia* was equipping a powerful fleet on the coaſts of *Phœnice*, *Syria*, and *Cilicia*, and ſuppoſing it to be deſigned, as it truly was, againſt them, reſolved to ſend *Ageſilaus*, one of their kings, into *Aſia*, in order to make a diverſion. All things being ready for this expedition, *Ageſilaus* ſet ſail with a conſiderable body of troops, and arrived at *Epheſus* before any of the king's officers had the leaſt intimation of this deſign: with ſuch ſecrecy and expedition was the whole managed at *Sparta*. *Ageſilaus*, upon his arrival, took the field with ten thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe; and, finding no body in a condition to oppoſe him, carried all before him. Whereupon *Tiſſaphernes* ſent a meſſenger, to inquire for what end he was come into *Aſia*, and why he had taken up arms. *Ageſilaus* replied, that he was come to aſſiſt the *Greeks* inhabiting *Aſia*, and reſtore them to their antient liberty. *Tiſſaphernes*, being quite unprepared for a war, aſſured *Ageſilaus*, that his maſter would grant him what he demanded, provided he committed no acts of hoſtility till the return of an expreſs which he had ſent to court. *Ageſilaus* believed him, and a truce was agreed on, and ſworn to on both ſides: but *Tiſſaphernes*, without any regard to his oath, made no other uſe of this truce, than to aſſemble troops on all ſides; and ſent to the king for more forces; and, as ſoon as he received them, he ſent word to *Ageſilaus* to depart *Aſia*, denouncing war againſt him, in caſe of refuſal. This meſſage greatly alarmed the *Lacedæmonians*, and their confederates, as not believing themſelves in a condition to oppoſe the now numerous army of *Tiſſaphernes*, who had been joined by auxiliaries from all parts of the *Perſian* empire. As for *Ageſilaus* himſelf, he heard *Tiſſaphernes*'s heralds with a gay and eaſy air; and deſired them to tell their maſter, that he was under

Year of the flood 1952. Bef. Chr. 396.

*His army, and ſucceſs there.*

*Overreached by* Tiſſaphernes.

*His noble meſſage to him.*

[o] Diodor. l. xiv. Xenoph. Hellen. l. iii. & orat. de Ageſil. Æmil. Prob.

great obligations to him for having made the gods, by his perjury, enemies to *Persia*, and friends to *Greece*. Having with this answer dismissed the heralds, he drew all his forces together, and made a feint, as if he intended to invade *Caria*; but, as soon as he understood, that *Tissaphernes* had caused all his troops to march into that province, he turned short, and fell upon *Phrygia*. As his coming thither was wholly unexpected, he over-ran great part of the province, without any opposition, took many towns, and, loaded with an immense booty, marched back, by the sea-coast, into *Ionia*, and wintered at *Ephesus*[p].

*Success in* Phrygia.

EARLY in the spring, *Agesilaus* took the field, and gave out, that his design was to invade *Lydia*: but *Tissaphernes*, who had not forgot the stratagem of the former campaign, took it for granted, that he now truly intended to fall upon *Caria*; and accordingly made his troops march to the defence of that province: but *Agesilaus* led his army, as he had given out, into *Lydia*, and approached *Sardis*. Whereupon *Tissaphernes* recalled his forces from their former route, with a design to relieve the place: but *Caria* being a very mountainous country, and unfit for horse, he had marched thither only with the foot, and left the horse behind, on the borders of that province. Whence, on their marching back to the relief of *Sardis*, the horse being some days marches before the foot, *Agesilaus* took the advantage of so favourable an opportunity, and fell upon them before the foot could come up to their assistance. The *Persians* were routed at the very first onset; and *Agesilaus*, becoming, by this victory, master of the field, over-ran the whole country, and enriched both himself and his army with the spoils of the conquered *Persians*[q].

*Outwits* Tissaphernes.

*Defeats the* Persians.

THE loss of this battle greatly incensed the king against *Tissaphernes*, and increased the suspicion which he had before conceived of him, as if he had something else in view, besides his master's interest. At the same time, *Conon*, arriving at the *Persian* court, heightened the king's displeasure with new complaints against him; for he had deprived the soldiers on board *Conon*'s fleet of their pay, and thereby disabled him from doing the king any service. Queen *Parysatis*, actuated by an irreconcileable hatred against all those who had any share in the death of her son *Cyrus*, did not fail, on this occasion, to aggravate the charges brought against him. Hereupon the king resolved to put him to death; but, being afraid to attack him openly, by reason of the great authority he had in *Asia*,

Tissaphernes *accused by* Conon;

[p] XENOPH. Hellen. l. iii. PLUT. in Agesilao. PAUSAN. in Laconic. [q] XENOPH. ibid. p. 501—657. PLUT. in Artaxer. p. 1022. & in Agesil. p. 601.

he

he charged *Tithrausles*, captain of the guards, with that important commission, giving him, at the same time, two letters; the one directed to *Tissaphernes*, and impowering him to pursue the war against the *Greeks*, in what manner he thought best; the other was addressed to *Ariæus*, governor of *Larissa*, commanding him to assist *Tithrausles* with his counsel, and all his forces, in seizing *Tissaphernes*. Upon the receipt of this letter, *Ariæus* desired *Tissaphernes* to come to him, that they might confer together about the operations of the ensuing campaign. *Tissaphernes*, who suspected nothing, went to him with a guard only of three hundred men: but while he was bathing, according to the *Persian* custom, and disarmed, he was seized, and put into the hands of *Tithrausles*, who caused his head to be struck off, and sent into *Persia*. The king gave it to *Parysatis*; an acceptable present to one of her revengeful temper [r]. *and put to death.*

UPON the death of *Tissaphernes*, *Tithrausles*, who was appointed to succeed him, sent great presents to *Agesilaus*, telling him, that the cause of the war being removed, and the first author of all their differences put to death, nothing could prevent an accommodation: that the king his master would allow the *Greek* cities in *Asia* to enjoy their liberty, paying him the customary tribute; which was all that the *Lacedæmonians* required when they first began the war. *Agesilaus* replied, that he could not come to any agreement without orders from *Sparta*: however, as he was willing to give *Tithrausles* the satisfaction of removing out of his province, he marched into *Phrygia*, which was the province of *Pharnabazus*, *Tithrausles* paying him thirty talents to defray the charges of his march. Upon his march he received a letter from the magistrates of *Sparta*, giving him the command of the fleet, as well as of the land-forces. By this new commission he was appointed sole commander of all the troops in *Asia*, both by sea and land. This drew him down to the sea-coast, where he put the fleet in good order, and appointed *Pisander*, his wife's brother, admiral, ordering him forthwith to put to sea. In this he was more influenced by private affection for his brother-in-law, than by the due regard he ought to have had for the public good; for though *Pisander* was a man of great courage and valour, yet he was not in other respects equal to that trust, as the event sufficiently proved [s]. Agesilaus *made chief commander by sea and land.*

AGESILAUS, having settled the maritime affairs, pursued his design of invading *Phrygia*, where he reduced many cities, and amassed great sums of money, maintaining his army on *His success against the* Persians.

[r] XENOPH. ubi supra. DIODOR. l. xiv. p. 220. POLYÆN. strat. l. vii. [s] PAUSAN. in Laconicis. XEN. & PLUT. ubi supra.

the territories of *Pharnabazus*, in great affluence. From thence he marched into *Paphlagonia*, being invited thither by *Spithridates*, a noble *Persian*, who had revolted from the king: there he concluded a league with *Cotys*, king of that country; and, returning into *Phrygia*, took the strong city of *Dascylium*, and wintered there in the palace of *Pharnabazus*, obliging the adjacent countries to supply his army with all sorts of provisions [t]. *Tithraustes*, finding that *Agesilaus* was for carrying on the war in *Asia*, sent *Timocrates* of *Rhodes* into *Greece*, with large sums of money, to corrupt the leading men in their cities, and rekindle a war against the *Lacedæmonians*. This stratagem produced the intended effect; for the cities of *Thebes*, *Argos*, *Corinth*, and others, entering into confederacy, obliged the *Lacedæmonians* to recal their king, as we shall see in its proper place. In the beginning of the next spring, as *Agesilaus* was ready to take the field, *Pharnabazus* invited him to an interview; and, he accepting the invitation, *Pharnabazus*, after expatiating on the services he had done the *Lacedæmonians* in their war with the *Athenians*, reproached them with ingratitude, in the bittereſt terms, since, in return for so many favours, they had pillaged his palace, and ravaged his lands at *Dascylium*, which were his hereditary estate. As what he had said was true, *Agesilaus*, and the *Lacedæmonians* that attended him, were to such a degree ashamed, in seeing themselves so justly upbraided with ingratitude, that they knew not what to answer, nor how to excuse such an ungenerous proceeding: however, to make him the best amends they could, they obliged themselves by a solemn promise, not to invade any of the provinces under his government, so long as there were others into which they might carry the war against the *Persian* king. They were as good as their word; and immediately withdrew, with a design to invade the upper-parts of *Asia*, and prosecute the war in the very heart of the *Persian* empire. But while *Agesilaus* was projecting this expedition, a messenger arrived at the camp from *Sparta*, acquainting him, that the ephori recalled him, to defend his own country, against which several states of *Greece* had formed a strong confederacy: he readily complied with this order, and made all the haste thither he could; but complained at his departure, that the *Persians* had driven him out of *Asia* with thirty thousand archers, alluding to the *Persian darics*, which were pieces of gold, stamped on one side with the figure of an archer [u].

*Dascylium taken.*

*His interview with Pharnabazus.*

Agesilaus *recalled.*

Year of the flood 1954. Bef. Chr. 394.

*His bitter sarcasm against the Greeks.*

[t] Plut. in Agesil. Xen. Hellen. l. iv. p. 507, 510. [u] Xen. ubi supra, p. 513. Plut. in Apophthegm. Lacon. & Artax. See also before, p. 129, 130.

CONON, on his return from the *Persian* court, having brought money enough to pay the soldiers and mariners their arrears, and supply the fleet with arms and provisions, took *Pharnabazus* on board, and forthwith set sail in quest of the enemy. The *Persian* fleet consisted of ninety vessels and upwards; that of the *Lacedæmonians* was not so numerous, but their ships were larger. They came in view of each other near *Cnidos*, a maritime city of *Asia Minor*. *Conon*, who had, in some measure, occasioned the taking of *Athens*, by losing the sea-fight at *Ægospotamos*, or the *Goats river*, was determined to use his utmost efforts, in order to retrieve that misfortune, and efface, by a glorious victory, the disgrace of his former defeat. On the other hand, *Pisander* was desirous to justify, by his conduct and valour, the choice which *Agesilaus* his brother-in-law had made in appointing him admiral. In effect, he behaved with extraordinary courage, and had at first some advantage. But *Conon* having boarded his ship, and killed him with his own hand, the rest of the fleet betook themselves to flight. *Conon* pursued them, took fifty of their ships, and, having gained a complete victory, put an end to the power of the *Lacedæmonians* in those parts [u].

*The* Lacedæmonians *defeated at* Cnidos.

AFTER this victory, *Conon* and *Pharnabazus*, being masters at sea, sailed round the islands and coasts of *Asia*, reducing the cities, which, in those parts, were subject to the *Lacedæmonians*. *Sestus* and *Abydus* were the only two cities that held out against them. *Pharnabazus* attacked them by land, and *Conon* by sea; but neither succeeding in the attempt, the former, on the approach of winter, retired home; leaving *Conon* to take care of the fleet, and strengthen it with as many ships as he could assemble from the cities on the *Hellespont* against the ensuing spring [w].

Conon *and* Pharnabazus's *success against the* Asiatic *islands.*

CONON having assembled, pursuant to his commission, a powerful fleet against the time appointed, he took *Pharnabazus* again on board, and, steering his course through the islands, landed in *Melos*, the most distant of them all. Having reduced this island, as lying very convenient for the invading of *Laconia*, the country of the *Lacedæmonians*, he made from thence a descent on the coasts of that province, pillaged all the maritime places, and loaded his fleet with an immense booty. After this, *Pharnabazus* returning to his government of *Phrygia*, *Conon* obtained leave of him to repair

[u] XENOPH. ubi supra, p. 518. DIOD. l. xiv. p. 302. JUSTIN. l. vi. c. 2, 3. ÆMIL. PROB. in Conon. [w] XENOPH. ibid. p. 534. DIOD. l. xiv. p. 441. ÆMIL. PROB. ibid. PLUT. in Agesil. JUSTIN. l. vi. c. 5.

to *Athens* with eighty ships, and fifty talents, in order to rebuild the walls of that city; which he did accordingly, as will be related in the history of *Greece*.

Antalcidas *sent to make peace with* Artaxerxes.

THE *Lacedæmonians* could not behold, without great concern, so glorious a revolution; and, finding themselves unable to maintain a war with men as brave as themselves, assisted with the treasures of *Persia*, dispatched *Antalcidas*, one of their citizens, to *Tiribazus*, governor of *Sardis*, injoining him to conclude a peace with *Artaxerxes* upon the most advantageous terms he could. The other cities of *Greece*, in alliance with the *Athenians*, sent, at the same time, their deputies; and *Conon* was at the head of those from *Athens*. The terms which *Antalcidas* proposed, were, that the king should possess all the *Greek* cities in *Asia*; but the islands, and other cities in *Greece*, should enjoy their liberty, and be governed by their own laws. As these proposals were very advantageous to the king, and dishonourable to the *Greeks* in general, the other embassadors were all unanimous in rejecting them. The *Lacedæmonians*, bearing an implacable hatred to *Conon* for the restoring of *Athens*, had charged *Antalcidas* to accuse him to *Tiribazus*, of having purloined the king's money for carrying on of that work, and of having formed a design for the taking *Æolis* and *Ionia* from the *Persians*, and uniting them anew to the republic of *Athens*. Upon these accusations, *Tiribazus* seized him; and, having supplied the *Lacedæmonians* under-hand with considerable sums of money for the equipping of a fleet against the *Athenians*, set out for the *Persian* court, to give the king an account of his negotiations. *Artaxerxes* was well pleased with the terms, which the *Lacedæmonians* had proposed, and directed him to put the last hand to the treaty. At the same time, *Tiribazus* laid before the king the accusations which the *Lacedæmonians* had brought against *Conon*; whereupon he was, according to some writers [z], sent to *Susa*, and there put to death by the king's command; but the silence of *Xenophon*, who was his cotemporary, as to his death, makes us doubt of the truth of this event.

Conon *accused and disgraced.*

WHILE *Tiribazus* was attending the court, *Suthras* was charged to guard the coasts of *Asia* in his absence. On this occasion, observing the havock which the *Lacedæmonians* had made in all the maritime provinces, he conceived such an aversion to them, that he sent what supplies he could spare to their enemies the *Athenians*. This obliged the *Lacedæmonians* to send *Thymbro* into *Asia*, to renew the war there; but as

Tiribazus *assists the* Athenians

[z] CORNEL. NEP. in Conone.

they

they were not in a condition to supply him with men or money sufficient for such an undertaking, he was soon cut off, and his army dispersed, by the superior power of the *Persians*. *Diphridas* was sent in his room to carry on the war with the scattered remains of his army; but was attended with no better success, all their attempts upon *Asia*, after the battle of *Cnidus*, being but faint struggles of a declining power. In the mean time, *Tiribazus*, returning from *Susa*, summoned all the deputies of the *Greek* cities to be present at the reading of the treaty, which had been already approved of by the king. The terms were; that all the *Greek* cities in *Asia* should be subject to the king of *Persia*, and, besides, the islands of *Cyprus* and *Clazomena*; that the islands of *Scyros*, *Lemnos*, and *Imbros*, should be restored to the *Athenians*; and all the cities of *Greece*, whether small or great, should be declared free. By the same treaty, *Artaxerxes* engaged to join those who had accepted the terms he proposed, and assist them, to the utmost of his power, against such as should reject them. These conditions were equally disadvantageous and dishonourable to the *Grecian* name: however, as *Greece* was extremely weakened and exhausted by domestic divisions, and therefore no ways in a condition to carry on a war against so powerful a prince, they were all forced to swear to the treaty. This is called the peace of *Antalcidas*; for he was the first that proposed it; giving up to the *Persians*, with the utmost injustice and baseness, all the *Greeks* settled in *Asia*, for whose liberty *Agesilaus* had so long contended [b].

*The peace of Antalcidas.*

Year of the flood 1955. Bef. Chr. 393.

ARTAXERXES, being now quite disengaged from the *Grecian* war, turned his whole power against *Evagoras* king of *Cyprus*, whom he had long before designed to drive out of that island; but had never been at leisure to put his design in execution. *Evagoras* was descended from the antient kings of *Salamine*, the capital city of the island of *Cyprus*. His ancestors had held that city for many ages, in quality of sovereigns; but were at last driven out by the *Persians*; who, making themselves masters of the whole island, reduced it to a *Persian* province. *Evagoras*, who was a man of extraordinary parts, not brooking to live in subjection to a foreign yoke, expelled *Abdymon* a *Citian*, governor of *Salamine* for the king of *Persia*, and took possession of his paternal kingdom. *Artaxerxes* attempted to recover that city; but, being diverted by the *Greek* war, and finding *Evagoras* determined to hold out to the last, gave over, or rather put off, that enterprize.

Artaxerxes *bends all his forces against* Evagoras.

[b] XENOPH. l. iv. p. 548—551. DIOD. ubi supra, p. 447. PLUT. in Agesil. & apophthegm. Laconic. JUSTIN. l. vi. c. 5. ÆMIL. PROB. in Conone.

terprize. In the mean time, *Conon*, by means of *Ctesias* the *Cnidian*, who was chief physician to *Artaxerxes*, made up all differences between *Evagoras* and *Artaxerxes*; the latter promising not to molest him in the possession of his small kingdom: but *Evagoras*, who was every way qualified for great undertakings, could not content himself with the city of *Salamine* alone. He extended his dominions, and by degrees made himself master, in a manner, of the whole island of *Cyprus*. The *Arthusians*, *Solians*, and *Citians*, alone of those islanders, held out against him. These had recourse to *Artaxerxes*, who, becoming jealous of the power of this active and wise prince, promised them an immediate and powerful support; but, being employed elsewhere, he could not perform his promise so soon as he expected. Having at length concluded a peace with the *Greeks*, he bent all his force against *Evagoras*, determined to drive him quite out of the island. The *Athenians*, notwithstanding the treaty of peace lately made with the *Persians*, and the many favours received at their king's hands, could not forbear assisting their old ally, who had befriended them on all occasions. Having therefore equipped ten men of war, they sent them with all possible expedition, under the command of *Philocrates*, to assist him. But the *Lacedæmonian* fleet, commanded by *Telautias*, brother to *Agesilaus*, falling in with them near the isle of *Rhodes*, surrounded them; so that not one ship could escape [c]. The *Athenians*, determined to assist *Evagoras* at all adventures, sent *Chabrias* with another fleet, and a considerable number of land-forces on board, to join him. This new supply arrived safe, and, in a short time, obliged the whole island to submit to *Evagoras*. But the *Athenians* being forced, by the articles of a new treaty concluded between *Artaxerxes* and the cities of *Greece*, to recall *Chabrias*, the *Persians* attacked, with all their forces, the island of *Cyprus*, not doubting but they should soon reduce it, since no supplies could be sent thither from *Greece*. The king's army consisted of three hundred thousand men, and his fleet of three hundred ships. The land-forces were commanded by *Orontes*, son-in-law to *Artaxerxes*, and the fleet by *Gaus*, the son of *Tamus*, whom we have mentioned above. *Tiribazus* was commander in chief, both of the sea and land-forces. *Evagoras*, finding himself threatened with so dreadful a war, had recourse to all those princes, who were at enmity with the *Persians*, receiving supplies both of men and money from the *Egyptians*, *Libyans*, *Arabians*, *Tyrians*, and other nations: besides, as he had amassed immense treasures, he hired a great number of mercenaries of various

*Athenians assist him against the* Persians.

*Defeated by the* Lacedæmonians.

Chabrias *sent against them, but recalled.*

*The* Persians *invade* Cyprus *with* 300,000 *men.*

Year of the flood 1962. Bef. Chr. 386.

[c] Xenoph. ubi supra. Diod. l. xv. p. 459.

nations.

nations. As he had about ninety ships, that is, seventy of his own, and twenty from *Tyre*, he constantly intercepted all the enemy's ships that brought provisions from the continent; and thereby reduced their numerous army, after their landing in the island, to such streights, that they began to mutiny, and killed several of their officers; but the whole *Persian* fleet putting to sea, the army was again plentifully supplied from *Cilicia*. At the same time *Evagoras* likewise received a great supply of corn, and fifty ships, from *Egypt*, which, together with those he had already, and sixty more which he caused to be fitted out with all speed, making up a fleet of two hundred sail, he advanced to attack the whole naval force of the *Persians*. At first he had the advantage, and took, or destroyed, several of the enemy's ships; but *Gaus*, advancing with a few of his fleet, fell upon him with such vigour, that *Evagoras* was obliged to retire, after an obstinate resistance. The rest of the *Persian* ships, being encouraged by the example of their admiral, returned to the charge, and at last obtained a complete victory, driving the enemy's ships into their harbours. *Evagoras*, with a few ships, escaped to *Salamine*; where he was immediately closely besieged both by land and sea. After this victory, *Tiribazus* went in person to acquaint the king with the success that attended his arms in *Cyprus*; and, having obtained two thousand talents for the use of the army, he returned, with that new supply, to carry on the war more vigorously than ever. During his absence, *Evagoras*, leaving the defence of the city to his son *Pythagoras*, got through the enemy's fleet in the dead of the night, with ten ships, and sailed for *Egypt*, in hopes of engaging *Achoris*, king of that country, to join him with all his forces: but, not obtaining from him the aid he expected, and finding, on his return, the city reduced to the last extremities, and himself destitute of all means of raising the siege, he was obliged to capitulate. The proposals made to him were, that he should abandon all the cities of *Cyprus*, except *Salamine*, which he should hold of the king, as a servant of his lord, and pay an annual tribute. The extremity, to which he was reduced, obliged him to accept the other conditions, hard as they were; but he could by no means be brought to consent to that of holding *Salamine* as a servant under his master, and persisted in declaring, that he would hold it no otherwise than as a king under a king. *Tiribazus*, who commanded in chief, would not make the least alteration, nor abate any thing of his pretensions; whereupon *Evagoras*, being determined to die sword in hand, rather than yield to such terms, broke off the conference, and applied himself intirely to the defence of the city [d].

*Evagoras defeated at sea.*

*Salamine besieged by sea and land.*

*Evagoras offers to capitulate.*

Year of the flood 1963. Bef. Chr. 385.

[d] Diod. l. xv. p. 459, & seqq.

In

In the mean time *Orontes*, who commanded the land-forces, not being able to brook the superiority which *Tiribazus* had over him, as being intrusted with the whole management of the war, and jealous of the success that attended him, wrote secretly to court, accusing him, amongst other things, of forming designs against the king's interest, and holding a private correspondence with the *Lacedæmonians*. Upon the receipt of these letters, *Artaxerxes* immediately dispatched orders to *Orontes* to seize *Tiribazus*, and send him prisoner to court; which being, without delay, put in execution (P), the chief command was conferred upon *Orontes*. *Orontes*, finding the army ready to mutiny under his command, made haste to conclude a treaty with *Evagoras* upon the terms which *Tiribazus* had rejected; *viz.* that he should hold *Salamine* as king of that city, paying only a small tribute to the king of *Persia*. Thus the siege was raised, and a peace concluded with *Evagoras*, after a war which had cost the *Persians* above fifty thousand talents, that is, near ten millions of our money. For the elogy and character of this prince, we refer the reader to *Isocrates*[e].

*Obtains a better treaty from* Orontes.

The peace concluded with *Evagoras* did not put an end to the war in those parts; for *Gaus*, resenting the unjust usage of *Tiribazus*, whose daughter he had married, and fearing to be involved in the same prosecution with his father-in-law, and put to death on bare suspicions, sent deputies to *Acboris* king of *Egypt*; and, having concluded an alliance with him against the king of *Persia*, openly revolted, and was joined by a great part both of the fleet and army, most of the officers being intirely at his devotion. He likewise solicited the *Lacedæmonians* to come into the league, assuring them, that he, in his turn, would, at the end of the war, employ all his forces in their favour, and make them masters of all *Greece*. They hearkened favourably to these proposals, and embraced with joy such an opportunity of making war upon the *Persians*, being highly dissatisfied with the peace of *Antalcidas*. But, before matters were ripe for execution, *Gaus* was treacherously

Gaus *revolts.*

*Is killed.*

[e] Isocrat. in Evagor. Diod. ubi supra.

(P) *Orontes*, it seems, dreading his power with the army, was forced to catch him by a stratagem; that is, by inviting him to a private interview, and placing him upon the entrance of a deep cave, the mouth of which was covered with some rich tapestry; so that he sunk into the bottom as soon as he had seated himself on the chair prepared for him, and was that very night privately sent bound to the king (1).

(1) *Polyæn. stratagem. l.* vii.

slain

slain by one of his own officers; and *Tachis*, who took upon him to carry on the same design, died soon after; whereby the vast preparations they made came to nothing: and the *Lacedæmonians* never afterwards meddled with the affairs of *Asia* [f].

ARTAXERXES had no sooner finished the *Cyprian* war, but he entered upon another against the *Cadusians*, who probably had revolted from him. This people inhabited the mountains between the *Euxine* and *Caspian* seas, and, being from their infancy inured to an hard and laborious life, were accounted a very warlike race [g]. The king marched in person against them, at the head of three hundred thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse; but the country, by reason of its barrenness, not affording provisions sufficient to maintain so numerous an army, they were soon reduced to feed upon the beasts of burden, which accompanied the army; and these became so scarce, that an ass's head was sold for sixty drachmas. The king's provisions too began to fall short, and only a few horses remained. In this sad posture of affairs, *Tiribazus* contrived a stratagem, which saved the king and the army. He followed the court in this expedition, or rather was carried about as a prisoner, being in disgrace by reason of the crimes laid to his charge by *Orontes*, as we have said above. The *Cadusians* had two kings, who were encamped apart from each other. *Tiribazus*, who took care to be informed of all that passed in the enemy's camp, found that there was some misunderstanding between them; and that the jealousy and mistrust which they had of each other, prevented their acting in concert. Whereupon he advised the king to enter into a treaty with them; and, taking upon himself the whole management of it, went in person to one of the kings, and sent his son to the other. Each of them informed the king to whom they applied, that the other had sent embassadors to treat separately with *Artaxerxes*, and advised him to lose no time, but make his peace as soon as possible, that the conditions might be the more advantageous. Their negotiations had the desired effect, and both princes were brought separately to submit to the king, which saved both him and his army from impending destruction [h] (Q).

Year of the flood 1964. Bef. Chr. 384.

Artaxerxes's *ill success against the Cadusians*

*saves him and his army.*

*Overreaches the two Cadusian kings.*

[f] DIOD. l. xv. [g] STRABO, l. xi. p. 507—510. [h] PLUT. in Artax. p. 1023, 1024. DIOD. xv. p. 462.

(Q) A modern writer is of opinion (76), that the *Cadusians* were descended from the *Israelites* of the ten tribes, which the king of *Assyria* carried out of the land of *Canaan*; but as he has no other foundation to ground his opinion upon, but the similitude between the words *Cadusian* and *Kedushim*, which signifies *holy people*, we cannot fall in with him.

(76) *Fuller miscel. l.* ii. *c.* 5.

THE

THE king lost, in this ill-projected expedition, a great number of his best troops, and all his horses. Among others who lost their lives on this occasion, was *Camissares*, by nation a *Carian*, a man of extraordinary courage and conduct. He was governor of *Leuco-Syria*, a province lying between *Cilicia* and *Cappadocia*; and was succeeded in that government by his son *Datames*, who attended *Artaxerxes* in this expedition, and distinguished himself in a very particular manner: *Datames* was the greatest commander of his time, and by none ever exceeded, as *Cornelius Nepos*, who has written his life, informs us, in courage, boldness, and abilities, for contriving and executing military stratagems. But his eminent qualities, and too great merit, occasioned his ruin, as we shall have occasion to relate hereafter.

Datames's *excellent character.*

ON the king's return to *Susa*, the eminent service which *Tiribazus* had done him in that expedition, inclined him to have his cause thoroughly examined, and to grant him a fair hearing. For that purpose he appointed three commissioners, who were all of eminent rank, and distinguished probity: these, after an impartial discussion of the whole affair, were unanimous in declaring him innocent; whereupon he was by the king restored to his former honours, and *Orontes*, his accuser, with disgrace banished the court [h].

Tiribazus *acquitted, and in high favour.*

ARTAXERXES, being now at leisure from all other engagements, resolved to reduce the *Egyptians*, who had long before shaken off the *Persian* yoke; and accordingly made great preparations for that war. *Achoris*, who then reigned in *Egypt*, foreseeing the storm, was not wanting on his side to provide against it the best he could. He joined a great number of *Greeks*, and other mercenaries, under the command of *Chabrias* the *Athenian*, to his own subjects. *Pharnabazus*, being charged with the management of this war, sent embassadors to *Athens*, complaining of *Chabrias* for engaging to serve against the king of *Persia*, with whom the state of *Athens* lived in amity, and threatening the republic with his master's resentment, if he were not immediately recalled. He demanded, at the same time, *Iphicrates*, another *Athenian*, and the best general of his time, to command the *Greek* mercenaries in the *Persian* service. The *Athenians*, who had then a great dependence on the *Persian* king's friendship, to support them against their domestic enemies, recalled *Chabrias*, ordering him to repair to *Athens* on pain of death, by a certain day. *Iphicrates* was sent to take upon him the command of the *Greek* mercenaries in the *Persian* army. On his arrival, having mustered the forces he was to command, he so exercised

Artaxerxes *renews the war with* Egypt.

Iphicrates's *excellent discipline.*

[h] DIOD. ubi supra, p. 463.

them

them in all the arts of war, that they became very famous among the *Greeks*, under the name of *Iphicratesian* soldiers: and, indeed, he had time enough to instruct them, before they entered upon action; for the *Persians* being very slow in their preparations, two whole years elapsed before they were in a condition to take the field. *Achoris* king of *Egypt* died in the mean time, and was succeeded by *Psammuthis*, who reigned only a year. After him *Nepherotes* reigned four months, and then *Nectanebus*, the first of the *Sebennytic* race, twelve years [i].

Achoris dies in Egypt.

Artaxerxes, that he might draw more auxiliaries out of *Greece* for his *Egyptian* war, sent embassadors thither, to put an end to their domestic broils; and declare, in his name, to the different states and cities of that country, that it was his pleasure they should live in peace with each other, upon the terms of the treaty of *Antalcidas*; and that, all garisons being withdrawn, each city should be left to enjoy their liberty, and live according to their own laws. This declaration was received with pleasure by all the cities of *Greece*, except the *Thebans*, who, aspiring to the empire of all *Greece*, refused to conform to it [k].

At length, all things being in a readiness for the invasion of *Egypt*, the *Persian* army was drawn together at *Ace*, since called *Ptolemais*, the place of the general rendezvous. In a review there, the army was found to consist of two hundred thousand *Persians*, under the command of *Pharnabazus*, and twenty thousand *Greeks*, under that of *Iphicrates*. Their forces by sea were in proportion to those by land; for their fleet consisted of three hundred galleys, besides an incredible number of vessels which followed, to furnish both the fleet and the army with necessary provisions. The army and fleet began to move at the same time; and, that they might act in concert, they separated as little as possible. The war was to begin with the siege of *Pelusium*: but *Nectanebus*, having had sufficient time to provide for the defence of that place, had rendered the approach to it impracticable, both by sea and land. The fleet therefore, instead of making a descent, as had been at first projected, sailed from thence to the *Mendesian* mouth of the *Nile*; for the *Nile*, at that time, emptied itself into the sea by seven different chanels; and each of these was defended by a fort and a strong garison: but the *Mendesian* mouth of the *Nile* not being so well fortified as the *Pelusian*, where the enemy was expected, they landed their forces there without great opposition, carried the fortress that guarded it, and put all the *Egyptians* that were found in it to the sword. After this action, *Iphicrates* was for reimbarking the troops without

*His unsuccessful expedition against Egypt.*

Year of the flood 1973. Bef. Chr. 375.

*The Mendesian fort taken.*

Iphicrates's *proposal of attacking Memphis rejected.*

[i] Euseb. chron. Syncell. p. 257. [k] Diod. l. xv. p. 478.

loss of time, and attacking *Memphis*, the capital of *Egypt*. Had this opinion been followed, before the *Egyptians* recovered from the consternation, which so formidable an invasion, and the blow already received, had thrown them into, they would have found the place without any defence, and must have certainly taken it, and re-conquered all *Egypt*. But the main body of the army not being yet come up, *Pharnabazus* would undertake nothing before their arrival. *Iphicrates*, in the utmost despair to see so favourable an opportunity lost, which perhaps might never be retrieved, made pressing instances for leave to attempt the place, with the mercenaries only that were under his command: but *Pharnabazus*, out of a mean jealousy of the honour that would redound to *Iphicrates*, should he succeed in the enterprize, would by no means hearken to his proposal. This delay gave the *Egyptians* time to recover their courage, and put themselves in a condition to oppose any farther attempts, as we have related elsewhere [l]. Thus ended this war, which had cost immense sums, two whole years having been spent in making the necessary preparations for so fruitless an attempt. The only effect that it produced, was an irreconcileable enmity between the two generals; for *Pharnabazus*, to excuse himself, laid the whole blame of the miscarriage upon *Iphicrates*; and he, with more reason, on *Pharnabazus*: but, being well apprised, that *Pharnabazus* would find more credit at the *Persian* court than he, and remembering what had happened to *Conon*, that he might not meet with the like fate, privately hired a ship, and retired to *Athens* [m].

Iphicrates *forced to retire to* Athens.

*The* Egyptian *war renewed.*

Year of the flood 1985. Bef. Chr. 363.

TWELVE years after this expedition, *Artaxerxes*, who had not laid aside the thoughts of subjecting *Egypt*, notwithstanding his many miscarriages in that attempt, began to make new preparations for invading of that country. *Tachos*, who had succeeded *Nectanebus*, drew together what forces he could, to defend himself against so powerful an enemy: but, having marched out of *Egypt* into *Phœnice*, in order to attack *the Persians* there, the *Egyptians* revolted in his absence, and set up *Nectanebus* in his stead, who drove him quite out of *Egypt*, as we have related elsewhere [n].

TOWARDS the latter end of the reign of *Artaxerxes*, great disturbances arose in the *Persian* court, rent into factions by his sons, each making parties among the nobility to support his pretensions to the crown. He had an hundred and fifteen sons by his concubines, and three by his queen, *viz. Darius*, *Aspes*,

[l] See vol. ii. p. 103. [m] DIOD. l. xv. p. 478. [n] See vol. ii. p. 104. & DIOD. l. xv. p. 397–401. PLUT. in Agesil. p. 616, 618. XENOPH. PLUT. & CORN. NEP. in Ages.

*aspes*, and *Ochus*. To put a stop to these practices and contentions, he declared *Darius* the elder his successor; and, the better to settle him on the throne, allowed him to assume the title of king, and wear the tiara, even in his life-time; but this not contenting the young prince's ambition, who was also disgusted with his father, for refusing him one of his concubines, whom he demanded, he formed a design against the old king's life, and engaged in the conspiracy fifty of his brothers. *Tiribazus*, whom we have often mentioned in this history, contributed the most to his taking this unnatural resolution, and that for a like subject of discontent. *Artaxerxes* had promised him in marriage one of his daughters; but, falling in love with her, married her himself; and, to make him amends, having promised him another daughter, he married that likewise. These two disappointments provoked *Tiribazus* to such a degree, that, to revenge the affront, he stirred up the young king to that wicked attempt. The number of the conspirators was already very formidable, and the day fixed for the execution of their design; when an eunuch, who was privy to the plot, discovered it to the king; whereupon the conspirators were seized, as they were entering the king's palace, and all put to death [m].

Artaxerxes *declares his son* Darius *his successor, who conspires against him.*

Tiribazus *joins in the conspiracy.*

*They are detected, and put to death.*

Darius being thus cut off, the same contention was revived, which, before his being declared king, had rent the court into several factions. Three of his brothers were competitors, *Ariaspes*, *Ochus*, and *Arsames*. The two first claimed the crown in right of their birth, being the king's sons by his queen; the third only by the king's favour, who tenderly loved him, though only the son of a concubine. *Ochus*, prompted by his restless ambition, found means to get rid of his two rivals; for *Ariaspes* being of an easy temper, and very credulous, he suborned the eunuchs of the palace to threaten him, in the king's name, in such a manner, that, expecting every moment to be treated as *Darius* had been, he poisoned himself, to avoid a more cruel death. But *Arsames* still remaining to rival him in his pretensions, and being, for his wisdom, and other princely virtues, in the opinion of his father, and all others, the most worthy of the crown, he caused him to be assassinated by *Harpates* the son of *Tiribazus*. This loss, added to the former, and the wickedness which attended both, overwhelmed the king, who was then ninety-four years old, with such grief, that, not being able to bear up against it, he broke his heart, and died, in the forty-sixth year of his reign [n]. He was a mild and generous prince, and governed with great

Ochus *rids himself of his two contending brothers.*

Artaxerxes Mnemon *dies.*

[m] Plut. in Artaxer. Justin, l. x. c. 1, 2. [n] Diod. l. xv. p. 506. Plut. ibid.

clemency

Year of the flood 1989. Bef. Chr. 359.

clemency and justice; whence he was honoured, and his authority respected, throughout all the empire. This *Ochus* was sensible of, and well knew, that it would be quite otherwise with him, the death of his two brothers having alienated the minds both of the nobility and people. To avoid the inconveniences that might attend this general hatred and aversion, he prevailed with the eunuchs and others, that were about the king's person, to conceal his death; and took upon himself the administration of affairs, giving orders, and issuing decrees, in the name of *Artaxerxes*, as if he had been still alive. By one of these decrees, he caused himself, as by his father's order, to be proclaimed king throughout the whole empire[e]. After having thus governed near ten months, believing his authority sufficiently established, he at length declared the death of his father, and openly ascended the throne, taking the name of *Artaxerxes*. Historians however most frequently call him *Ochus*; and under this name we shall speak of him in the sequel of this history.

*Ochus takes the name of* Artaxerxes.

*A great number of provinces revolt from him.*

It was no sooner known, that *Artaxerxes* was dead, and *Ochus* in possession of the throne, but all *Asia Minor*, *Syria*, *Phœnice*, and many other provinces, openly revolted. The chief men concerned in this revolt were, *Ariobarzanes* governor of *Phrygia*, *Mausolus* king of *Caria*, *Orontes* governor of *Mysia*, and *Artophradates* governor of *Lydia*. *Datames* likewise, whom we have mentioned before, was engaged in the rebellion, being at that time governor of *Cappadocia*. By this, as we may call it, general insurrection, half the revenues of the crown were, on a sudden, diverted into different chanels; and the remainder had not been sufficient to carry on the war against so many revolters, had they acted in concert; but they did not long keep firm to each other; and those, who had been the first and most zealous in shaking off the yoke, strove who should soonest betray the others, and thereby make their peace with the king. The provinces of *Asia Minor*, on withdrawing their obedience, had entered into a confederacy for their mutual defence, and chosen *Orontes* for their general. They had also resolved to add twenty thousand mercenaries to their own troops, and charged *Orontes* with the care of raising them; but, when he had a sufficient sum both for the raising those forces, and maintaining of them for a year, he kept the money for himself, and delivered up to the king those who had brought it to him from the revolted provinces. *Rhesmitres*, another of the chiefs of *Asia Minor*, being sent into *Egypt*, to negotiate succours in that kingdom, was guilty of the like treachery; for, having brought from thence five hun-

*Their leaders fall out among themselves, and betray each other.*

[e] Polyæn. stratag. l. vii.

dred

dred talents, and fifty ships of war, and assembled the ring-leaders of the revolt at *Leucas*, a city of *Asia Minor*, under pretence of giving them an account of his negotiations, he seized them all, and made his peace with the king, by betraying them into his hands. Thus this formidable revolt, which had brought the *Persian* empire to the very brink of ruin, came to nothing; and *Ochus* was, without striking a blow, settled on the throne [p]. Only *Datames*, governor of *Cappadocia*, having possessed himself also of *Paphlagonia*, gave him much trouble. By what we read of him in *Cornelius Nepos* [q] and *Polyænus* [r], it appears, that he maintained himself a long time in both those provinces; and was at last murdered by the treachery of *Mithridates*, one of his intimates (S).

Datames *holds out against* Ochus, *and is murdered.*

Ochus was the most cruel and wicked of all the princes of that race in *Persia*; for he had not been long on the throne, when he filled the palace, and the whole empire, with blood and slaughter. That the revolted provinces might have none of the blood royal to set up against him, and to rid himself at once of all the uneasiness, which the princes of the royal family might give him, he put them all to death, without any regard to sex, age, or proximity of blood. He caused *Ocha*, his own sister and mother-in-law, for he had married her daughter, to be buried alive; and, having shut up one of his uncles, with an hundred of his sons and grandsons, in a court of the palace, he ordered his archers to dispatch them with their arrows [s]. This uncle seems to have been the father of *Sisigambis*, mother to *Darius Codomannus*; for *Q. Curtius* tells us, that *Ochus* caused eighty of her brothers, together with their father, to be massacred in one day [t]. With the same barbarity he treated all those, who gave him any umbrage, sparing none of the nobility, who betrayed the least mark of discontent or disaffection to his person.

Ochus's *bloody reign, and character.*

Year of the flood 1990. Bef. Chr. 358.

[p] Diod. l. xv. p. 504—506. Polyæn. stratag. l. vii. [q] Corn. Nep. in vita Datam. [r] Polyæn. stratag. l. vii. [s] Justin. l. x. c. 3. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2. [t] Lib. x. c. 8.

(S) *Diodorus Siculus* (79) places this revolt in the last year of *Artaxerxes*; but as he was highly esteemed and beloved by his subjects, it is not likely, that so great an insurrection happened under him. We have therefore placed it in the reign of his successor *Ochus*, whose cruelty, chiefly in the murder of his two brothers, incensed the nobility and governors of the provinces against him, who therefore refused to submit to him. As he took the name of *Artaxerxes*, this may have led *Diodorus* into the mistake of placing in the father's reign what happened in the son's.

(79) *Diod. l. xv. p. 400.*

Artabazus *revolts.*

BUT all the cruelties he practised could not keep his subjects in awe. *Artabazus*, governor of one of the *Asiatic* provinces, rebelled, and engaged *Chares* the *Athenian* to join him with a fleet, and body of troops, which he commanded in those parts. *Ochus* sent an army of seventy thousand men against the rebels; but they were, by *Chares*, and his *Athenians*, all cut in pieces. *Artabazus*, in reward of so great a service, gave *Chares* a sum of money sufficient to pay his fleet, and the forces he had on board. The king highly resented this conduct of the *Athenians*, and, as they were then engaged in a war with the *Chians*, *Rhodians*, *Coans*, and *Byzantines*, threatened to join their enemies with a numerous fleet, if they did not recal *Chares*. The *Athenians*, fearing to provoke so powerful an enemy, ordered *Chares* to return forthwith into *Greece* [u].

Chares's *success against* Ochus.

Recalled.

Thebans *join in the revolt.*

ARTABAZUS, being thus deserted by the *Athenians*, had recourse to the *Thebans*; who sent to his assistance a body of five thousand men, under the command of the brave *Pammenes*. With this reinforcement *Artabazus* again took the field, and gained two very considerable victories over the king's forces; which greatly redounded to the honour of the *Thebans*, and their commander [w]. However, they made their peace soon after with the king, who having given them three hundred talents, they returned home. *Artabazus*, thus destitute of all support, was at last overcome, and forced to take refuge with *Philip* of *Macedon* [x].

*and bought off.*

*The* Phœnicians, &c. *revolt.*

THIS rebellion was scarce quelled, when several others broke out in divers parts of the empire. The *Sidonians*, and other *Phœnicians*, being oppressed by those the king had set over them, taking up arms, entered into a confederacy with *Nectanebus* king of *Egypt*; and, being assisted by that prince with four thousand *Greek* mercenaries, drove the *Persians* quite out of their territories [y].

Cypriots *join in the revolt.*

THE *Cypriots*, being likewise ill-used by their *Persian* governors, and encouraged by this success of the *Phœnicians*, joined with them and the *Egyptians* in the same alliance [z]. Hereupon *Ochus* dispatched his orders to *Idriens* king of *Caria*, injoining him to invade the island of *Cyprus*, and make war upon the inhabitants, putting all to fire and sword. *Idriens*, in compliance with his command, having equipped a fleet, sent it, with eight thousand *Greek* mercenaries, under the command of *Phocion* an *Athenian*, and *Evagoras* (T), to make

[u] DIOD. l. xvi. p. 527, 528. [w] Idem ibid. [x] Idem, p. 438. [y] See vol. ii. p. 360. & DIOD. l. xvi. p. 531—533. [z] DIOD. ubi supra, p. 532.

(T) Another *Evagoras* had formerly reigned in the city of *Salamine*, whom we have spoke of above. On his death, he was succeeded

make a descent in the island. The troops landed without any considerable opposition, and, being reinforced with other bodies from *Syria* and *Cilicia*, besieged *Salamine* by sea and land [a]. Salamine *besieged.*

Ochus, finding that his lieutenants made no progress against the *Egyptians* and *Phœnicians*, resolved to head his forces in person; and accordingly, having drawn together a formidable army, he marched at the head of it into *Phœnice*, where the city of *Sidon* was betrayed to him by *Mentor* the *Rhodian*, and *Tennes* king of the place, as we have related elsewhere [b]. The ruin and total destruction of *Sidon* terrified the other cities of *Phœnice* to such a degree, that they all voluntarily submitted to the conqueror; each of them making peace with the king upon the best terms they could: neither was *Ochus* unwilling to compound with them, that he might be no longer retarded from putting in execution the designs he had upon *Egypt* [c]. Ochus *heads a vast army against the revolters.* Phœnice *submits.*

But, before he marched thither, his army received from *Greece* a reinforcement of ten thousand mercenaries; for the *Thebans* sent him a thousand men, under the command of *Lachares*, and the *Argives* three thousand, commanded by *Nicostratus*: the rest joined him from the *Greek* cities of *Asia*. The *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* excused themselves, telling the king's embassadors, that they should be glad to maintain peace and friendship with their master; but could not, at that time, spare him any succours [d]. The *Jews* also seem to have been engaged in this revolt of *Phœnice*; for *Ochus*, from *Sidon*, marched into *Judea*, where he besieged and took *Jericho*, carrying along with him into *Egypt* a great many captive *Jews*, and sending others into *Hyrcania*, where they were planted in the provinces bordering on the *Caspian* sea [e]. Judea *reduced by* Ochus.

Ochus,

[a] Diod. ubi supra. [b] See vol. ii. p. 360, 361. [c] Diod. l. xvi. p. 531, 532, &c. [d] Idem ibid. p. 533. [e] Solin. c. 35. Syncell. ex Africano, p. 256. Oros. l. xxxi. c. 7. Joseph. l. i. contra Apion. Arist. in lib. de LXX. interpret. Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 5.

succeeded by *Nicocles* his son; and this *Evagoras* seems to have been the son of *Nicocles*, and to have succeeded him in that kingdom; but, being driven out by *Protagoras* his uncle, was in banishment when this war began. He gladly joined the *Persians*, in hopes of recovering his crown; and the knowlege he had of the country, made him a very proper person to command in this expedition (80). *Cyprus* had then nine chief cities, and each of them had its king, but subject and tributary to the king of

(80) *Isocrat. in Evag. & Nicocl.*

Cypriots *make peace*

Year of the flood 1998. Bef. Chr. 350.

Ochus *marches into* Egypt.

*Encamps near* Pelusium.

Mentor's *singular merit rewarded.*

Ochus, at the same time, put an end to the *Cyprian* war, and compounded with the nine *Cyprian* kings. Having his mind intirely bent on the reducing of *Egypt*, he willingly redressed all their grievances, and confirmed them in their respective governments [f].

Ochus, having thus settled the affairs both of *Phœnice* and *Cyprus*, set out on his *Egyptian* expedition. On his march he lost a great many men, who were drowned in the lake of *Serbonis*, which lies between *Phœnice* and *Egypt*, and extends about thirty miles. When the south-wind blows, the whole surface of the water is covered with sand from the desert, in such manner that no one can distinguish it from the firm land. Several parties of *Ochus*'s army, for want of good guides, were lost in it; and we are told, that intire armies have there met with the same fate [g]. When he arrived on the frontiers of *Egypt*, he detached three bodies to invade the country, each body being commanded by a *Persian* and a *Greek* general. The first was led by *Lachares* the *Theban*, and *Rosaces*, governor of *Lydia* and *Ionia*; the second by *Nicostratus* the *Theban*, and *Aristazanes*; the third by *Mentor* the *Rhodian*, and *Bagoas* one of his eunuchs. The main body of the army he kept with himself, and encamped near *Pelusium*, with a design to watch there the events of the war: but of the success that attended him in this expedition, *viz.* the total and final reduction of *Egypt*, we have spoken in the history of that country [h].

Ochus, having thus ended the *Egyptian* war, sent back the *Greek* mercenaries to their respective countries, with ample rewards: but as all his conquests were chiefly owing to *Mentor*, he distinguished him above all the rest, not only rewarding him with an hundred talents, and other presents to a great value, but appointing him governor of all the coasts of *Asia*, and committing to his care the whole management of the war, which he was still carrying on against some provinces that had revolted in the beginning of his reign. These, what by cunning and stratagems, what by open force, he reduced, and restored the king's authority in all the parts of that vast empire [i].

[f] Diod. ubi sup. p. 534. [g] Idem, p. 534, 535. [h] See vol. ii. p. 105, 106. [i] Diod. p. 537.

*Persia*. All these joined together in this confederacy, with a design to shake off the *Persian* yoke, and make themselves each independent in his own city (81).

(81) *Diod. l.* xvi. *p.* 532.

ALL the revolted provinces being reduced, and peace established throughout the whole empire, *Ochus* gave himself up to ease, luxury, and pleasure, leaving the administration of public affairs intirely to his ministers. The chief of these were *Bagoas* his favourite eunuch, and *Mentor* the *Rhodian*, who agreeing to part the power between them, the former governed all the provinces of the upper *Asia*, and the latter those of the lower. *Bagoas*, being by birth an *Egyptian*, had a great zeal for the religion of his country, and endeavoured, on the conquest of *Egypt*, to influence the king in favour of the *Egyptian* ceremonies; but, in spite of all his endeavours, the king not only plundered the temples, but carried away the sacred records that were lodged in them; and, in contempt of their religion, slew the god *Apis*, that is, the sacred bull, which they worshiped under that name. This irreligious behaviour *Bagoas* deeply resented, and ever afterwards watched an opportunity of revenging the affront offered to his religion. The records he redeemed with a great sum of money, and sent them back into *Egypt*; but the injury done to his god he thought could be no otherwise atoned for, but by putting the sacrilegious king to death; which he did accordingly by the help of the king's physician, who, in his sickness, gave him a strong poison, instead of physic, in the twenty-first year of his reign. Nor did his revenge stop here; for the king's body he kept, causing another to be buried instead of it: and, because the king had caused his attendants to eat the flesh of their god *Apis*, he cut his flesh in pieces, and gave it so mangled to the cats, making of his bones handles for swords. Having, in this barbarous manner, dispatched his master and benefactor, and seeing the whole power of the empire in his hands, he placed *Arses*, the youngest of the dead king's sons, on the throne, and put all the rest to death, that he might the better secure to himself the authority which he had usurped; for the bare name of king was all that he allowed to *Arses*, reserving for himself the whole power and authority of the government [k].

*Divides the administration with* Bagoas.

*Sacrilege in* Egypt.

Bagoas *the eunuch poisons him for it, and raises* Arses *to the crown.*

Year of the flood 2010. Bef. Chr. 338.

ARSES did not long enjoy even this shadow of power, being slain by the same *Bagoas*, who, finding that the king, well apprised of his wickedness and treachery, was taking measures to bring him to condign punishment, was beforehand with him, putting to death him and his whole family, in the second year of his reign [l].

Arses *slain by* Bagoas.

[k] DIOD. l. xvii. p. 564. ÆLIAN. var. hist. l. vi. c. 8. SEVER. SULPIT. l. ii. vid. & Suid. in Ὦχος. [l] DIOD. & alii, ibid.

Darius Codomannus.

THE throne becoming again vacant by the death of *Arses*, *Bagoas*, who durst not yet usurp it himself, placed on it *Darius*, the third of that name in *Persia*. Before his accession to the crown, he was called *Codomannus*, and is said not to have been of the blood royal, because he was not the son of any king that reigned before him: however, he was of the royal family, being descended from *Darius Nothus*, whose grandson *Arsanes*, marrying his own sister *Sisigambis*, had by her *Codomannus*. *Ostanes*, the son of *Darius Nothus*, and father to *Arsanes*, was put to death by *Ochus*, on his first ascending the throne, and with him above eighty of his sons and grandsons [k]. How *Codomannus* came to escape this slaughter, is nowhere said. In the reign of *Ochus* he made but a very poor figure, being only an astanda, that is, one employed to carry the royal dispatches to the governors of the provinces; a mean employment for one of the royal family [l]. In the war which *Ochus* made upon the *Cadusians*, towards the latter end of his reign, one of those barbarians having challenged the whole *Persian* army to find a champion that durst encounter him in a single combat, *Codomannus* accepted the challenge, after all the others had declined it, and slew the *Cadusian*. For this gallant action he was rewarded with the government of *Armenia* [m], and thence raised to the throne by *Bagoas*, in the manner we have already related. But he had not long enjoyed the sovereign power, before *Bagoas*, finding that he would not be intirely governed by him, which was all he aimed at in advancing him to the crown, resolved to remove him in the same manner as he had done his predecessor; and accordingly provided a poisonous potion: but *Darius*, being acquainted with his design, when the potion was brought him, made *Bagoas* himself drink it; and, having thereby got rid of the traitor by his own artifice, he settled himself on the throne, without any further difficulty or opposition [n]. Authors represent *Darius* as a prince of a mild and generous disposition, of great personal valour, and for his stature and shape far preferable to any of the whole *Persian* empire: but, having such a fortunate rival as *Alexander the Great* to encounter, he was not able, with all his good qualities, and personal courage, to withstand him: and he was scarce seated on the throne, when he found this powerful enemy preparing to drive him from it.

Year of the flood 2012. Bef. Chr. 336.

*His extract and*

Bagoas *forced to drink the poison he had prepared for* Darius.

FOR *Alexander*, having settled his affairs in *Macedon*, and used all imaginable precautions to prevent any troubles that might arise there during his absence, set out for *Sestus*, and

[k] DIOD. ibid. PLUT. in Artax. [l] PLUT. de vita & fortuna Alexandri. [m] DIOD. ibid. JUSTIN. l. x. c. 3. [n] DIOD. ubi supra. Q. CURT. l. vi. c. 6. STRABO, l. XV. ÆLIAN. & alii.

thence passed over the *Hellespont* into *Asia*, in the second year of *Darius*'s reign. A war against the *Persians* had been resolved on some time before in a general assembly of the *Amphictyons*, to revenge the many injuries which *Greece* had received from the barbarians during the space of three hundred years; and *Philip* king of *Macedon* had been appointed commander in chief of the forces destined for this expedition: but *Philip* being in the mean time murdered, his son *Alexander* summoned a general assembly of all the states and free cities of *Greece*, to meet at *Corinth*; and, having prevailed with them to choose him in his room, he obliged each city to furnish its quota, both of men and money, for the carrying on of the war. His army, according to the highest account, amounted to no more than thirty thousand foot, and five thousand horse; but they were all chosen men, well disciplined, and inured to the toils of war, most of them having served under *Philip* during his long wars, and all of them been employed in several expeditions. *Parmenio* commanded the infantry; *Philopatus*, his son, had the command of eighteen hundred horse, all *Macedonians*; *Callas*, the son of *Harpalus*, led the same number of *Thessalian* cavalry; the rest of the horse had their particular commanders, each being set over those of his own nation. With this army he crossed the *Hellespont*, as we have hinted above; and, pursuing his march, arrived at the river *Granicus*, where he found the *Persian* governors of the neighbouring provinces encamped with an army of an hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, with a design to dispute his passage (U). *Memnon* the *Rhodian*, whom *Darius* had appointed governor over all the coasts of *Asia*, had advised the generals not to venture a battle, but to lay waste the whole country, and even destroy the cities, that the enemy might be obliged, for want of provisions, to return back into *Europe*; but *Arsites*, governor of *Phrygia*, opposed the opinion of *Memnon*, protesting, that he would never suffer the *Greeks* to make such havock in the countries he governed. This rash and impolitic counsel prevailed, and *Memnon* was even suspected to hold intelligence with the enemy, or, at least, to be desirous of spinning out the war, and thereby continuing the command to himself [o].

Philip made chief commander of the wars against Darius.

*Is succeeded by his son* Alexander the Great.

Year of the flood 2014. Bef. Chr. 334.

Memnon's *advice rejected.*

[o] Arrian. l. i. Plut. in Alexandr. Q. Curt. l. iii.

(U) *Justin* and *Orosius* tells us, that the *Persian* army consisted of six hundred thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse; *Arrianus* makes it amount to two hundred thousand foot. We have chosen to follow *Diodorus*'s account, which to us seems the most rational.

THE *Persian* cavalry, which was very numerous, lined the banks of the *Granicus*, and formed a large front, in order to oppose *Alexander*, where-ever he should attempt a passage; and the foot, consisting chiefly of *Greek* mercenaries, was posted behind the cavalry on an easy ascent. *Parmenio*, observing the disposition of the enemy's army, advised *Alexander* to encamp on the opposite banks of the river, that his troops might have time to rest, and not to attempt the crossing over till the next morning, the river being deep, the banks very craggy and steep, his troops tired with their march, and those of the enemy quite fresh, as having been encamped in that place for several days. But all the reasons he could produce made not the least impression on *Alexander*, who answered, that it would be a disgrace to him and his army, should he, after crossing the *Hellespont*, suffer his progress to be stopt by a rivulet; for so, out of contempt, he called the *Granicus* [m].

Alexander *crosses the* Granicus.

*The battle of* Granicus.

THE two armies, being drawn up in battle-array on the opposite banks of the river, continued some time in sight of each other, as though they dreaded the event. The *Persians* waited till the *Macedonians* should enter the river, that they might attack them to advantage on their landing; and the *Macedonians* were looking for a convenient place to cross in; which they no sooner found, than *Alexander* ordered a strong detachment of horse to advance into the river, he himself following with the right wing, which he commanded in person, the trumpets in the mean time sounding, and loud shouts of joy being heard throughout the whole army. The *Persians* let fly such showers of arrows against the detachment of the *Macedonian* horse, as caused some confusion, several of their horses being killed or wounded; and, as they drew near the bank, a most bloody engagement ensued, the *Macedonians* endeavouring to land, and the *Persians* pushing them again into the river. As *Memnon* commanded in this place with his sons, the first ranks of the *Macedonians* were intirely cut off; and the rest, after having, with the utmost difficulty, gained the shore, driven anew into the river. *Alexander*, who followed them close, observing the confusion they were in, headed them himself, and, landing in spite of all opposition, attacked the enemy's cavalry with great vigour, and obliged them, after an obstinate resistance, to give way. However, *Spithrobates*, governor of *Ionia*, and son in-law to *Darius*, being surrounded by forty *Persian* lords, all of them his relations, still maintained his ground, and did all that lay in his power to lead the *Persians* back to the charge. *Alexander*, seeing in how gallant a manner he signalized himself, advanced full-gallop to engage

Year of the flood 2014. Bef. Chr. 334.

*The* Persians *repulsed by* Alexander.

[m] DIOD. ARRIAN. PLUT. CURT. & alii, ubi supra.

him;

him; neither did he decline the combat, and both were slightly wounded at the first encounter. *Spithrobates*, having thrown his javelin without effect, immediately advanced sword in hand against *Alexander*, who, being upon his guard, run him through with his pike, as he was lifting up his arm to discharge a blow with his scimitar; but *Rosaces*, brother to *Spithrobates*, gave *Alexander*, at the same time, so furious a blow on the head with his battle-ax, that he beat off his plume, and slightly wounded him through his helmet. As he was ready to repeat the blow, *Clitus*, with one stroke of his scimitar, cut off *Rosaces*'s head, and by that means saved the life of his sovereign. The *Macedonians*, animated by the example of their king, attacked the *Persian* horse with new vigour; who, not being able to stand so violent a shock, first gave ground, and soon after betook themselves to a precipitous flight. *Alexander* did not pursue them, but immediately charged, at the head of the right wing, the enemy's foot; who, seeing themselves attacked at the same time by the cavalry, and the *Macedonian* phalanx, which had crossed the river, made no great resistance. The *Grecian* infantry retired in good order to a neighbouring hill, whence they sent deputies to *Alexander*, demanding leave to march off unmolested; but he, instead of coming to a parley with them, rushed, sword in hand, into the middle of this small body, where he was very near being cut to pieces, his horse being killed under him. The *Greeks* defended themselves a long while with incredible valour, but, being at last overpowered with numbers, were almost all killed on the spot. In this engagement the *Persians* lost twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse; of the *Macedonians*, twenty-five men of the king's own troop fell in the first attack, whose statues, made by *Lysippus*, *Alexander*, some time after, caused to be set up in *Dia*, a city of *Macedon*; whence they were, many years after, carried to *Rome* by *Q. Metellus*. About sixty others of the horse were killed, and thirty of the foot, who were all buried the next day with great solemnity, the king exempting their parents and children from all taxes and burdens [q].

*minent danger.*

*The Persians defeated.*

THIS victory was attended with all the happy consequences that could be expected; for *Sardis*, which was the key of the *Persian* empire, immediately surrendered, and was, by *Alexander*, declared a free city; the citizens being permitted to live according to their own laws. From *Sardis* he advanced to *Ephesus*, where he was received with great joy. Here he offered a great number of sacrifices to *Diana*, and assigned,

*Sardis and Ephesus surrendered to Alexander.*

[q] PLUT. in Alex. DIODOR. p. 503. JUSTIN. l. xi. c. 6. ARRIAN. l. i. c. 18.

to

to the temple of that goddess, all the tributes that were paid to the *Persians*. Before he left *Ephesus*, the deputies of *Trallis* and *Magnesia* waited upon him with the keys of their cities. From *Ephesus* he advanced to *Miletus*; which city, flattered with the hopes of being soon relieved, refused him admittance; and indeed the *Persian* fleet, which was very numerous, made as if they would succour the city; but, after various fruitless attempts, they sailed off. *Memnon* had shut himself up in this strong-hold, with a considerable number of his men, who had escaped from the battle on the *Granicus*, and was resolved to make a vigorous resistance. *Alexander*, having surrounded the city with his whole army, planted scaleing-ladders on all sides, thinking that the most expeditious manner of becoming master of the place; but his men being every-where repulsed, and the city well stored with provisions for a long siege, he began to batter the walls with all his engines, night and day, without intermission. Several breaches were made, but still he could not master the town, the besieged sustaining all his efforts with incredible bravery. At last, the town being almost quite dismantled, and the besieged tired out with the hard service, *Memnon* demanded to capitulate, and surrendered the city upon honourable terms: the *Milesians* were allowed to live according to their own laws, and *Memnon*, with his *Greeks*, to march out unmolested; but the *Persians* were either put to the sword, or sold for slaves [r].

*Miletus besieged, and taken.*

*Memnon's brave defence of* Halicarnassus.

HAVING thus possessed himself of *Miletus*, he marched into *Caria*, in order to besiege *Halicarnassus*, the metropolis of that province, which refused to submit. That city was, both by nature and art, one of the best fortified in all *Asia*; and, besides, *Memnon* had thrown himself into it with a considerable body of chosen men, resolved to signalize, in the defence of so important a place, his courage, and attachment to the interest of *Darius*, with whom he had left his wife and children as pledges of it: and accordingly he made a most vigorous resistance, being seconded by another general of great prowess, by name *Ephialtes*. Whatever could be expected from the most intrepid bravery, and the most consummate knowlege in the art of war, was practised, on this occasion, both by the besiegers and besieged. After the *Macedonians* had, with the utmost difficulty, filled up the ditches, and brought their engines near the walls, their works were all demolished in an instant, and the engines set on fire by the besieged. No sooner was any part of the wall beat down by the battering rams, but a new one was raised in its stead,

[r] DIOD. ubi supra. ARRIAN. l. i. c. 19.

the

the *Macedonians* finding themselves no farther advanced, after an immense labour, than they were when they first sat down before the place. The city held out so long, and the besiegers had so many difficulties to struggle with, that any general, besides *Alexander*, would have given over the enterprize; but his troops were encouraged to pursue the undertaking by those very difficulties, which would have disheartened others; and their patience at last proved successful, *Memnon* being obliged to abandon the city, which he could no longer defend. As the sea was open, he placed a strong garison in the citadel, which was stored with all sorts of provision, and, going on board the *Persian* fleet, whereof himself was admiral, he conveyed the inhabitants, with all their effects, to the island of *Cos*, not far distant from *Halicarnassus*. *Alexander*, finding the city empty both of riches and inhabitants, raised it to the ground; but the citadel he did not think proper to besiege, it being of little importance to him after the city was destroyed [s].

*Halicarnassus abandoned by Memnon.*

*Taken and raised.*

Year of the flood 2015. Bef. Chr. 333.

After the reduction of *Halicarnassus*, all the *Greek* cities in *Asia* declared for *Alexander*, he giving out, where-ever he came, that he had undertaken this war with no other view but to free them from the *Persian* bondage. In the second year of this war, he reduced the provinces of *Phrygia*, *Lycia*, *Pisidia*, *Pamphylia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Galatia*, and *Cappadocia*; and appointed such of his friends to govern them as he thought fit. These transactions we shall relate more at large in the life of this great warrior.

*Greek cities submit to Alexander.*

In the mean time, *Darius* was not wanting to prepare for a vigorous defence. *Memnon* advised him to carry the war into *Macedon*: and a wiser resolution could not have been taken; for the *Lacedæmonians*, and several other *Greek* states, that were disaffected to the *Macedonians*, and jealous of their overgrown power, would have readily joined their enemies; which would have obliged *Alexander* to leave *Asia*, and return to the defence of his own country. *Darius*, being well apprised of the reasonableness of this advice, willingly embraced it, and charged *Memnon* to put it in execution, appointing him admiral of the fleet, and commander in chief of all the forces that were to be employed in this expedition. That prince could not have made a better choice; for *Memnon* was by far the best general in his service, and had, for many years, given undoubted proofs, not only of his courage and conduct, but of an extraordinary fidelity and attachment to the *Persian* interest, not abandoning his sovereign, as other mercenaries had done, when his arms were unsuccessful. Having received this new commission, he assembled the scattered remains of the army,

*Memnon's excellent advice to Darius.*

*Made his admiral.*

[s] Arrian. l. ii. sub init. Diod. ubi supra.

and

and appointed the fleet to rendezvous at the island of *Cos*, where he took on board the land-forces, and with them reduced the islands of *Chios* and *Lesbos*, except the city of *Mitylene*. From thence he designed to pass over into *Eubœa*, and make *Greece* and *Macedon* the seat of the war; but died before *Mitylene*, which city he had been forced to besiege. His death was the greatest misfortune that could befal the *Persian* empire, having defeated the wise measures which he had proposed; for *Darius*, not having one general capable of carrying on that enterprize, the only one that could have saved his empire, was obliged to drop it, and intirely depend upon his eastern armies. These he appointed to assemble at *Babylon*; and, having set up his standard there, and mustered his forces, he found, that they amounted in all to the number of four, five, or six hundred thousand men, according to the various accounts of authors [t].

*His death.*

Darius's *army mustered at* Babylon.

THE news of *Memnon's* death confirmed *Alexander* in the resolution he had taken of marching immediately into the provinces of *Upper Asia*. Accordingly, he marched with all possible expedition into *Cilicia*; and, arriving at a place called *Cyrus's camp* (whether from *Cyrus the Great*, as *Curtius* tells us, or from the younger, as we read in *Arrian*, is uncertain), about fifty stades distant from the streights of *Cilicia*, he was informed, that the enemy guarded that important pass with a considerable body of troops: whereupon, leaving *Parmenio* there, he marched in person, at the first watch, to surprise them. But the *Persians*, having intelligence of his design, betook themselves to flight, and abandoned the pass; which *Alexander* entered, and, after viewing with attention the nature of the place, admired his good fortune, and owned, that he might have been stopped with great ease, seeing the road was so narrow, that four men could scarce pass abreast, and so broken in several places, and incumbered by large stones rolling down from the mountains, that a very small number of resolute men might have kept back, with no other weapons but stones, a more numerous army. From the streights of *Cilicia*, the whole army marched to the city of *Tarsus*, where they arrived the instant the *Persians* were setting fire to the place, in order to prevent the *Macedonians* from enriching themselves with the plunder of so wealthy and flourishing a city. They arrived very seasonably to stop the progress of the fire, and save the city from utter destruction [u].

Alexander *takes the important pass called* Cyrus's camp.

Tarsus *preserved from being burnt.*

IN the mean time *Darius* had begun his march at the head of his numerous army, and was advanced as far as the vast

[t] Vide PLUT. in Alexand. ARRIAN. l. ii. c. 6. JUSTIN. l. xi. c. 9. CURT. l. iii. c. 4. [u] ARRIAN. l. ii. CURT. l. iii. c. 8.

plains

plains of *Mesopotamia* (U). Here the commanders of the *Greek* mercenaries earnestly pressed him to wait for the enemy, that he might engage them with all the advantage his numbers gave him; but *Darius* would not hearken to their advice, hastening blindly to the mountainous parts of *Cilicia*, where his cavalry, and the number of his troops, would rather be an incumbrance to each other, than of any service in an engagement [w]. Darius's *march into* Cilicia.

THE order he observed in his march was as follows: Before the army was carried, on silver altars, the sacred and eternal fire, as they called it, attended by the mages, singing hymns, after the manner of their country, and three hundred and sixty-five youths in scarlet robes. After these came a chariot consecrated to *Jupiter*, drawn by white horses, and followed by one of an extraordinary size, whom they called the horse of the sun: all the equerries were cloathed in white, each having a golden rod in his hand. Next appeared ten sumptuous chariots, enriched with curious sculptures in gold and silver; and then the vanguard of the horse, composed of twelve different nations, and all armed in a different manner. This body of horse was followed by another of foot, by the *Persians* called *Immortal*; because, if any of them died, his place was immediately supplied by another: they were ten thousand in number, and remarkable for the sumptuousness of their apparel; for they all wore collars of pure gold, and were cloathed in robes of gold tissue, having large sleeves, garnished with precious stones. About thirty paces distance came the king's relations or cousins, to the number of fifteen thousand, apparelled like women, and surpassing even the *Immortal* body in the pomp and richness of their attire. They were honoured with the title of the king's cousins, and possibly several of the king's relations were in this body. After these came *Darius* himself, attended by his guards, and seated on a chariot, as on a throne. The chariot was supported on both sides by the gods of his nation cast in pure gold. From the middle of the beam, which was set with jewels, rose two statues of pure gold, a cubit *The pompous order of his march.* *His chariot described.*

[w] ARRIAN. & CURT. ibid.

(U) Contrary to the wholsome advice of *Charidemus*, whom *Alexander* had banished from *Athens*, and who advised *Darius* to march against him in person, but to commit the care of his army, which needed not to consist of above an hundred thousand men, and one third of them mercenaries, to some experienced general. But for this he became so obnoxious to the king, and his lords, that he was immediately put to death (1).

(1) *Diod. l.* xvii. *Q. Curt. l.* iii. *c.* 5.

in

in height, the one representing war, the other peace, and both shaded with the wings of a spread eagle of the same metal. The king was cloathed with a garment of purple, striped with silver, wearing over that a long robe, enriched with a great many precious stones; and the scabbard of his scimitar, as our *His guard.* author tells us, was made out of a single precious stone. On either side of the king walked two hundred of his nearest relations, followed by ten thousand horsemen, whose lances were plated with silver, and tipt with gold. After these marched thirty thousand foot, the rear of the army, and, lastly, four hundred led horses belonging to the king. At a small distance *His household and retinue.* followed *Sisigambis*, the king's mother, and his consort, both seated on high chariots, with a numerous train of female attendants on horseback, and fifteen chariots, in which were the king's children, and those who were charged with the care of their education. Next to these were the royal concubines, to the number of three hundred and sixty, all attired like so many queens. They were followed by six hundred mules, and three hundred camels, which carried the king's treasure, and were guarded by a body of bowmen. This pageant march was closed by a great many chariots, carrying the wives of the crown-officers, and lords of the court, and guarded by some companies of foot, lightly armed [x].

ALEXANDER, upon advice that *Darius* was advancing towards the *Euphrates*, in order to enter *Cilicia*, detached *Parmenio*, to possess himself of another narrow pass (W), leading from *Assyria*, or rather *Syria*, into *Cilicia*. As for himself, he Soli *taken,* marched from *Tarsus* to *Anchiales*, and thence to *Soli*; which *and fined.* city he reduced, obliging the inhabitants, who refused at first to admit him into their city, to pay twenty thousand talents for the maintenance of his army. While he was at *Castabala*, a small city not far from mount *Amanus*, news was brought him, that *Darius*, with his whole army, was advanced as far as the city of *Sochus*, in *Syria*, within two days march of *Cilicia*. Hereupon *Alexander* summoned a council of war, wherein it was determined, that the whole army should march the next day, and wait for *Darius* among the mountains of *Cilicia*: which they did accordingly, encamping on a spot of ground

[x] ARRIAN. & CURT. ubi supra.

(W) For the clearer understanding of *Alexander*'s march, and that of *Darius*, we must distinguish three streights, the first leading from *Cappadocia* into *Cilicia*, through which *Alexander* marched his army; the second leading from *Cilicia* into *Syria*, which *Parmenio* took possession of; and the third, called the streights of mount *Amanus*, lying to the north of the pass of *Syria*; through this *Darius*'s army from *Assyria* entered *Cilicia*.

which

which was but just wide enough for two small armies to act in; and so reduced both, in some degree, to an equality. When intelligence was brought to the *Persian* camp, that *Alexander* had halted in the midst of the mountains, the *Greek* commanders, who served in *Darius*'s army, advised him again to wait for the enemy in the plains where he was then encamped, or return to the plains of *Mesopotamia*, where he might have room enough to draw up his great army, bring them all to engage at the same time, and surround the enemy; whereas, within those streights there not being room any-where to draw up above thirty thousand men in battle-array, the *Macedonians* could bring all their men to engage, and the *Persians* not the twentieth part of theirs. If he did not approve of this counsel, they then advised him to divide his army into several bodies, and not to put all to the chance of one battle. But his adverse fate did not suffer him to follow so wholsome an advice; nay, the courtiers here again traduced those who had suggested it, as traitors, telling *Darius*, that they advised him to divide his troops with no other view, than that they might have, after such a separation, a fair opportunity of delivering up into the enemies hands whatever should be in their power. However, *Darius* thanked the *Greeks* for their zeal and good-will, and even condescended to lay before them the motives that induced him to reject their advice. The courtiers had made him believe, that *Alexander* was flying before him; and that therefore he ought to march forward with all possible expedition, and fall upon him while intangled in those streights, lest he should make his escape. Upon this it was agreed, in a council of all the *Persian* generals, that they should engage the enemy in the narrow passes; the gods, says our historian[y], blinding that prince, that they might pave a way to the destruction of the *Persian* empire. *Darius*, having sent his treasures, and most valuable moveables, to *Damascus* in *Syria*, under a small convoy, led the main body of the army towards the streights of mount *Amanus*, through which he entered *Cilicia*, and advanced as far as the city of *Issus*, not knowing that *Alexander* was behind; for he had been told, that the *Macedonians* were retired in great disorder into *Syria*. In the city of *Issus* he barbarously put to death the sick and wounded *Macedonians* that had been left there by *Parmenio*, sparing only a few, whom he dismissed, after making them view his camp, that they might be eye-witnesses of the immense number of his forces. These brought *Alexander* word of *Darius*'s approach, which he could scarce believe, though he desired nothing more earnestly. However, having offered a sacrifice to the

*The Greek generals advice to Darius rejected.*

[y] Arrian. l. ii. Curt. l. iii. c. 11.

gods

*The battle of* Issus. Year of the flood 2015. Bef. Chr. 333.

gods of the place, he advanced to meet him; and drew up his army on a spot of ground near the city of *Issus*, bounded on one side by the mountains, and by the sea on the other. Here, *Darius* not being able to extend his front beyond that of the *Macedonians*, by reason of the narowness of the place, could dispose of his great army no otherwise than by drawing them up in many lines, one behind the other. But the *Macedonians* soon breaking the first line, and that recoiling upon the second, and the second again upon the third, and so on, the whole *Persian* army was put in disorder; and the *Macedonians* pursuing the advantage, by pressing forward, the confusion was increased to such a degree, that even the bravest among the *Persians*, who were desirous to signalize themselves, could neither stand their ground, nor manage their arms. As the croud which was made in the flight of so numerous an army, was very great, those who fell that day were, for the most part, trampled to death by their own men, as they pressed to escape. *Darius*, who fought in the first line, with much difficulty got out of the croud, and fled in his chariot to the neighbouring mountains, where he mounted on horseback, and pursued his flight, leaving behind him his bow, his shield, and royal mantle. *Alexander* was prevented from following him, by the *Greek* mercenaries, who, charging the *Macedonian* phalanx with incredible bravery, killed *Ptolemy* the son of *Seleucus*, with one hundred and twenty officers of distinction, besides a great many private men; and, though attacked in flank by *Alexander* in person, maintained their ground till they were from twenty thousand reduced to eight thousand. They retired then, in good order, over the mountains, towards *Tripoli* in *Syria*, where, finding the transports that had conveyed them from *Lesbos*, lying on the shore, they fitted out such a number as suited their purpose, and sailed to *Cyprus*, after having burnt the rest, to prevent their being pursued. *Alexander* no sooner saw them put to flight, than he hastened after *Darius*; but, growing weary of the pursuit, and night drawing on, he returned to the enemies camp, which his soldiers had just before plundered. *Sisigambis*, *Darius*'s mother, and his wife, who was also his sister, with his son *Ochus*, not full six years old, and his two daughters, both marriageable, besides some noblemens daughters who attended them, were found in the camp, and taken prisoners. The rest had been sent to *Damascus*, with part of *Darius*'s treasure, and all the rich furniture which the *Persian* monarchs used to carry with them into the field; so that in the camp they found only three thousand talents of silver: but the rest of the treasures fell afterwards into the hands of *Parmenio*, at his taking the city of *Damas-*

*The* Persians *streightened, and put into disorder.*

*The* Greek *mercenaries obstinate bravery.*

*The* Persian *camp seized and plundered.*

*cus* [z]. In this engagement the *Persians* lost, according to *Arrian* [a], ten thousand horse, and ninety thousand foot: and with him other writers agree, as to the number of the horse; but, as to the foot, they all vary not only from him, but from each other, some making the number of the dead amount to eighty, others to ninety, others to one hundred, and some to one hundred and twenty thousand; adding, that forty thousand were taken prisoners, while *Alexander*, according to the highest computation, lost in all but three hundred men [b]. *Their loss.*

THE next day, *Alexander*, after visiting the wounded, caused the dead to be buried in great pomp, in the presence of the whole army, which was drawn up in battle-array. The same honours he paid to the manes of the *Persians* of rank; and allowed *Darius*'s mother to bury as many as she pleased, according to the customs and ceremonies of her country. But the prudent princess used that permission with great modesty and reserve, burying only a few, who were her near relations. *Alexander* treated her, and the other captive princesses, with great humanity: they were, says *Plutarch* [c], in *Alexander*'s camp, not as in that of an enemy, but as in an holy temple, designed for the asylum of virtue; they all living so retired, that they were not seen by any one, none daring to approach their pavilion but such as were appointed to attend them. As *Darius*'s consort, and her two daughters, were princesses of an extraordinary beauty, *Alexander*, after the first visit, resolved never to see them any more, that his frailty might not expose him to any danger. This memorable circumstance we find in a letter which he wrote to *Parmenio*, commanding him to put to death certain *Macedonians*, who had abused the wives of some captives: in short, he used them with such respect, good-nature, and humanity, that nothing but their captivity could make them sensible of their misfortune [d]. *Alexander's noble treatment of Darius's family.*

ALEXANDER, seeing himself now master of the field, detached *Parmenio* to *Damascus*, where *Darius*'s treasures were lodged, with the *Thessalian* horse. As he was on his march thither, he met with a messenger sent by the governor of that city, with a letter to *Alexander*, wherein he offered to betray the city to the king. The fourth day, *Parmenio* arrived at *Damascus*, when the governor, pretending that he was not able to defend the city against a victorious army, caused, by day-break, a vast number of beasts of burden to be loaded with the king's treasure, and rich furniture, as if he intended *Damascus and Darius's treasure betrayed to Alexander.*

[z] PLUT. in Alexand. CURT. l. iii. ARRIAN. l. ii. DIOD. l. xvii.
[a] ARRIAN. ubi supra. [b] DIOD. PLUTARCH. ARRIAN. CURT. JUSTIN. ubi supra. [c] PLUT. de fortuna Alexandri. [d] PLUTARCH. ibid.

to retire, and save them for his master, but, in reality, to deliver them up to the enemy, as he had agreed with *Parmenio*, who had opened the letter directed to the king. At the first sight of the forces which this general headed, the *Persians* who convoyed the treasures, betook themselves to flight, and left the *Macedonians* masters of all the gold and silver that was designed to pay so numerous an army. Among the prisoners of distinction taken in the city, were three young princesses, daughters of *Ochus*, who had reigned before *Darius*, and his widow; the daughter of *Oxathres*, brother to *Darius*; the wife of *Artabazus*, or *Artabanus*, the greatest lord at court, with his son *Ilioneus*; the wife of *Pharnabazus*, whom *Darius* had appointed governor of all the cities on the coast; three daughters of *Mentor*; the wife and son of *Memnon*, that illustrious and renowned commander; insomuch that there was scarce one noble family in all *Persia*, which did not share in this calamity. Besides the immense treasures which the *Macedonians* had already taken, they found in the city two thousand six hundred talents in ready money, and five hundred in bullion, which was afterwards coined: they took thirty thousand prisoners; and, with the plunder of the city, loaded seven thousand camels. The *Thessalian* horse had the best share of this booty, having been sent by *Alexander* on this expedition, that they might enrich themselves with the plunder of so wealthy a city, in regard they had distinguished themselves above the rest, in the late engagement [e]. The governor of the place was killed by one of his own men, and his head carried to *Darius* [f].

After this victory *Alexander* marched into *Syria*, most of the cities of that country voluntarily submitting to the conqueror, and even *Darius*'s governors and commanders delivering themselves and their treasures up into his hands. Being arrived at *Marathon*, he received a letter from *Darius*, in which he stiled himself king, without bestowing that title on *Alexander*. He rather commanded than intreated him to ask what sum he pleased, for the ransom of his mother, wife, and children: and, as to their dispute about empire, they might decide it, if he thought proper, in a general engagement, to which both parties should bring an equal number of troops; but, if he were still capable of wholsome counsel, he would advise him to be contented with the kingdom of his ancestors, and not invade that of another, to which he had no right: that, for the future, they should live in friendship and amity: and that he was ready to swear to the observance of these articles, and receive *Alexander*'s oath. This letter, which was written with

*Darius writes to Alexander.*

[e] Plut. de fort. & Curt. l. iii. c. 25. [f] Curt. ibid.

such

ſuch an unſeaſonable pride and haughtineſs, provoked *Alexander* to a great degree, who therefore, in his anſwer, began thus; *Alexander the king to Darius:* He then enumerates the many injuries and calamities which the *Greeks* and *Macedonians* had ſuffered from the *Perſians*; reproaches that nation with the baſe and treacherous murder of his father *Philip*; and *Darius*, in particular, with ſetting a price upon his own head: whence he concludes, that he is not the aggreſſor, but has taken up arms in his own defence, and to revenge the death of his father, and the injuries done to his country: and that the gods, who always declare for the juſt cauſe, approved of this war, he ſhews, from the ſucceſs that attended it, ſince, with their protection, he had already ſubdued great part of *Aſia*, and defeated the mighty hoſt of the *Perſians*, in a pitched battle, with an handful of men. However, he engaged his word, that he would reſtore to him his wife, mother, and children, provided he repaired to him in the attire of a ſuppliant, and humbly begged him to give them their liberty; aſſuring him, that he might do it without the leaſt danger. He concluded by deſiring him to remember, when he next wrote, that he not only addreſſed a king, but his king. *Theſippus* was ordered to carry this letter [g].

Alexander's anſwer.

Alexander marched from thence into *Phœnice*, where the citizens of *Biblos* opened their gates to him; and their example was followed by other cities, in proportion as he advanced into the country: but none received him with greater joy than the *Sidonians*, who had a few years before been ſo cruelly treated by *Ochus*. Since that time they bore ſuch an hatred to the *Perſian* name, that they were overjoyed at this opportunity of ſhaking off the yoke; and, indeed, were the firſt in *Phœnice* who ſubmitted to *Alexander*, by their deputies, in oppoſition to *Strabo* their king, who was in the *Perſian* intereſt. *Alexander* depoſed him, and permitted *Hephæſtion* to elect in his room whomſoever of the *Sidonians* he ſhould judge worthy of ſo exalted a ſtation [h], as we have elſewhere related at length [i].

Biblos, Sidon, *and the other cities of* Phœnice, *ſubmit to* Alexander.

Year of the flood 2016. Bef. Chr. 332.

While *Alexander* was in *Phœnice*, ſome of the *Perſian* generals, who had eſcaped from the battle at *Iſſus*, drawing together the remains of the ſcattered army, attempted, with the aſſiſtance of the *Cappadocians* and *Paphlagonians*, to recover *Lydia*; but were in ſeveral engagements routed, and at laſt intirely diſperſed by *Antigonus*, whom *Alexander* had appointed governor of that province. At the ſame time, the

[g] Diod. l. xvii. p. 517, 518. Arrian. l. ii. p. 83—86. Plut. in Alexandr. p. 678. Curt. l. iv. c. 1. Justin. l. xi. c. 10.
[h] Curt. l. iv. c. 2. Justin. l. xi. c. 10. [i] Vol. ii. p. 362, & ſeq.

*Macedonian* fleet, sailing from *Greece*, fell in with that of the enemies, commanded by *Aristomenes*, whom *Darius* had sent to recover the cities on the *Hellespont*, and attacked them so briskly, that not one single ship escaped [k].

ALL *Syria* and *Phœnice* were already subdued, except the city of *Tyre*, which he besieged, and took by assault, after the inhabitants had held out with incredible bravery for seven whole months, as we have related in the history of *Phœnice* [l].

*A second letter from* Darius *to* Alexander;

WHILE *Alexander* was carrying on the siege of *Tyre*, he received a second letter from *Darius*, who, at last, condescended to give him the title of king: he offered him ten thousand talents, by way of ransom for the captive princesses, and his daughter *Statira* in marriage, with all the country he had conquered, as far as the *Euphrates*: he put him in mind of the inconstancy of fortune; and set out, in most pompous terms, the vast number of troops he could still bring into the field: he represented the difficulties he might meet with, in crossing the *Euphrates*, the *Tigris*, the *Araxes*, and the *Hydaspes*, which were so many barriers to the *Persian* empire: that he would not have always the opportunity of shutting himself up among rocks and mountains, but would be obliged some time or other to engage in an open and champain country, where he would be ashamed to appear before him with an handful of men. Upon the receipt of this letter *Alexander* summoned a council, in which *Parmenio* was of opinion, that he ought to accept the offers of *Darius*, declaring, that he would agree to them, were he *Alexander*: And so would I, replied *Alexander*, were I *Parmenio*. Without hearkening therefore to his advice, he answered, that he did not want the money *Darius* offered him: that it did not become him to offer what he no longer possessed; nor pretend to dispose of what he had already lost: that if he was the only person who did not know which of the two was the best commander, a battle would soon determine it: that he should not be frightened with rivers, after having crossed the sea; and would not fail to pursue *Darius*, and come up with him, at last, to what place soever he should think proper to retire [m]. *Darius*, upon the receipt of this letter, lost all hopes of an accommodation, and began anew to prepare for war.

*and his answer.*

*The city of* Gaza *besieged and taken by* Alexander.

ALEXANDER, having reduced *Tyre*, marched from thence to *Jerusalem*, and from *Jerusalem* to *Gaza*. On his arrival at that city, he found it defended by a strong garison, under

[k] CURT. l. iv. c. 4. [l] Vol. ii. p. 375, & seqq. [m] PLUT. in Alex. & apophthegm. CURT. l. iv. c. 16. ARRIAN. l. ii. p. 101. JUSTIN. l. xi. c. 12. VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 4.

the command of *Betis*, or, as some call him, *Babemesis* [n], one of *Darius*'s eunuchs, who, being a man of great experience in military affairs, and very faithful to his sovereign, resolved to hold out against *Alexander* till he was reduced to the last extremity. As this place was the only inlet into *Egypt*, *Alexander* could not pass thither till he was become master of it; and therefore was forced to besiege it. But, notwithstanding his men behaved with the utmost intrepidity, and his commanders exerted the utmost of military skill, yet it cost him, and his whole army, two intire months to reduce it. The stop which this put to his intended march into *Egypt*, and two dangerous wounds which he received in the siege, provoked him to such a degree, that, on his taking the place, he treated the commander, inhabitants, and soldiers, in a manner no-ways becoming a conqueror: for, having cut ten thousand of them in pieces, he sold the rest, with their wives and children, for slaves. When *Betis*, who had been taken prisoner in the last assault, was brought before him, instead of using him kindly, as his valour and fidelity justly deserved, and a generous enemy ought to have done, he ordered his heels to be bored, a cord to be drawn through them, and the unhappy captive, thus tied to a chariot, to be dragged round the city, till he expired; bragging, that herein he imitated his progenitor *Achilles*, who, as *Homer* relates, caused the dead body of *Hector* to be thus dragged round the walls of *Troy*, as though a man ought ever to take pride in imitating a bad example. Both acts were barbarous and inhuman, but that of *Alexander* much more so; for *Achilles* caused only *Hector*'s dead body to be so abused, whereas *Alexander* thus treated *Betis* while alive; and for no other reason, but because he had served his sovereign with fidelity, in the post committed to his charge; which even *Alexander*, though an enemy, would have admired and rewarded, had he made the true principles of virtue and generosity the rule of his actions: but his sentiments and conduct began now to change with his fortune [o]. He sent great part of the booty he found in the city to *Olympias*, to *Cleopatra*, and his friends; and, having left a garison there, he marched directly for *Egypt*; and, in seven days, arrived before *Pelusium*, where he was met by great numbers of *Egyptians*, who flocked thither to make their submission to him. The hatred they bore to the *Persians* was such, that they willingly embraced all opportunities of shaking off the yoke they groaned under, and seemed not to care by whom they were governed,

[n] Joseph. antiquit. l. xi. c. ult. Euseb. chron. Plin. l. xii. c. 25. Arrian. l. ii. p. 50. [o] Curt. l. iv. c. 10. Arrian. l. ii. prope finem. Plut. in Alexand. p. 679.

provided they could but meet with one who was able to rescue them from that insolence and indignity with which the *Persians* treated them and their religion. *Ochus* had slain their god *Apis*, in a manner highly injurious to themselves and their religion; and the *Persian* governors treated their gods in the same manner: which raised their indignation to such a height, that when *Amyntas* (X) came thither a little before, with an handful of men, he found them ready to join him in driving out the *Persians*. *Alexander* therefore no sooner appeared on the frontiers, but the *Egyptians* flocked to him from all parts, and received him with open arms. His arrival at the head of a powerful and victorious army, gave them secure protection, which they could not promise themselves from *Amyntas*; and, on this consideration, they openly declared, without reserve, in his favour. Hereupon *Mazæus*, who commanded in *Memphis*, seeing he was not in a condition to oppose this general insurrection, opened the gates to the conqueror, and put him in possession of the metropolis of that kingdom, with eight hundred talents, and all the king's rich furniture [p]. Thus *Alexander*, without any opposition, became master of all *Egypt*.

Egypt *submits to* Alexander.

Year of the flood 2016. Bef. Chr. 332.

At *Memphis Alexander* formed a design of visiting the temple of *Jupiter Hammon*; and, in his way thither, built *Alexandria*, which soon became the metropolis of that kingdom. On his return from the temple he settled the affairs of *Egypt*, and marched from thence, in the beginning of the

[p] Curt. l. iv. c. 20. Justin. l. xi. c. 11. Arrian. l. iii. p. 104—110. Diod. l. xvii. p. 526—529.

(X) This *Amyntas*, having fled from *Alexander* to *Darius*, was one of the commanders of the *Greek* mercenaries at the battle of *Issus*, from whence having brought off four thousand of his men, he got safe to *Tripoli* in *Syria*, where he embarked, as we have related above, and sailed first to *Cyprus*, and then to *Pelusium* in *Egypt*; which city he seized, making the garison believe, that he had been appointed governor of *Egypt* in the room of *Sabaces*, who had been killed in the battle of *Issus*. As soon as he found himself possessed of this important place, he threw off the mask, and declared his design of seizing *Egypt* for himself, and driving the *Persians* from thence. Whereupon the *Egyptians*, out of hatred to the *Persians*, readily joined him, and he, having formed a considerable army, marched directly for *Memphis*, where he defeated the *Persians* in a pitched battle, and shut them up in the city. But, after this victory, permitting his soldiers to straggle up and down the country in quest of booty, the *Persians* sallied out upon them thus dispersed, and cut them to-pieces, with *Amyntas* their leader [82].

(82) *Arrian. l.* ii. *Curt. l.* iv. *c.* 3. *Diod. l.* xvii. *p.* 587, 588.

spring, to find out *Darius*. On his return into *Phœnice*, he staid some time at *Tyre*, that he might there settle the affairs of the countries which he was to leave behind him, before he set out to make new conquests: and, having ordered matters as he thought fit, he began his march; and, with his whole army, arrived at *Thapsacus*, where he crossed the *Euphrates*, and continued his march towards the *Tigris*, in quest of the enemy. *Darius*, in the mean time, after several overtures for a peace, finding that there were no hopes of an accommodation, unless he resigned the whole empire, applied himself to make the necessary preparations for another engagement. For this purpose, having assembled, at *Babylon*, an army half as numerous again as that with which he fought at *Issus* (for it consisted of one hundred and ten thousand men), he took the field, and marched towards *Nineveh*. Advice being brought him, that the enemy was not far off, he detached *Satropates*, commander of the cavalry, at the head of a thousand chosen horse, and *Mazæus*, governor of that province, with six thousand, to prevent *Alexander* from crossing the *Tigris*, and to lay waste the country through which he was to pass. But they came too late, *Alexander* having, with the utmost difficulty, crossed the river a little before they arrived. He encamped two days on the banks of the river; during which time there happened an eclipse of the moon, which so terrified the *Macedonians*, that they refused to proceed in their march, crying out, that heaven displayed the marks of its anger; that they were dragged, against the will of the gods, to the utmost extremities of the earth; and that even the moon refused to lend them her usual light. Hereupon *Alexander*, having summoned the officers of the army into his tent, commanded the *Egyptian* soothsayers to declare what they thought of this phænomenon. These were well acquainted with the natural causes of eclipses; but, without entering into such inquiries, they replied, that the sun was predominant in *Greece*, and the moon in *Persia*; whence, as often as the moon suffered an eclipse, some great calamity was thereby portended to the latter. This answer being immediately spread abroad among the soldiers, it revived their hopes and courage; and *Alexander*, taking advantage of this ardor, began his march after midnight, having on his right the *Tigris*, and the *Gordyæan* mountains on his left [q]. At day-break the scouts he had sent out to reconnoitre, brought word, that *Darius* was on full march to meet him; whereupon he immediately drew up his forces, and put himself at the head of the army; but, as they drew near, he found that it was only a detachment of a thousand horse, which, as the

*The Macedonians terrified by an eclipse of the moon; but encouraged by the Egyptian soothsayers.*

[q] Arrian. l. iii. Curt. l. iv. c. 23, 24.

*Macedonians* advanced, retired in great haste to the main army; they were pursued by *Aristo*, commander of the *Pæonian* horse, who, having defeated that body, and killed *Satropates* their leader, brought back his head, and threw it down at *Alexander*'s feet, telling him, that, in his country, such a present was usually rewarded with a cup of gold. *Alexander* replied smiling, With an empty one; but I will give you a golden cup, and that full of wine [r]. Not long after, *Alexander* received intelligence, that *Darius* was not above an hundred and fifty furlongs off; whereupon he halted, to refresh his soldiers before the engagement, having in the camp great store of provisions. During this time, he intercepted some letters written by *Darius* to the *Greeks*, soliciting them, with great promises, either to kill or betray *Alexander*. The king was in doubt with himself, whether he should read them in a full assembly; for he relied as much on the fidelity of the *Greeks*, as on that of the *Macedonians*; but *Parmenio* dissuaded him from it, telling him, that even the raising of such thoughts in the minds of soldiers might be attended with some danger; and that the hopes of a great reward were capable of prompting a man to attempt the most enormous crimes. The king followed his prudent advice, and ordered his army to march forward [s]. He was scarce set out, when an eunuch brought him word, that *Statira*, *Darius*'s wife, was dead; whereupon he immediately returned, and, entering the pavilion where *Sisigambis* and the other royal prisoners were kept, comforted them in so kind and tender a manner, as plainly shewed his deep concern. He caused the funeral obsequies of the deceased princess to be performed with the utmost splendor and magnificence; which *Darius* hearing, and at the same time being informed with what respect *Alexander* had treated her in her life-time, he is said to have prayed the gods, that if the time ordained by the fates for the transferring of the *Persian* empire into other hands was come, none might sit on the throne of *Cyrus*, but so just, so merciful, so generous a conqueror as *Alexander* [t]; and although he had twice sued in vain for peace, yet, being overcome by the tenderness and humanity which *Alexander* had shewn his wife, mother, and children, dispatched ten of his relations as embassadors, offering him new conditions of peace more advantageous than the former, and returning him thanks for the kind treatment he had indulged his family. He had, in his former proposals, offered him all the provinces of *Asia*, as far as the *Halys*; but now he added the countries lying between the *Hellespont*

*New conditions of peace offered by* Darius;

[r] Arrian. l. iii. Curt. l. iv. c. 23. Plutarch. in Alexandro.
[s] Curt. l. iv. c. 25. [t] Curt. & Plut. ibidem.

and

and the *Euphrates*; that is, whatever *Alexander* was already maſter of; and offered thirty thouſand talents by way of ranſom for his family. *Parmenio* again adviſed *Alexander* to accept of the conditions, telling him, that the provinces between the *Euphrates* and the *Helleſpont* would be a great addition to the kingdom of *Macedon*; and that the *Perſian* priſoners were only an incumbrance to the army; whereas the treaſure offered for their ranſom might be employed for the uſe of his troops, or to reward the ſervices of his friends. But *Alexander*, without hearkening to his advice, returned the following anſwer to the embaſſadors; that the clemency he had ſhewn to the wife and children of *Darius* proceeded from his own good-nature, without any regard to their maſter; that he did not make war upon women and children, but upon ſuch only as appeared in arms againſt him; that, if *Darius* had ſued for peace in good earneſt, he would have hearkened to his propoſals; but ſince he continued to ſpirit up, with large bribes, his own ſoldiers to murder or betray him, he could not believe, that his offers were ſincere; and therefore was determined to purſue him with the utmoſt vigour, not as a fair enemy, but as a traitor and aſſaſſin; that, as to the provinces he offered him, they were already his own; and if *Darius* could force him to retire beyond the *Euphrates*, which he had already croſſed, he might then offer them as his; that he propoſed to himſelf, as a reward for the toils he had already endured, all thoſe kingdoms which *Darius* ſtill enjoyed; wherein whether he flattered himſelf with a vain hope or no, the next day's engagement ſhould determine. He concluded by telling the embaſſadors, that he was come into *Aſia* to give, and not to receive; that the heavens could not hold two ſuns; and therefore, if *Darius* would ſubmit to him, acknowleging him his lord and ſovereign, he would then hearken to propoſals [u]. The embaſſadors returned back, and told *Darius*, that he muſt prepare for an engagement: whereupon that prince encamped near a village called *Gaugamela*, in a large plain, at a conſiderable diſtance from the city of *Arbela*, having beforehand levelled the ground, that his cavalry and chariots might move and act with more eaſe. *Alexander*, hearing that *Darius* was ſo near, continued four days in his camp to reſt the army, and ſurrounded it with deep trenches and paliſades, being determined to leave there his baggage, and ſuch of his men as were indiſpoſed. He ſet out about the ſecond watch, with a deſign to engage the enemy at break of day; and, arriving at a riſing ground, whence he could diſcover their whole army, he halted, and ſummoned

but rejected by Alexander.

Darius encamps at Gaugamela.

[u] Curt. l. iv. c. 26. Justin, l. xi. c. 12.

a council,

a council, being in doubt whether he should encamp there, or immediately fall upon the enemy. *Parmenio* advised him to attack their camp in the night-time, alleging, that they might easily be defeated, if taken by surprize, and in the dark: but the king answered, that it did not become *Alexander* to steal a victory; and therefore he was resolved to fight and conquer in broad day-light. Accordingly he encamped there in the same order, in which the army had marched; and, after giving the proper orders, he retired to repose the remaining part of the night; but, being under no small concern, he could not sleep till towards the morning; so that when his generals were assembled at day-break before his tent, they were greatly surprised to find, that he was not yet awake. *Parmenio*, after waiting some time, thought fit to call him; and, seeming amazed that he should sleep so sound when he was upon the point of hazarding a battle, on which depended the empire of *Asia*, *Alexander* told him, that *Darius*, by bringing all his forces into one place, had freed him from the trouble of thinking how he might pursue them into different countries [w]. He then, without delay, put on his armour, mounted on horseback, and, having drawn up his men in battle-array, advanced to encounter the enemy, who were at a very small distance.

*Parmenio's advice to Alexander, and his answer.*

*Both armies drawn up in battle-array.*

Both armies were drawn up in the same order, the infantry in the centre, and the cavalry on the wings. *Darius's* front was covered with two hundred chariots, armed with sithes, and twenty-five elephants. Besides his guards, which were the flower of his army, he had posted the *Grecian* infantry near his person, believing this body alone capable of opposing the *Macedonian* phalanx. As his army took up a far greater space of ground than *Alexander's*, his design was to surround and charge them at the same time in front and flank; which *Alexander* suspecting, ordered those, who led the wings, to extend them as wide as possible, without weakening the centre. His baggage, and the captives, among whom were *Darius's* mother and children, were left in the camp, under a small guard. *Parmenio* commanded, as he had always done, the left wing, and *Alexander* the right. When the two armies were in sight of each other, the *Macedonians* halted, waiting till the enemy should advance to attack them; which they did accordingly, *Darius* himself charging in the first line. *Arrian* and *Curtius* [x] describe this battle at length. They tell us, that the *Persians* were often repulsed; but returned again to the charge; that victory inclined sometimes to one side, and sometimes to another;

*The battle of Gaugamela.*

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[w] Justin. l. xi. c. 13. Curt. l. iv. c. 30, 31. Plut. in Alexand.

[x] Arrian. l. iii. Curt. l. iv. c. 25, & seqq.

another; that *Parmenio*, who commanded the left wing, was in great danger, and his men obliged to give ground; that *Alexander*'s rear was put in disorder, and the baggage taken; that both kings wrought wonders, *&c.* But, after all, *Curtius* tells us, that the *Macedonians*, notwithstanding the great opposition they met with, lost only three hundred men; and *Arrian* allows not a third of that number slain: whereas of the *Persians* there fell forty thousand, says *Curtius*; thirty thousand, according to *Arrian*; and ninety thousand, if we believe *Diodorus*. From these accounts we can form no other judgment of this great encounter, but that the *Persians*, at the very first onset, betook themselves to flight, and the *Macedonians* pursued them; for, had the seven or eight hundred thousand men, which *Darius* brought into the field, thrown each one dart, or a stone, the *Macedonians* could not have bought the empire of the east at so easy a rate. In the heat of the battle, when the *Macedonians* were in the greatest danger, *Aristander* the soothsayer, cloathed in his white robes, and holding a branch of olive in his hand, is reported to have advanced among the first ranks, and, in concert with *Alexander*, to have cried out, that he saw an eagle hovering over the king's head, a sure omen of victory. He pointed with his finger at the pretended bird; and the soldiers, believing him, and some even fansying they saw it, renewed the attack with more courage and resolution than ever. We are told, that *Darius*, seeing his numerous army put so shamefully to flight, drew his scimitar, and was some time in suspense, whether he should lay violent hands on himself, rather than fly in so ignominious a manner; but at last resolved to save himself by flight, and arrived at *Arbela* the same night (Y). After he had passed the *Lycus*, some, who attended him in his flight, advised him to break down the

*The Persians routed.*

(Y) This battle was fought at *Gaugamela*, near the river *Beumelus*, as *Ptolemy Lagi* and *Aristobulus*, who were present, aver: they are followed both by *Strabo* (83), and *Plutarch* (84) Nevertheless, because *Gaugamela* was only a small village, and the name not agreeable to the ear, signifying *the camels house*, the battle is said to have been fought at *Arbela*, which was a great and famous city in those parts (85). *Gaugamela* and *Arbela* were at a considerable distance from each other; for between the river *Beumelus*, on which stood *Gaugamela*, and the *Lycus*, on the banks of which *Arbela* was situated, *Curtius* reckons eighty furlongs (86). According to *Strabo*'s description of those places, *Arbela*, in *Ptolemy*'s fifth map of *Asia*, ought to be placed where we find *Gaugamela* (87).

(83) *Strabo*, *l.* xxvi. *p.* 737. (84) *Plut. in Alexand.* (85) *Arrian. l.* vi. *p.* 101. *Strabo*, *ubi supra.* (86) *Curt. l.* iv. *c.* 22. (87) *Vide Strab. l.* ii. *p.* 79.

bridge,

bridge, in order to ſtop the enemy's purſuit; but he, reflecting how many of his own men were haſtening to paſs over the ſame bridge, replied, that he had rather leave an open way to a purſuing enemy, than ſhut it to a flying friend [y] (Z). He arrived about midnight at *Arbela*, whither he was followed by a great many of his nobles, and commanding officers, whom he called together, and acquainted them, that he deſigned to leave all for the preſent to *Alexander*, and fly into *Media*, from whence, and from the reſt of the northern provinces, he could draw together new forces, to try once more his fortune in battle. *Alexander* purſued him as far as *Arbela*; but, before his arrival there, *Darius* was, by the quickneſs of his flight, got over the mountains of *Armenia*, attended by ſome of his relations, and a ſmall body of guards called *Melophori*, becauſe each of them bore a golden apple on the point of his ſpear. In *Armenia* he was joined by two thouſand *Greek* mercenaries, who, under the command of *Pharon* an *Ionian*, and *Glaucus* an *Æolian*, had eſcaped from the battle. *Alexander* took the city of *Arbela*, where he ſeized on immenſe ſums of money, with all *Darius*'s rich furniture and equipage, and returned to his camp. After having allowed his army ſome days of reſt, he ſet out on his march to *Babylon*. *Mazæus* was governor of that city and province, and had, after the late battle, retired thither, with the ſcattered remains of the body he commanded; but, on the approach of *Alexander*'s victorious army, he had not courage enough to oppoſe him. Marching therefore out to meet him, he delivered the city and himſelf, with his children, into the conqueror's hands. *Bagaphanes*, governor of the caſtle, where all *Darius*'s treaſures were lodged, did the ſame; and *Alexander* entered the city at the head of his whole army, as though he had been marching againſt an enemy. After a ſtay of thirty days in that city, he continued *Mazæus* in the government of that province; but, giving the command of the caſtle and gariſon to a *Macedonian*, he took *Bagaphanes* along with him, and marched towards *Suſa*, where he arrived twenty days after his departure from *Babylon*. As he drew near the city, *Abulites*, governor of the place, ſent his ſon to meet him, and acquaint him, that he was ready to deliver the city, and

Alexander *takes the city of* Arbela, *and all* Darius's *rich furniture.*

*Marches to* Babylon, *which ſubmits to him.*

*The city of* Suſa, *and all the king's treaſures, delivered up to him.*

[y] Curt. l. iv. c. 36, 37. Justin. l. xi. c. 14.

(Z) In *Juſtin* we read *Cydnus* inſtead of *Lycus*, which laſt river runs through the city of *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*; and hence it is, that *Oroſius*, who ever follows *Juſtin*, was led into ſo groſs a miſtake, as to think, that this great battle was fought at *Tarſus* (88).

(88) *Oroſ.* l. iii. c. 17.

all

all the king's treasures, into his hands. The king received the young nobleman with great marks of kindness, and, using him as a guide, advanced to the river *Choaspes*, where *Abulites* himself met him, with presents worthy of so great a prince: among other things he presented him with dromedaries, or running camels, of incredible swiftness, and twelve elephants, which *Darius* had sent for out of *India*. Having entered this city, the governor delivered up to him fifty thousand talents in bullion, and forty thousand in ready money, with all the king's furniture, to an immense value. Here he found part of the rarities, which *Xerxes* had brought out of *Greece*, namely, the brazen statues of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, which he sent to *Athens*, where they were still standing in *Arrian*'s time. As for the purple and scarlet robes, he sent them all to *Sisigambis*, together with some others, curiously wrought, which had been sent him out of *Macedon*; adding in his message to her, that, if she liked the *Macedonian* robes, he would send her those who had wrought them, that her grandchildren might learn the art, by way of amusement. At these words, she could not help betraying some concern and uneasiness, it being looked upon by the *Persian* women as mean and unbecoming to employ themselves in works of that nature: which when *Alexander* understood, he thought himself obliged to make an apology for what he had done; and accordingly went immediately to wait upon her, and beg that she would not consider that as an affront, which was intirely owing to his ignorance of the *Persian* manners; adding, that the robes he then wore, were not only a present from his sisters, but wrought with their own hands [z].

ALEXANDER, having thus comforted *Sisigambis*, took his leave of her; and, leaving a strong garison in the city of *Susa*, advanced towards the province of *Persis*. He arrived, in four days march, on the banks of the *Pasitigris*, which river he crossed with nine thousand foot and four thousand horse, and entred the country of the *Uxians*. This province extends from *Susiana* to the frontiers of *Persis*, and was governed by one *Madates*, who had married the niece of *Sisigambis*. *Madates*, who was not, like the other *Persian* governors, a time-server, but faithful to his sovereign, resolved to hold out to the last extremity; and, with this design, retired into a strong-hold in the midst of craggy mountains, and surrounded on all sides by steep precipices. Here he held out for some time with great bravery; and, when the city was taken by assault, withdrew into the citadel, whence, seeing there were no hopes of being relieved, he sent thirty de-

*He reduces the Uxians.*

[z] CURT. l. v. c. 8.

puties

puties to *Alexander* to treat of a ſurrender. The king, who was greatly provoked againſt *Madates*, would not at firſt hearken to any propoſals; but in the mean time receiving letters from *Siſigambis*, wherein ſhe intreated him to pardon her relations, he not only complied with her requeſt, but ſet all the priſoners at liberty, reſtored *Madates* to his former dignity, left the city untouched, and the citizens in the full enjoyment of their antient liberty and privileges [a].

HAVING reduced the *Uxians*, he ordered *Parmenio*, with part of his army, to march through the plain, while he himſelf, at the head of the light-armed foot, advanced by the way of the mountains, which extend to the frontiers of *Perſia*. The fifth day he arrived at the ſtreights of *Perſia*. Theſe *Ariobarzanes* held with four thouſand foot, and ſeven hundred horſe, which he had poſted on the tops of the hills out of the enemy's reach. As ſoon as *Alexander* advanced to attack him, the *Perſians*, from the tops of the mountains, rolled down ſtones of ſuch a prodigious ſize, that they cruſhed at once whole ranks. The king, being greatly frightened at this ſight, commanded a retreat to be ſounded, and withdrew about thirty furlongs from the paſs, where he lay encamped ſome time, not knowing how to advance, and being aſhamed to return; but, in the mean time, a *Greek* deſerter, coming to his camp, offered himſelf readily to conduct him through by-paths to the very top of the mountains; whence he might eaſily ſo annoy the *Perſians* as to oblige them to abandon the ſtreights, and leave an open paſſage to the whole army. He was as good as his word; for *Alexander*, at the head of ſome choſen troops, having followed his guide all that night through rocks and precipices, arrived, a little before day-break, at the top of a mountain, which commanded all the hills where the enemy was poſted; which they obſerving, betook themſelves to flight; and, at the ſame time, *Craterus*, who had been left in the camp, advancing with the troops under his command, poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſtreights.

*Seizes the ſtreights of* Perſia.

*Ariobarzanes*, with part of the cavalry, breaking through the *Macedonians*, with great ſlaughter both of them, and of his own men, made his eſcape over the mountains, with a deſign to throw himſelf into *Perſepolis*; but, finding all the paſſes leading to that city guarded by the enemy, he returned back upon thoſe that purſued him, and was killed with all that followed him, after having cut in pieces great numbers of the *Macedonians* [b].

Ariobarzanes's *gallant conduct.*

[a] CURT. l. v. c. 9. [b] CURT. ARRIAN. DIOD. PLUT. ubi ſupra, & POLYÆNUS, l. iv. ſtratagem.

BEING

BEING now possessed of the streights, *Alexander* pursued his march into *Persis*, or *Persia*, properly so called. When he was at some distance from *Persepolis*, the metropolis of that province, he received letters from the governor of the place, acquainting him, that the citizens, upon the news of his approach, were ready to plunder *Darius*'s treasures, with which he had been intrusted, and desiring him to march with all possible expedition, that he might seize them himself. *Alexander*, upon the receipt of this letter, leaving his infantry behind, marched the whole night at the head of the cavalry; and, having passed the *Araxes* on a bridge, which, by his order, had been built some days before, arrived by day-break within two furlongs of *Persepolis*. The next day, having assembled the generals of his army, he represented to them, that no city had ever been more fatal to *Greece* than *Persepolis*, the antient residence of the *Persian* monarchs, and the capital of their empire; that from thence those mighty armies had been sent, which had over-run and laid waste great part of *Europe*; and that it was therefore incumbent upon them to revenge, on that proud metropolis, the many injuries and calamities which their ancestors had suffered. The commanders, being encouraged by this speech, allowed their soldiers to practise all manner of cruelties against the miserable inhabitants, who were massacred in the most barbarous manner. After this cruel execution, leaving *Craterus* and *Parmenio* in the place, the king, with a small body, went to reduce the neighbouring cities and strong-holds, which all submitted at the approach of his troops; he then returned to *Persepolis*, and there took up his winter-quarters. In this city he is said to have found one hundred and twenty thousand talents lodged in the treasury to defray the expences of the war [c].

Persepolis *submits, but the inhabitants cruelly used.*

DURING his stay at *Persepolis*, he gave himself up to feasting and drinking, making daily great entertainments for his officers, to refresh them after the great fatigues they had endured. In one of these entertainments, both the king and his guests having drunk to excess, fire was set, at the motion of a drunken strumpet, to the king's palace, which reduced it to ashes, as we have related above [d].

*and the palace burnt.*

FROM *Persepolis* *Alexander* marched early in the spring to *Pasargada*, resolved to pursue *Darius*, who was fled to *Ecbatan* in *Media*. That unhappy prince had still an army of thirty thousand foot, among whom were four thousand *Greeks*, who continued faithful to the last. Besides these, he had four thousand slingers, and three thousand horse, most of them

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[c] CURT. l. v. c. 13. JUSTIN. l. xi. c. 14. [d] See above, p. 108, & seqq. in the notes.

*Bactrians*

*Bactrians*, and commanded by *Beſſus* governor of *Bactria*. When he heard, that *Alexander* was in full march towards *Ecbatan*, he left that city, with a deſign to retire into *Bactria*, and there raiſe another army. But he was not far advanced when he altered his reſolution, and determined to venture a third battle with the forces then about him. While he was making the neceſſary preparations for the engagement, *Beſſus* governor of *Bactria*, and *Nabarzanes* a *Perſian* lord of great diſtinction, formed a conſpiracy againſt him; propoſing to ſeize his perſon, and, if *Aleander* purſued them, to gain his friendſhip and protection, by betraying their maſter into his hands; but, if they eſcaped, their deſign was to murder him, uſurp the crown, and renew the war. They eaſily won over the troops, by repreſenting to them, that *Darius* was dragging them to deſtruction; that they were no-ways in a condition to make head againſt ſo powerful an enemy; that they would inevitably periſh, if they followed *Darius*, cruſhed under the ruins of an empire which was ready to fall. Though theſe practices were carried on with great ſecrecy, yet they came to *Darius*'s ear; but he could not believe them. *Patron*, who commanded the *Greeks*, earneſtly intreated him to encamp among them, and truſt the guard of his perſon to men on whoſe fidelity he might depend. *Darius* replied, that he had rather ſuffer any misfortune among thoſe of his own nation, than ſeek for ſhelter among ſtrangers, how faithful and affectionate ſoever he might believe them; and that he could not die too ſoon, if his own *Perſians* thought him unworthy to live. Not long after, *Darius* had occaſion to repent of his not following *Patron*'s advice; for *Beſſus* and *Nabarzanes*, ſeizing his perſon, bound him, out of reſpect to the royal dignity, in chains of gold, and, ſhutting him up in a covered cart, fled with him towards *Bactria*. The cart was covered with ſkins, and ſtrangers appointed to drive it, without knowing who the priſoner was they had in their cuſtody [e]. *Beſſus* was proclaimed commander in chief, in *Darius*'s room, by the *Bactrian* horſe; but *Artabazus*, and his ſons, with the forces they commanded, and the *Greeks* under the command of *Patron*, retired from the body of the army under *Beſſus*, and marched over the mountains towards *Parthiene* [f]. In the mean time, *Alexander*, arriving at *Ecbatan*, was informed that *Darius* had left that city five days before. Here the *Theſſalians* ſhewing a great reluctancy to accompany him any further, he gave them leave to return to their own coun-

[e] Curt. l. v. c. 18, 22, 23. Arrian. l. iii. p. 67. [f] Curt. l. v. c. 23. Arrian. l. iv. p. 68.

try;

try; and, at their parting, divided two thousand talents among them, over and above their full pay: to such as were willing to continue in his service, he gave three talents apiece [g]. He then commanded *Parmenio* to lay up, in the castle of *Ecbatan*, the remaining part of the treasures, which, according to *Strabo* [h], amounted to one hundred and eighty talents; and afterwards to march with the *Thracians*, and great part of the cavalry, into the country of the *Cadusians*. He dispatched orders to *Clitus*, who had fallen sick at *Susa*, to repair, as soon as he recovered, to *Ecbatan*, and from thence to follow him into *Parthia*, with the cavalry, and six thousand *Macedonians*, that were left in *Ecbatan*. *Alexander*, with the rest of his army, pursued *Darius*; and the eleventh day arrived at *Rages*, having marched, in that space of time, three thousand three hundred furlongs. Most part of those who accompanied him died through the fatigues of so long and expeditious a march; insomuch that, on his arrival at *Rages*, he could muster but sixty horsemen [i]. Finding that he could not come up with *Darius*, who had already passed the *Caspian* streights, he staid five days at *Rages*, in order to refresh his army, and settle the affairs of *Media*. From thence he marched into *Parthia*, and encamped the first day at a small distance from the *Caspian* streights, which he passed the next, without any opposition. He had scarce entered *Parthia*, when he was informed by *Bagistbenes*, a *Persian* noblemen, that *Bessus* and *Nabarzanes* had conspired against *Darius*, and designed to seize him. Hereupon, leaving the main body of the army behind, under the command of *Craterus*, he advanced, with a small troop of horse lightly armed; and having marched night and day, without ever halting, except a few hours, came the third day to a village, where *Bessus*, with his *Bactrians*, had encamped the day before. Here he understood, that *Darius* had been seized by the traitors; that *Bessus* had caused him to be shut up in a close cart, which he had sent before, that he might be the more sure of his person; and that the whole army, except *Artabazus*, and the *Greeks*, who had taken another route, obeyed *Bessus*, and acknowleged him for their general. This was a fresh motive for *Alexander* to hasten his march: taking therefore along with him a small body of light-armed horse (for the others could not possibly proceed any farther), he set out again the same night; and early next morning was acquainted by *Orcillus* and *Mithracenes*, two *Persian* officers, who, in detestation of the treachery

[g] Curt. l. vi. c. 3. Arrian. l. iii. Plut. in Alex. [h] Strabo, l. xv. p. 741. [i] Arrian. l. iii. Plut. in Alex.

of *Beſſus*, had fled over to him, that the *Bactrians* were not above five hundred furlongs off; and that they could lead him to them by a nearer way. Taking them, therefore, for his guides, he ſet out again the ſame night; and, after marching three hundred furlongs, was met by the ſon of *Mazæus*, formerly governor of *Syria*, who informed him, that *Beſſus* was not above two hundred furlongs off; and that his army, as not apprehending any danger, was marching in diſorder; and might eaſily be ſurpriſed, and cut in pieces. Hereupon *Alexander* again doubled his pace, and, at laſt, came in ſight of the enemy. His unexpected arrival ſtruck the barbarians, though far ſuperior in number, with ſuch terror, that they immediately betook themſelves to a precipitous flight; and, becauſe *Darius* refuſed to follow them, *Beſſus*, and thoſe that were about him, diſcharging their darts at the unfortunate prince, left him wallowing in his blood, to the mercy of the *Macedonians*. This done, they ſeparated, and took different routs, *Beſſus* flying towards *Hyrcania*, and *Nabarzanes* into *Bactria*, that, by this means, they might elude the purſuit of the enemy, or, at leaſt, oblige him to divide his forces. They were attended only by a few horſe, the reſt, now deſtitute of leaders, diſperſing themſelves up and down the country, as fear or hope directed their ſteps. *Alexander*, ſeeing in what confuſion the enemies were, ſent *Nicanor*, with a troop of light-armed horſe, to ſtop their flight; and himſelf followed, at the head of three thouſand *Macedonians*. *Nicanor* put near three thouſand of the ſtragglers to the ſword, but could not come up either with *Beſſus* or *Nabarzanes*; which *Alexander* obſerving, ſent him orders to give quarters to all thoſe that ſhould throw down their arms, and ſubmit. In the mean time, the horſes that drew the cart in which was *Darius*, halted of their own accord; for the drivers had been killed by *Beſſus*, near a certain village about four furlongs from the highway, whither *Polyſtratus*, a *Macedonian*, being preſſed with thirſt, in the purſuit of the enemy, was ſoon after conducted by the inhabitants, to refreſh himſelf at a fountain not far from the place where they ſtopt. As he was filling his helmet with water, he heard the groans of a dying man; and, looking round him, diſcovered a cart, with a team of horſes, not able to move, for the many wounds they had received. As he drew near, he ſaw *Darius* lying in the cart, and very near his end, having ſeveral darts ſtill ſticking in his body: however, he had ſtrength enough to call for ſome water, which *Polyſtratus*, being by a *Perſian* captive informed of this barbarous tragedy, readily brought him. *Darius*, after drinking, turned to the *Macedonian*, and told him, with a faint voice, that, in the deplorable ſtate to which he was reduced, it was

Darius Codomannus *ſlain.*

Year of the flood 2018. Bef. Chr. 330.

no small comfort to him, that his last words would not be lost. He then charged him to return his hearty thanks to *Alexander*, for the kindness he had shewn to his wife, mother, and children; and acquaint him, that with his last breath he besought the gods to prosper him in all his undertakings, and make him sole monarch of the universe. He added, that it did not so much concern him as *Alexander*, to pursue and bring to condign punishment those traitors, who had treated with such cruelty their lawful sovereign, that being the common cause of all crowned heads. Then, taking *Polystratus* by the hand, "Give *Alexander*, said he, your hand, as I give you mine; "and carry him, in my name, the only pledge I am able to "give, in this condition, of my gratitude and affection." Having uttered these words, he expired in the arms of *Polystratus*. *Alexander*, coming up, a few minutes after, and beholding *Darius*'s body, burst out in tears, bewailing the cruel lot of a prince, who, said he, deserved a better fate. He immediately pulled off his own military cloak, and covered the corpse, causing it to be embalmed, and sent in a rich and magnificent coffin to *Sisigambis*, that it might be interred with the other *Persian* monarchs [k].

THUS died *Darius*, in the fiftieth year of his age, and sixth of his reign. He was a mild and pacific prince, his reign having been unsullied with injustice, cruelty, or any of those vices which most of his predecessors had been greatly addicted to. In him the *Persian* empire ended, after it had lasted, from the first of *Cyrus*, two hundred and six years, under thirteen kings; *viz.* *Cyrus*, *Cambyses*, *Smerdis*, *Darius Hystaspis*, *Xerxes* I. *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, *Xerxes* II. *Sogdianus*, *Darius Nothus*, *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, *Artaxerxes Ochus*, *Arses*, *Darius Codomannus*. Upon the death of *Darius*, all his commanders submitted to the conqueror, by whom they were restored to their former honours and employments: but, above all others, he distinguished *Artabazus*, in regard of his constant and unshaken fidelity to his master, and *Oxathres*, *Darius*'s brother, whom he ever treated in a manner becoming his high station, and noble birth: he was even, to his great dishonour, prevailed upon to receive and pardon *Nabarzanes*, who, together with *Bessus*, had murdered *Darius*: but *Bessus* having fled into *Bactria*, and there assumed the title of king, *Alexander*, in the beginning of the next spring, marched against him. But his march out of *Persia* into these northern countries is by authors described with great confusion; for after they have told us, that he was resolved to find out *Bessus* in *Bactria*, they

[k] CURT. l. v. c. 25. JUSTIN. l. xi. c. 15. ARRIAN. l. iii. p. 69, 72. PLUT. in Alex. JUSTIN. l. ii. c. 5.

make him take the way of *Hyrcania*; from thence wander northwards into the country of the *Mardi*, bordering on the *Caspian* sea; and, after subduing the *Mardi*, cross mount *Coronus* into *Aria* and *Drangiana*. Be that as it will, he arrived, at last, after a long and tedious march, in *Bactriana*; and, having rested his army some time at *Drapsaca*, he advanced against, and reduced *Aornos* and *Bactra*, the two strongest cities of that province. *Alexander* had no sooner reached the confines of *Bactria*, but eight thousand *Bactrians*, who till that time had followed *Bessus*, abandoning him, withdrew to their respective homes. Hereupon *Bessus*, at the head of the few troops that continued faithful to him, crossing the river *Oxus*, retired into the province of *Sogdiana*, with a design to raise there a new army: in order to prevent *Alexander* from pursuing him, he burnt all the boats he had made use of in passing over his troops, hoping, that as the river was nowhere fordable, and the country affording no timber, he would thereby be obliged to return, and give over the pursuit. But no difficulties were unsurmountable to that conqueror, who, finding no timber wherewithal to make boats or floats, caused the hides which covered the soldiers tents and carriages, to be filled with straw, and tied together. By this means, he supplied the want of timber, and passed his whole army over that large and deep river, in the space of five days; which *Bessus* might have easily prevented, had he but dared to look the *Macedonians* in the face. When the *Bactrians*, who were encamped at a place called *Nautaca*, heard that *Alexander* had crossed the river, and was on full march to fall upon them, *Spitamenes*, whom *Bessus* most confided in, together with *Gatanes* and *Dataphernes*, formed a conspiracy to seize *Bessus*, and purchase their own safety, by delivering him up to *Alexander*; which they did accordingly, tearing in pieces his diadem and royal robes, of which he had stript his lawful sovereign *Darius*; and, carrying him loaded with chains to the *Macedonian* camp, *Spitamenes* himself presented the traitor to *Alexander*, not only bound, but stark-naked, holding him by a chain round his neck; a sight no less agreeable to the *Persians* than the *Macedonians*. *Alexander*, having amply rewarded *Spitamenes* and his companions, and caused the traitor's nose and ears to be cut off, delivered him into the hands of *Oxatres*, *Darius*'s brother, to suffer whatever punishment he should think proper to inflict, for so base and treacherous a murder[l]. *Plutarch*[m] has left us an account of this execution: he tells

[l] Curt. l. vii. c. 12. Arrian. l. iii. Diodor. l. xvii.
[m] Plut. in Alex. & Diodor. l. xvii. p. 554. Arrian. l. iv. c. 7. Curt. l. vii. c. 10.

us, that ſeveral trees being, by main force, bent down to the ground, and to each one of the traitor's limbs faſtened, the trees, as they were let return to their natural poſition, flew back with ſuch violence, that each carried with it the limb that was tied to it. Thus *Beſſus* ſuffered the puniſhment that was due to his treachery; and, at his death, *Alexander* ſaw himſelf in quiet poſſeſſion of the whole *Perſian* empire. This is what we have gathered from the *Greek* and *Latin* hiſtorians, of the beſt account, concerning the affairs of the antient *Perſians*: in the following ſection we ſhall hear the Orientals on the ſame ſubject.

Beſſus *put to death.* Year of the flood 2018. Bef. Chr. 330.

In ſtating the times of the *Perſian* empire, we have followed all along *Ptolemy*'s canon, and the records of the *Greek* and *Latin* authors: for the *Jews* own ſuch kings only as they find mentioned in the books of the Old Teſtament; whence, according to their computation in the greater chronicle *Seder Olam Rabbah*, the *Medo-Perſian* empire, from the building of the temple in the ſecond year of *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, flouriſhed only thirty-four years. *Joſephus* acknowleges only the following kings of *Perſia*: *Cyrus*, *Cambyſes*, *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, *Xerxes*, *Artaxerxes*, and *Darius*. This *Darius*, who was *Darius Nothus*, he confounds with *Darius Codomanus*, who was conquered by *Alexander*; and refers to the reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, whatever happened in the reigns of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, and *Artaxerxes Ochus*.

## SECT. V.

### *The hiſtory of* Perſia, *according to the oriental writers.*

*What degree of certainty may be expected in the following hiſtory.*

WE have been ſo long uſed to hear every thing tranſcribed from eaſtern authors cenſured as vain and fabulous, that, how unwilling ſoever we may be to trouble the reader with preparatory diſcourſes, yet, in this caſe, there ſeems to be a neceſſity of ſaying ſomewhat in ſupport of the narratives we are going to recite, that they may not be taken for mere figments, or romances void of all foundation. It is far from being our opinion, that every thing recorded by the *Perſian* writers is ſtrictly fact; that would be to place them not on a level with the beſt hiſtorians of other nations, but in a claſs high above them: for what people, what kingdom, what republic, can boaſt of ſuch a faultleſs ſeries of hiſtory? or why ſhould we expect a greater degree of clearneſs in the hiſtory of *Perſia*, as written by oriental authors, than we find in the hiſtory of *Greece*, though written by *Greeks*, who were ſo proud of their own abilities, that they ſtiled all the reſt of the world barbarians? It is ſufficient for our purpoſe (which

is no more than to gain the reader's proper attention for what we have collected of the *Perſian* hiſtory from eaſtern writers), that we ſhew there is as juſt reaſon to ſuppoſe they have delivered us a great many truths in their accounts of theſe early times, as can be produced in favour of any other hiſtory as antient. In order to this, we ſhall neither multiply arguments nor words. In the firſt place, we are told by *Moſes* [a], that there were kings in *Perſia* in the age immediately following that, in which the *Perſian* writers placed the beginning of their monarchy. It is therefore evident, that theſe writers are not wrong in making their kingdom ſo antient as they do. But, ſecondly, there is no juſt cauſe to doubt, that either as ſoon, or within a ſmall time after the ſettling of regal government amongſt them, hiſtories, or at leaſt hiſtorical poems, were alſo introduced. This was the cuſtom in all places, at leaſt as far as we are able to trace things back. Firſt, a people lived miſerably, and without order; then ſome great genius reformed and reduced them into ſociety; ſucceſſive kings cheriſhed and increaſed that ſociety; and men, having leiſure and eaſe, conſidered theſe benefits, and gratefully ſung the praiſes of their benefactors. *Moſes* has preſerved two fragments of an *Amoritiſh* poem, as old, in all probability, as the times we are ſpeaking of; and if the bards of that country ſung ſo early the praiſes of *Sihon* [b], why might not the *Perſians* have perſons among them as capable of tranſmitting to poſterity the memorable deeds of their princes? Thirdly, it is univerſally allowed, that the preſent *Perſians* have not only quick wits, but are wonderfully ſtudious, and in a particular manner addicted to the conſervation of the antiquities of their country. It may indeed be objected to this, that the modern and the antient *Perſians* are not one and the ſame people: but hereto it may be replied, that the *Perſees*, the unadulterated remnant of the old inhabitants of this wide empire, are ſtill more ſtudious and thoughtful than the preſent *Perſians* [c]. We may therefore conclude, that there were formerly many authentic hiſtories of the reigns of the *moſt* antient kings of this realm; I ſay, we may conclude this from the reaſons already given, if we had no other proof; but, as we have, it would be unfair not to mention it, eſpecially ſince it may be drawn into very little room. The authorities which may be adduced in ſupport of this aſſertion, that the antient *Perſians* kept authentic records of their affairs, may be reduced under theſe two heads; *viz.* ſacred and profane. The authors of the books of [d] *Ezra* and [e] *Nehemiah* ſpeak

[a] Gen. xiv. 1, 9. [b] Numb. xxi. 27. [c] CHARDIN, tom. iii. p. 130. [d] vi. 2. [e] ii. 7.

fre-

frequently, not only of the immutability of the *Persian* laws, which implies, that they were recorded, but also of public acts and registers. In the book of [f] *Esther*, we have not only frequent mention of these, but also of the chronicles of the kingdom, or rather of the kings of *Persia*, wherein every thing of moment was set down. As to profane writers, [g] *Herodotus* and [h] *Xenophon* are sufficient to satisfy any impartial person as to the wisdom and virtue of the antient *Persians*, and their care of all things which had regard to the honour or welfare of their country.

*How the antient histories have been preserved.*

Supposing it therefore as clear as the nature of the thing will admit, that the *Persians* had amongst them of old the histories of their kings and heroes, we are next to shew how these can be reasonably believed to be yet in being, and to have reached these distant times. Of this however we are not positive ourselves: all that we can say is this, that the *Persians* having lived under their own laws down to the time of *Yezdegherd*, there seems to be no difficulty in allowing, that, till then, their histories were frequent amongst them; for though the *Macedonians* might burn and destroy their records, yet it is incredible, that they should destroy all the books in the empire. Besides, we know, that the modern *Persees* have the *zend* or original code of *Zerdhusht* amongst them, with many other antient books. Now, it being generally agreed, that *Zerdhusht* flourished in the days of *Darius Hystaspis*, it will be hard to assign a reason, why some of their antient histories might not be preserved, as well as these books of their law. But further still, *Mohammed Ben Emir Khoandschah*, commonly called *Mirkhond* or *Mirkhound*, with other modern *Persian* authors, constantly and uniformly assert, that they write from such authorities; and therefore we have no just reason to doubt them, unless we could shew the contrary (A).

It

[f] ii. 23. vi. 1. [g] Lib. i. & ix. pass. [h] Cyropæd. pass.

(A) This famous historian is quoted by various names, and those names have received some alteration from the different orthographies used in oriental appellations: sometimes he is called *Mirchond*, sometimes *Mirkhond*, and sometimes *Chondemir*: he wrote a general history from the beginning of the world to the year of the *Hegira* 900, under the title of *Raoudhat al Safa*; he was a person of great natural parts, and of much learning, perfectly well skilled in the *Persian* antiquities, and wrote from the best histories extant in his time (1); for this reason we find him often quoted by the very learned Dr. *Hyde* (2); and indeed

(1) *D'Herbelot. tit. Mircond.*

(2) *Hyde rel. vet. Persar. c. 8. p. 152.*

*On what authorities this history is founded.*

It is from the author before-mentioned that we take, for the most part, what is delivered in the following pages concerning the oriental history of *Persia*. He is allowed to have been a person of great learning and judgment by such as are well versed in oriental history; and his works are esteemed as oracles throughout the east. We may justly hope therefore, that what we transcribe from him, with the addition of such circumstances as we can meet with elsewhere, will render this section as useful and as agreeable as could be expected on so abstruse a subject. Without farther introduction therefore, let us proceed to the catalogue of kings afforded us in his writings.

*A table of the kings of* Persia, *to the time of* Alexander the Great, *according to* Mirkhond.

The first race,

Or the dynasty of the *Pischdadians*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *Kejomaras* or *Cajoumaras* | 40 |
| 2. | *Siamek* | |
| | *Kejomaras* resumes the kingdom | |
| 3. | *Hushangh* or *Houschenk* | 50 |
| 4. | *Tahmuras* | 30 |
| 5. | *Giemshîd* or *Giamschid* | |
| | *Dahâc*, *Zahâk*, *Zoâk* | |
| 6. | *Aphridûn*, *Phredûn*, or *Feridoun* | |
| 7. | *Manugjahr* or *Manougeher*, surnamed *Phirouz* | 120 |
| 8. | *Nodar* | 7 |
| 9. | *Apherâsiab* or *Afrasiab* | 12 |
| 10. | *Zab*, *Zaab*, or *Zoub* | |

The second race,

Or the dynasty of the *Kaianites*.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *Kaikobad* | 100 |
| 2. | *Kaikaus* | 150 |

indeed by all the writers of note on *Persian* affairs. His fame became known in *Europe* by an abridgment of his work, published in *Spanish* by *Teixera*, which is, however, far from being correct; there is a better extract extant in a book cited at the bottom of the page (3). We shall have occasion to speak hereafter of this author, and his works, when we come to the history of the age in which he lived; and shall therefore put an end to this note here.

(3) *Les estats, empires, & principautés du monde. Paris, 4to, 1662, p. 999.*

3. *Kaik-*

| | |
|---|---|
| 3. *Kaikhosru* | 60 |
| 4. *Lohrasp* or *Lohorasb* | 120 |
| 5. *Gushtâsp*, or *Gustasp*, or *Kischtasp* | 120 |
| 6. *Ardschir*, surnamed *Babaman* | 112 |
| 7. Queen *Homai* | 32 |
| 8. *Darab* I. | 4 |
| 9. *Darab* II. | 14 |

*A table of the same kings, with the years of their reigns, according to other oriental authors.*

The first race.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. *Kejomaras* or *Cajoumaras* | 560 |
| *Siamek*, slain after a short reign | |
| *Kajomaras* resumes the kingdom, and reigned | 30 |
| An interregnum | 200 |
| 2. *Hushang* or *Houschenk*, surnamed *Pischdud* | 50 |
| 3. *Tahmurasb* | 700 |
| 4. *Gienshîd* or *Giamschid* | 30 |
| 5. *Dahâk*, *Zahâk*, *Zoak* | 1000 |
| 6. *Aphridûn*, *Phridun*, or *Feridoun* | 120 |
| 7. *Manugjahr* or *Manougeher*, surnamed *Phirouz* | 500 |
| 8. *Nodar* | 7 |
| 9. *Apheraſiab* or *Afraſiab* | 12 |
| 10. *Zab*, *Zaab*, or *Zoub* | 30 |
| 11. *Gustasp* son of *Zoub* | 30 |

The second race.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. *Kaikobad* | 120 |
| 2. *Kaikaus* | 150 |
| 3. *Kaihosru* | 60 |
| 4. *Lohrasp* or *Lohorasb* | 120 |
| 5. *Gushtâsp*, or *Gustasp*, or *Kischtasp* | 120 |
| 6. *Ardschir*, surnamed *Babaman* | 112 |
| 7. Queen *Homai* | 32 |
| 8. *Darab* I. | 14 |
| 9. *Darab* II. | |

*The nature thereof in point of ſtile, &c.*

It is evident enough from the years ſet down in the two tables above, that there is a great mixture of fable and uncertainty in the accounts we have of theſe princes reigns; but there may, notwithſtanding this, be a great deal of truth in theſe relations; and, by comparing them with what the *Greek* and other writers of the *Perſian* affairs have given us of the ſame times, it may be very poſſible to extract a better idea of the antient *Perſian* empire, than could have been had without con-

conſulting the oriental writers at all. Reaſon will be everlaſtingly the ſupreme judge of facts; and, if an hiſtory be attended with continual improbabilities or abſurdities, men of ſenſe will either doubt or reject its authority, whether its author lived in the eaſt, or in the weſt. On the other hand, where an hiſtory is compoſed of a ſeries of mixed facts, ſome probable, and ſome romantic, the candid reader will receive thoſe, *though* he throw away theſe, and will not deſtroy the wheat, *becauſe* there are tares amongſt it. As to the ſtile of *the following* hiſtory, we have not pretended to follow the rhetorical pomp of the *Perſian* authors; on the contrary, we have delivered ourſelves with the utmoſt plainneſs and perſpicuity, and have endeavoured, as far as in our power lay, to reſcue truth out of thoſe metaphoric clouds, which often obſcure the writings of the eaſtern hiſtorians. Farther remarks of the ſame nature we leave to the diſcernment of our readers.

Kejomaras. KEJOMARAS, or *Cajoumieras*, is allowed, by all the oriental authors, to have been the firſt king of the firſt race ſurnamed the *Piſchdadians* from *Piſchdad*, which ſignifies a juſt judge, and was the ſurname given to *Huſhangh* the ſecond king of this race afterwards, however attributed to them all. The manner whereby *Kejomaras* aſcended the throne was this: In the province of *Aderbayagjan*, the inhabitants, feeling the ſad effects of anarchy, and finding that liberty could not be enjoyed, where every one was free to do what he pleaſed, unanimouſly reſolved to elect one, who ſhould be obeyed by all, and to whoſe judgment they would ſubmit, as to an irrefragable law. His conſpicuous virtues determined them on this occaſion to *Kejomaras*, whom therefore they immediately owned for their monarch, inveſted him with royal robes, and put a bonnet called *tagi* on his head, kiſſing his feet, in token of ſubmiſſion; which cuſtoms laſt-mentioned were preſerved in uſe by his ſucceſſors [1]. His elevation had a proper effect on the mind of this new king; he applied himſelf to every branch of his duty; he erected courts of juſtice; he taught men to build houſes, and to live in villages; he invented various manufactures, ſuch as the making woolen cloth, and ſpinning and weaving ſilk: in a word, he civilized his people, and merited, by his wiſdom, juſtice and goodneſs, that dignity, which, out of modeſty, and a foreſight of the cares it would be attended with, he, for a long time, refuſed [k]. The happineſs, enjoyed by ſuch as lived under ſo excellent a prince, invited the neighbouring people to put themſelves under his protection. Thus his empire was extended by the ſame means

[1] MIRKHOND proœm. hiſt. [k] Tarik. Montekheb, i. e. The ſelect chronicle.

that

that it began, *viz.* thro' an opinion of his worth; and he, upon their submission, treated his new subjects with the same care and kindness as he had always shewn to his old. He sent his brother to take a view of these new-acquired dominions, and went afterwards to look upon them himself. In the province of *Chorasan* he met with his brother, and, embracing him tenderly, he, to perpetuate the memory of that interview, erected the city of *Balch*, where it happened; that word being derived from a verb which signifies to embrace. He was also the founder of abundance of other cities of *Persia*, particularly *Kabulstan*, *Sigistan*, *Gom*, &c [l]. This prince had two sons; the name of the elder was *Nazek*, a young man of wonderful prudence, who addicted himself intirely to study; for which reason he withdrew from his father's court, and lived with his wife in a little hermitage, where he gave himself over to contemplation: his father, who was himself a very learned man, went frequently to visit and converse with his son in his cell. Once going thither on the same errand, he found his son dead with several wounds upon his body: on a strict inquiry he was informed, that this cruel fact was committed by certain robbers of *Tabrestan*. These *Kejomaras* pursued into their own country, defeated them, and, after putting many to the sword, made slaves of the rest, and employed them in his buildings [m]. The other son of *Kejomaras*, or rather his grandson, was *Siamek*, with whom the wife of *Nazek* was big when he was murdered. This child, as soon as he was born, *Kejomaras* adopted, bred him up with the utmost care, and, having instructed him in all the arts of reigning, he, with the consent of the people, transferred the sovereignty to him, and made him king in his life-time.

Siamek. SIAMEK proved a gracious and warlike prince. Within a short time after his accession, some of his neighbours entered his dominions in a hostile manner; whereupon he immediately raised an army, marched against them, and gave them battle, where, fighting valiantly, he received a mortal wound; he was carried out of the battle, and died in the arms of his wife, whom he left, as his father left his, big with child, conjuring her with his last words, if she brought forth a son, to put him continually in mind of his unfortunate death, and to exhort him to revenge it on the people, who, in so short a time, had deprived him both of his life and empire. *Kejomaras* being forced by this unlucky accident to ascend the throne again, the first thing he did was to

[l] MIRKHOND hist. sect. 1. oriental. tit. CAIAMURATH.

[m] D'HERBELOT. biblioth.

celebrate

celebrate the obſequies of his deceaſed ſon with great magnificence; the next, to take vengeance of thoſe who had ſlain *Siamek*; after which he is ſaid to have reigned, with great applauſe, thirty years [n]: but how long he reigned before he reſigned the crown to *Siamek*, is uncertain (B).

Huſhang. HUSHANG, or *Houſchenk*, ſurnamed *Piſchdad*, was a perſon of great parts, as well as great courage; and is equally famous throughout the eaſt, for the extent of his knowlege, and his mighty feats of valour. He is ſaid to have given a regular body of laws to his ſubjects; whence he was called *Piſchdad*. He alſo divided his country, and eſtabliſhed governors throughout, encouraged the working of mines, and invented moſt of the inſtruments of agriculture; as alſo the art of conveying water through ſubterraneous paſſages, for the moiſtening their grounds. To him likewiſe they aſcribe the taming leopards, and other beaſts of chace, and the introducing furs, for keeping the body warm in winter. As he made his kingdom flouriſh through his wiſdom, ſo he extended it by his courage; and, after a reign of fifty years, was killed by the fall of a piece of rock thrown from the mountains of *Damavend*, by an army of barbarians, who came to invade his territories. Some are of opinion, that he made

[n] SHARISTANI apud HYDE rel. vet. Perſar. c. 25. p. 175.

(B) There is nothing more uncertain than the lineage of this king, and the time in which he flouriſhed. Some oriental writers have fanſied him *Adam*; and, becauſe he was the firſt king, would needs have him to be the firſt man alſo; but men of better judgments, and cooler imaginations, have conceived, that this notion was owing to a miſtake, and that the antient *Perſians* called him *Adam* by way of honorary ſurname, ſignifying, that he was as much the father of their nation, as *Adam* of mankind. The moſt judicious among the *Perſian* writers believe him to have been the ſon of *Aram*, the ſon of *Shem*, the ſon of *Noah*; and that he choſe to erect the ſeat of his empire not far from mount *Ararat*, and the countries firſt planted after the flood. His religion is another diſputable point, ſome holding him an idolater, and believing that the magnificent pile he reared for the burning of the body of his ſon *Siamek*, gave birth to the *fire-worſhip* aſcribed to the *Magians*. But, if we may credit graver authorities, *Kejumaras*, like moſt antient kings, was at once both prince and prophet, taught his people the true religion of the patriarchs, particularly the exiſtence of one infinite almighty Being, and of a created evil being, the indefatigable enemy of mankind. The romance-writers allow him a thouſand years of life, and ſay, that of theſe he reigned five hundred and ſixty.

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the province of *Chuſiſtan* the ſeat of his empire, by erecting there the famous city of *Suſa* or *Suſhan* ° (C).

TAHMU-

° Leb. Tarik. MIRKHOND. hiſt. ſect. 3.

(C) There is hardly an antient prince in the world, whoſe name is more famous in romance than that of *Huſhang*; there is a *Perſian* book which bears the title of *Huſhang Nameh*, i. e. *Huſhang*'s hiſtory, which, for the many wonderful things it contains, has been tranſlated into the *Turkiſh* tongue. In this famous piece it is recorded, that our hero beſtrid a monſtrous animal, called *Rakhſche*, which he found in the dry iſland, or new world, being the iſſue of a male crocodile, and a female hippopotamus; this ſteed fed upon nothing but the fleſh of ſerpents and dragons: after once *Huſhang* had made this animal ſubmit to the ſaddle, there was no giant ſo terrible, no monſter ſo frightful, but he attacked and ſubdued. Amongſt the reſt of his conqueſts, he reduced the people of *Mahiſer*, ſo famous in the eaſtern romances, for their having fiſhes heads, and thence eſteemed a race of formidable monſters. The truth ſeems to be, that this prince ſubdued that people on the *Perſic* gulf, called by the *Greeks Ichthyophagi*, from their living upon fiſh; whence the fruitful imagination of eaſtern poets deduced a people with fiſhes heads. The ſame fabulous writers aſcribe to this monarch a certain book, bearing the title of *Giavidan Khird*, i. e. the wiſdom of all times: this is a very famous piece, and is certainly very antient, and has been tranſlated into various languages, particularly into *Arabic*, by the ſon of the vizier of the caliph *Almamon*, and into *Turkiſh*, under the title of *Anvar Sohaili*; it has alſo been in part rendered into *French*, and is in itſelf a very excellent treatiſe; whence, in all probability, it came to be attributed to this monarch ſo famous for giving laws, and teaching wiſdom and civility to his people (3). It is penned with all the enthuſiaſm natural to eaſtern writers; there are in it, however, ſome very fine ſentences; amongſt others, theſe which follow:

" Great kings are gods on
" earth, and have all the attri-
" butes of power, wiſdom, and
" mercy, in a ſuperior degree,
" with reſpect to private per-
" ſons, as the Almighty hath
" over them. Let not this,
" however, encourage them to
" uſe their ſubjects with rigour.
" Thunder is ſeldom heard,
" but the ſun ſhines every day;
" we ſee ten thouſand inſtances
" of GOD's goodneſs, for one
" extraordinary act of venge-
" ance; let kings imitate him
" by doing all the good they
" can, and always remember,
" that though death is in their
" power, yet life is not: they
" may order a man to be cut
" into a thouſand pieces; but
" there their dominion ends;
" they cannot call him into be-

(3) *D'Herbelot. art. Houſchenk.*

" ing

Tahmuraſh.

TAHMURASH, ſurnamed *Diùbend*, i. e. the humbler of the devil, ſuppoſed by ſome to be the ſon, by others the grandſon of *Huſhang*, and, by a third party, his couſin, ſucceeded that famous monarch, and governed with great reputation; for, finding that the wars of his predeceſſor had introduced both poverty and confuſion in his dominions, he, to remedy the firſt, remitted all taxes for three years; and, to reduce things into order, made new laws, and took care, that the magiſtrates ſhould every-where put them in execution. He is the firſt *Perſian* prince recorded to have had a vizier or prime miniſter; it is very poſſible, that the diſorder in which he found the affairs of his empire, engaged him to make uſe of ſuch an officer. This king fortified the frontiers of *Perſia*, to prevent ſudden invaſions; and ſhewed ſo happy a mixture of wiſdom and valour in his diſpoſition, that ſeveral of the neighbouring nations, ſtruck with the felicity of his ſubjects, voluntarily ſubmitted themſelves to him, and acknowleged him for their ſovereign. At laſt, after a glorious reign of thirty years, a peſtilence, which raged throughout his dominions, and deſtroyed, with equal rapidity, both man and beaſt, cut the thread of his life at *Balch*, to the great grief of his ſubjects [p].

[p] MIRKHOND. hiſt. ſect. 4. D'HERBELOT. tit. TAHMURASH.

" ing again: beware therefore " of ſudden judgments, and of " penitence coming too late.

" Miniſters are as the hands " or inſtruments of kings; men " look not for an account of " their actions from themſelves, " but from their maſters; a king " therefore ſhould look well to " his miniſters; for it is as vain " to throw the weight of crimes " upon them, when the people " riſe in rebellion, as it would " be for a murderer to tell the " judge, that it was not he, but " his ſword, that killed his " neighbour. Bad princes have " ſometimes had good miniſters, " but good princes never have " bad ones long.

" The paſſions of men may, " by long acquaintance, be " thoroughly known; but the " paſſions of women are inſcru- " table: therefore they ought to " be ſevered from men, leſt the " mutability of their tempers " ſhould infect others. Their " natures, humours, and con- " ſtitution, require reſtraint: " large and coarſe ſtones are " employed in ordinary build- " ings; marble and alabaſter in " palaces; but diamonds we " lock up in cabinets; and as " things are rare, or common, " of ſmall value, or of great " price, we ſet them to ſhew, or " ſhut them up cloſe (4)."

(4) *Humaioun Nameh. ap. Beauchamp's eſſays, ſect.* 3.

GJEM-

GJEMSHID, or *Giamschid*, or rather *Gjem Schid*, his name being *Gjem*, to which *Schid*, as a surname, was added, because of his wonderful beauty, *Schid*, in the *Persic* language, signifying the *sun*; his eyes having such a lustre, that none could look him steadily in the face; tho' some authors are of opinion, that he received this addition to his name, not from the beauty of his person, but from the glory which resulted from his actions. It is not very certain whether this prince was the son of his predecessor, his nephew, or his grandson; but all agree, that he was of the family of *Kejomaras*, and had a just right to the throne. The reputation of his ancestors inspired him with a laudable ambition of equalling at least, if not excelling them. With this view, he encouraged all learned and wise men to come to his court, where he highly preferred them: amongst the rest were two persons of singular abilities, on whom he chiefly relied; the one a *Jew*, says our author *Mirchond*, whose name was *Fael Issuf Rabban*, and the other a *Greek*, called *Fithagores*, i. e. *Pythagoras*: but this must be a mistake; for though we have no certainty as to the chronology of these times, yet it is easy to discern, from the circumstances of things, that *Gjemschid* flourished at a considerable distance from *Pythagoras*. But such errors as these are not infrequent in oriental writers, through their want of understanding thoroughly the history of *Greece*; of which, however, they have most of them a general idea. By the advice, in all probability, of these wise counsellors, *Gjemschid* divided his subjects into three classes; the first consisting of soldiers; the second of husbandmen; and the third of artizans [q]. In his time, music vocal and instrumental, and astronomy, were first introduced into *Persia*. He was also the first who built granaries in *Persia*, into which he caused every year a certain quantity of corn to be carried, that, in case of any deficiency in their harvests, famine might not be felt. In his time likewise wine came to be esteemed, or rather brought into general use, throughout his territories, from the following accident: A woman, who was much in *Gjemschid*'s good graces, was afflicted with an inveterate head-ach, which all the physicians in the court of *Gjemschid* were not able to alleviate or remove: this woman went into the place where the king's wine was kept, and drank of it very freely; and, finding that it, in some measure, relieved her, she returned thither again, after resting herself for some hours, and drank yet a greater quantity, which completed her cure: this she told to the king; and, it being divulged through the court, every body be-

Gjemshid.

[q] MIRKHOND. hist. sect. 5.

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gan to regard wine as an univerſal medicine, capable of removing the moſt ſtubborn diſeaſes. Among the moſt illuſtrious events of this great monarch's reign, we may juſtly place the rectification of the calendar, which he undertook and perfected, inſtituting two years, a civil or ordinary year, and an eccleſiaſtic year, in which there was, in the ſpace of one hundred and thirty years, a month intercalated [r]. He likewiſe inſtituted the *Nauruz*, i. e. the ſolemn obſervation of the new year; concerning which we are told that it had its riſe thus: King *Gjemſchid*, going in progreſs through his provinces, arrived in *Aderbayagjan*; and, ſhewing himſelf on a royal throne to his people, the ſun ſhone with ſuch luſtre on his crown, adorned with precious ſtones and feathers, that the people ſhouted aloud, and ſaid, *This is Nauruz*, i. e. the new day; whence the king took the opportunity of inſtituting a feſtival, wherein, beſides the preſents made to the prince, it was uſual for him to receive and grant the petitions of all ſorts of people, to releaſe priſoners, and to do all other acts of clemency and benevolence which could be expected from him. As to the particular ceremonies attending this feſtival, the reader may probably be pleaſed to know, that it laſted ſix days. On the firſt of theſe the king gratified his people, or, if the phraſe may be allowed, his commons. The ſecond day he paid the ſame regard to the learned men attending his court. On the third, his prieſts and privy counſellors preſented their petitions. On the fourth, he heard the ſuits of his nobility and kindred. On the fifth, thoſe of his children. The ſixth belonged to himſelf. In the evening of the fifth day, a young man, handſome in his perſon, was picked out, and appointed to wait at the king's door all night. At day-break he entered the chamber without ceremony; upon which the king, with an air of familiarity, aſked him whence he came, whither he went, what his purpoſe, and his name, wherefore he came, and what he carried: to which the youth anſwered, *I am Al Manſur*, i. e. *Auguſt*; *my name is Al-Mobarek*, i. e. *the Bleſſed*; *I came hither from* God, *bearing the new year*. Then he ſat down, and immediately entered the nobility, bearing each a ſilver veſſel, in which were wheat, barley, peas, vetches, pulſe, a ſugar-cane, and two pieces of gold freſh from the mint. Out of this baſon firſt the *waſir* or *vizier*, then the treaſurer, afterwards the nobility, according to their rank, each offered his ſilver veſſel to the king. At the concluſion of the ceremony, a very great loaf, made of ſeveral kinds of corn, was brought in, and placed before the king, who, after eating ſome of it

[r] Hyde rel. vet. Perſar. c. 14.

him-

himself, intreated such as were present, to eat the rest, in these words, *This is a new day of a new month, the beginning of a new year: it is fit, therefore, that we renew our ties to each other.* Then rising up, in his royal robes, he solemnly blessed his nobility, bestowing on them rich gifts [t]. The evening of this day the *Persians* called *Phristaph*, on which they did every thing that might testify joy, and strong hopes of seeing a pleasant year. A great part of his reign *Gjemschid* remained in *Sigjistan*, thinking it the propereſt province of his empire for his court, till affairs in the east were thoroughly settled: then he changed it for the *Proper Persia*, where he erected the noble city of *Estechar*, which most take to be the *Persepolis* of the *Greeks*, though some believe it the city of *Schiras*. If what the antient *Persian* writers deliver of the extent of this city of *Estechar* be true; *viz.* that it contained a square of twenty-four leagues; then it is possible, that both opinions may be true: but if we measure the probability of this account by the other things related of this prince; such as, that he made the tour of the whole earth, was skilled in the occult sciences, and possessed a magic cup of incomparable virtues; we may safely restrain the bounds of this city: and though we allow it to have been very great, especially for those times, yet we may conceive it not to have taken up more than a third part of the space they have assigned it. It is universally allowed, that *Gjemschid* gave himself up intirely to the study of the arts of reigning; and some say, that he was much helped in his political contemplations by considering the transactions among the bees; and that he drew many customs from the hive into the court of *Persia*. Among other inventions, the signet-ring is ascribed to him, and that mode which still prevails throughout the east, of preferring the left hand to the right, as the more honourable: he likewise directed, that the different degrees of people should be distinguishable, from their garb: in a word, he made it the whole business of his life to render his kingdom flourishing, and his people happy; in which he succeeded to his utmost wish. But this great felicity proved the source of the deepest misfortunes; for, having reigned long and gloriously, he unaccountably took it into his head, that he was immortal; sent pictures of himself throughout his empire, and ordered them to be worshiped with divine honours. This madness soon lost him the hearts of the people; so that the province of *Sigjistan*, by the persuasion of a certain great captain, who was related to the king, and whose name was *Abad*, took arms; and, when they had formed themselves into a regular army, marched, under the command of *Zoâk* or *Dahâc*, towards *Schiras*,

[t] Casuini, ap. Hyde, p. 237.

where *Gjemschid* met him with a powerful army, which he had raised. The engagement was fierce and bloody; but, in the end, *Gjemschid* was defeated, and taken prisoner: upon which the tyrant ordered him to be immediately sawn asunder; which was performed in *Zoak*'s sight. This is the account given by *Mirchond*, and the best *Arabian* histories: others say, that he escaped from the battle, and wandered through his dominions. He left behind him a son, whose name was *Phridun* or *Aphridun*, of three years old, whom his mother *Phramak* found means to conceal from his enemies, and to breed up privately, till providence enabled him to ascend the throne of *Persia* [u].

Dehoc. Dehoc, *Dahac*, *Zahak*, *Zoak*: some authors affirm, that the name of this prince is only an alteration of a nickname bestowed on him by the *Persians*; *viz. Deh-ak*, signifying, that he had ten ill qualities, which made him hateful and abominable; and that his real name was *Piuraſh* (D). As this monarch gained the crown by his sword, so he governed fiercely, and with little regard to his subjects. He was, however, a person of great genius, and deeply skilled in the occult sciences: in one word, he is represented to us as a completely wicked man; one whose abilities answered the evil intentions of his soul, and whose person struck beholders with horror; for he had a meagre pallid visage, eyes wild and sparkling, an air fierce and haughty; at the same time that his body was deformed, and his whole appearance terrible. The natural fourness of his temper was irritated by a sharp and incurable disease, consisting in two painful ulcers, one on each shoulder, the anguish of which resembled the pain following the bite of a serpent; whence the story inserted in a famous oriental romance, that the devil, having for many years obeyed him, demanded,

[u] D'Herbelot. tit. Gjemschid.

(D) It is very uncertain of what family this prince was; some report that he was lineally descended from *Siamek*, the son of *Kejomaras*; others, that he was an *Arabian*, the son of *Uluan*, descended in a direct line from *Abad*, the chief of the *Adites*. The truth seems to be, that he was an *Arab* by the father's side, but descended of the house of *Kejomaras* by the mother. There is indeed another fabulous genealogy or two, which scarce deserve to be mentioned, because they are glaringly false; the one supposes but two generations between him and *Adam*, the other, that he was descended from *Ham*, the son of *Noah*, and is to be looked on as the *Nimrod* of the Scriptures. It is very likely, that all these stories were invented to disgrace a prince whose cruelty rendered him odious, or that they happened through some mistakes in reading or transcribing the works of antient poets.

at laſt, as a full reward, that he might have leave to kiſs his ſhoulders; which being granted, an ugly ſerpent immediately took poſt in each, and gnawed itſelf a den in his fleſh. Either ſome ſorcerer, or the devil in a dream, ſuggeſted to *Zoak* an inhuman remedy for this evil; *viz.* that of waſhing theſe ulcers frequently with the warm blood of men; or, as others ſay, applying to them the brains of men newly ſlain. At firſt the tyrant put to death criminals of all ſorts; but, when there were no more of theſe, he fell without mercy upon the innocent, that he might have wherewithal to alleviate his pain. The prieſts, and other perſons in authority, employed all the arguments they could uſe, to engage him to have recourſe rather to the blood or brain of ſheep; but to no purpoſe: thoſe, however, who were intruſted with the care of theſe unhappy wretches deſtined to ſlaughter, for the tyrant's eaſe, often, out of mere pity, let them make their eſcape: ſo that, flying to the mountains, in order to preſerve themſelves and their benefactors from danger, they there formed themſelves into a particular nation, called ſince the *Curdes* x. All his reign long *Zoak* cauſed *Phridun*, the ſon of his predeceſſor, to be ſearched for, but to no purpoſe; his mother took care to hide him out of the reach of *Zoak*, and his other enemies: however, the tyrant diſcharged his wrath upon her father, whom he put to death, as he did many others, whom he ſuſpected inclined to the intereſt of the young *Phridun*. The chief cauſe of theſe proceedings was a dream, wherein the tyrant beheld three men, who came to attack him; theſe, he thought, threw him down, and bound him: afterwards, one of them gave him a mortal wound on the head; then the other two looſened his girdle, tied his feet therewith, and carried him into the territory of *Damavand*. Having applied to the moſt ſkilful interpreters of dreams in his dominions, to know what this ſignified, they unanimouſly agreed, that it portended the loſs of his kingdom, and of his life, becauſe, among the *Perſians*, the girdle is a mark of dignity: now this *Zoak* conceived could never be done but by *Phridun*, and his party. Among the numbers put to death, on various accounts, by *Zoak*, were the ſons of a certain ſmith, whoſe name was *Gao*, or, as others write it, *Kaoh*. This man, driven to madneſs at the ſight of his childrens blood, ran up and down the ſtreets, crying out for juſtice and help againſt the tyrant, holding up a leathern apron in his hand, as if it had been a ſtandard. In a ſhort time, the army he got together became very formidable; ſo that he made himſelf maſter of various ſtrong forts, and great cities, particularly of the city *Heri*, or *Herat*, the capi-

x MIRKHOND. hiſt. ſect. 6.

tal of *Choraſan*, where he ſtaid for ſome time, to put his affairs in order; and when he found, that he was in a condition to offer *Zoak* battle, he made a long oration to encourage his people, aſſuring them, amongſt other things, that he had not taken arms with any view to his private advantage; but that, as ſoon as he had reſtored them to their liberty, he would leave them to elect whom they would for a king. The people, with one accord, offered the ſovereignty to him; which he as poſitively refuſed, telling them, that as the ſenſe he had of his own injuries had put him upon firſt taking arms, ſo he would never conſent to injure others; that *Phridun*, the ſon of *Giamſchid*, was their lawful prince; that they ought to bring him immediately from his retreat, and put him at their head. Popular humours are eaſily turned: the army, on this ſpeech, grew as loyal to *Phridun*, as they had been grateful to the ſmith. *Phridun* obſerving the ſpirit of his people, and being informed, that *Zoak*'s army were by no means hearty in his intereſt, he marched, with the utmoſt expedition, to meet him; and the armies engaging, after a briſk action, *Zoak*'s troops abandoned him, and he was taken priſoner: whereupon *Phridun* ordered him to be conducted to the mountains of *Damavand*, and gave directions for his being impriſoned in a cave there. This victory being gained about the time of the autumnal equinox, the *Perſians* inſtituted a feaſt in memory thereof, which they called *Mihirgjan*, or rather *Mihragjân* [y] (E).

PHRIDUN,

[y] HYDE rel. vet. Perſ. c. 8. p. 158. D'HERBELOT. biblioth. orient. art. Feridoun, Gaoh.

(E) The hiſtory of *Zoak* makes a prodigious figure in the *Perſian* romances; what is related in them of him being too abſurd as well as fabulous, it would be to no purpoſe to ſwell out a note with ſuch ſtories. It is very likely, that the poets, immediately after the time of this cruel prince, drew the moſt invidious characters of him they could deviſe, and heightened all the miſchievous things he did with the utmoſt force of their inventions. If we conceive to ourſelves poets writing with this view, and, at the ſame time, reflect on the genius of oriental writers in general, and of poets in particular, we need not be at a loſs for all the ſtrange things that we now read of *Zoak*, and yet allow the firſt authors of them to have been men of good ſenſe too. Metaphors well underſtood, alluſions readily apprehended, and allegories eaſily explained, in one age, appear all as matters, or, at leaſt, as circumſtances, of fact, in ages which ſucceed; and hence it comes to paſs, that a ſtroke of poetic ſatire, or the rhetorical flouriſh of an author, is miſapprehended for a ſtrict aſſertion, and ſo delivered by hiſtorians, who come after, and tranſcribe all

PHRIDUN, *Aphridun*, or *Feridoun*. This prince proved one of the greateſt, wiſeſt, and moſt ſucceſsful monarchs that ever ruled in the eaſt. His firſt act, after being quietly ſeated on the throne, was to make *Kaoh* the ſmith general of his armies; after which he ſent him towards the weſtern parts of his dominions, in order to reduce ſuch provinces, as, during the troubles of the kingdom, had ſhaken off the *Perſian* yoke. *Kaoh* ſpent twenty years in this enterprize, in which ſpace he added many fine countries to the *Perſian* empire. At length the king recalled him, and made him governor of *Aderbayagjan*, which he ruled ten years, with equal ſatisfaction to the people and his prince, and then died much regretted by *Phridun*, who, to do honour to his memory, gave all his eſtates among his relations; and then, taking his ſons into his own court, bred them there in a moſt honourable manner, and, when they grew up, gave each of them greater poſſeſſions than their father had acquired [z]. To ſhew his gratitude yet more, he made the leathern apron, which *Kaoh* had hung upon a ſtick at the beginning of the inſurrection, the royal ſtandard of *Perſia*, calling it *dirfeſch Kaviani*, i. e. *the ſtandard of* Kaoh, Phridun.

[z] MIRKHOND. hiſt. ſect. 7.

all they find, without weighing or conſidering how or in what manner it was written. The firſt hiſtorians, in all countries, were poets; the ſecond race proſe-writers, who copied from them: and hence it is, that antient hiſtorians are full of grave fables, which, through length of time, are hard to be underſtood: this has been the fate of *Greece*, and of *Rome*, of *Britain*, of *Ireland*, and why not of *Perſia*? But fiction, though it may obſcure, yet it does not abſolutely deſtroy truth. *Zoak* was, in all probability, an *Arabian* invader, who, after making himſelf maſter of *Perſia*, uſed his new ſubjects ill, till the weight of the loads he laid upon them grew too heavy to be borne, and then they did, what a people may always do, throw them off their ſhoulders, and would bear no more. As to what we are told of his being confined in the caverns of *Damavand*, or rather of *Dunbavand*, we think it may be underſtood to mean no more, than that he was kept there in ſome ſtrong caſtle. Theſe mountains are in the province of *Aderbayagjan*, which, as we have more than once remarked, is part of the antient *Media*; they are rocky, full of caverns, and conſequently have a gloomy appearance. The poets therefore, taking the ſame licence here, allowed them elſewhere, have feigned that *Tahmurah*, after overcoming the *divs*, or evil genii, impriſoned them in theſe grottoes; and, by degrees, theſe expreſſions grew ſo frequent, that a wizard or a tyrant was as readily ſent to the mountains of *Damavand*, as, among our common people, ghoſts are chained, or, to preſerve the true phraſe, *laid*, in the bottom of the *Red* ſea.

that he might perpetuate his name and services to all posterity. This standard he adorned with precious stones, to which his successors continually adding, it became at last of such inestimable value, that, being taken by the *Arabians* in the battle of *Cadesia*, it enriched the whole army [a]. As *Phridun* was desirous of restoring peace and good order throughout all his dominions, he sent persons, not only of great parts, but eminent for their integrity, to govern all the provinces under his dominion. He married also, with a view of interest only, the daughter of his predecessor *Zoak*, by whom he had two sons, *Salm* and *Tur*; but these proving, like their grandfather, haughty, obstinate, and cruel, he took a *Persian* lady to his bed, by whom he had a son, named *Irege*, equally wise and courteous; so that he became at once the darling of his father, and the delight of the people. Thus things passed on, till *Phridun*, feeling himself beginning to decline under the weight of age and illness, summoned his grandees together, and, having informed them of his design to quit the regal dignity, desired to know, which of his sons they wished he should make his successor. These lords unanimously answered, that, if he would no longer govern himself, they desired to have *Irege* for their prince; to which *Phridun* assented: but, to prevent his brothers from taking this ill, he gave *Tur* all the eastern provinces of his empire; to *Salm* the provinces on the other side; and restrained *Irege* within the compass of *Persia*, *Assyria*, and *Mesopotamia*. From this division came the names of *Turan* and *Iran*, the one signifying that great extent of country which lies to the east of *Persia*, and the other *Persia* itself, and the provinces dependent thereon [b]. As for *Tur*, he built a noble city, which he made the capital of his territories, calling it, after his own name, *Turon*, and the country *Turqueſtan*. This city was seated in the province of *Mauaralnahar*, in the neighbourhood of the *Caspian* sea; and hence the nation inhabiting that tract of country acquired the name of *Turks* [c]. However large those shares might be which *Salm* and *Tur* had received from their father, they still hated him, and their brother *Irege*, whose ruin they concerted together. Things being at last ripe for the execution of their projects, *Salm* and *Tur* marched each with great forces into *Aderbayagjan*; and, having joined their armies, sent a sort of manifesto to their father, wherein they set forth, that, with just reason, they were displeased with the kindness which he had shewn *Irege*, whom they stiled a bastard; and declared at the same time, that they would never lay down

[a] D'Herbelot. biblioth. oriental. art. Dirfesch. [b] Hyde rel. vet. Persar. c. 35. p. 417. D'Herbelot. biblioth. orient. art. Feridoun. [c] Mirkhond. hist. ubi supra.

their

their arms till he was depoſed, and the countries divided between them, which hitherto had been in his poſſeſſion. *Phridun*, juſtly diſpleaſed at this undutiful behaviour, ſent immediately his orders to *Irege*, to draw together all the forces he was able, and to march againſt his brothers. *Irege*, however, deſired the king to have recourſe to milder meaſures, in hopes of preſerving the peace of the empire. *Phridun* was of a contrary opinion, and determined to reduce the rebels by arms. But *Irege*, unwilling to do his brothers any wrong, took with him ſome of his wiſeſt counſellors, and went with them to his brothers camp, in order, if poſſible, amicably to adjuſt the differences between them. They, who wiſhed for nothing more, immediately ſeized him, and ſtruck off his head; which having ſtuck on a pole, they inſolently ſent to their father. *Phridun* was exceſſively grieved at his ſon's misfortune, and therefore reſolved to carry on the war againſt *Salm* and *Tur*; in order to which, he gave the dominions of *Irege* to his ſon *Manugeher*, who immediately marched with an army againſt his uncles. They, deſpiſing his youth, quickly came to an engagement, in which the two brothers were routed, and loſt their lives by the hand of *Manugeher*, who, after this glorious victory, returned in triumph to his grandfather *Phridun*, who was now grown blind. When he heard the acclamations of the people at the entrance of *Manugeher*, he aſked, who it was that preſumed to enter his preſence in ſuch a manner. The young victor cried out, *It is your grandſon* Manugeher, *the avenger of the blood of* Irege, *who hath ſlain* Salm *and* Tur *with his own hand.* *Phridun* then received him with open arms, and with all the demonſtrations of paternal fondneſs. Afterwards he took the *tagi* or *tiara* from his head, and put it on that of *Manugeher* or *Manugjar*, declaring him thereby ſovereign of *Perſia*, appointing at the ſame time one *Soam* or *Soham*, a perſon of great wiſdom and valour, to be his vizir [d]. Within a ſhort ſpace after this, *Phridun* died, full of years and glory (E).

As

[d] D'Herbelot. biblioth. orient. art. Soham.

(E) The oriental writers are univerſally agreed, that the terms *Touran* and *Iran*, expreſſive of the two great empires on the other and on this ſide the *Oxus*, called by them the *Gjeihun*, took riſe at this time. It may ſeem ſtrange, that ſuch large tracts of country ſhould receive appellations from perſons who lived and governed them ſo ſhort a time; for it appears, that *Irege*, *Tur*, and *Salm*, all died in the life-time of *Phridun*, and within a ſmall ſpace after the partition of his dominions among them. But, when this is more throughly conſidered, the wonder will ceaſe. The monarchs of theſe extenſive kingdoms were, during a long courſe of ages, at war with each other; and this enmity proceeding

As to the personal qualifications of this prince, he is celebrated, by oriental writers, as the *Solomon* of *Persia*, one who made it his whole study to govern his people in such a manner, as that they might enjoy greater felicity than if they had lived in a state of freedom. He extended his dominions, with a view of extending happiness to those, whom he reduced under his obedience. He was a zealous worshiper of the true God, and took such care to repress *Zabiism*, that some *Mohammedan* authors have not scrupled to assert, that he was a mussulman. It is also recorded of him, that he left this advice with his successor: *Believe, my son, that the days of your reign are so many leaves of a book; be careful therefore to write nothing in any page thereof, that you would not have seen by posterity* [e]. Many other wise sayings of this great prince are scattered in various authors, which we have neither time nor opportunity to insert here. Some *Persian* writers think, that *Phridun* was cotemporary with *Abraham*. On the other hand, the learned Dr. *Hyde* has entertained a notion, that this *Phridun* is the *Phraortes* of *Herodotus* [f]. It would take up too much time to discuss this controversy here; and, besides, we shall have occasion to resume this subject hereafter, and to consider the opinions of the critics on oriental history all at once. In the mean time, let us pursue the thread of our narration, and proceed to the reign of *Phridun*'s grandson (F). Ma-

[e] D'Herbelot. art Feridoun. [f] Hyde relig. vet. Pers. c. 8.

ing originally from the quarrel of their ancestors, it was natural enough for them to call their dominions after those in whose right they held them. The whole empire belonged to *Phridun*; the descendants of *Tur* or *Tour* kept up the claim of their ancestor to the whole; the kings of *Persia* succeeding *Manugjahr* asserted the right of *Phridun* to divide his dominions as he pleased; and therefore it is likely, that *Iran* and *Touran* were words first used in *Persia*, and by degrees spread themselves throughout the east. Whether *Tur* was the undoubted father of the *Turks*, will admit of some question, since almost all the oriental writers affirm, that *Japhet* had a son called *Turk*; and yet many of them admit, that *Tarqueslan* had its name from the prince we speak of. It would be needless, and at the same time improper for us, to enter into a prolix discussion of that point here, since it must be examined when we come to write the history of the *Turks*; however, we think it not amiss to remark, that there is nothing stranger, or more perplexed, in this double derivation of the name of the *Turks*, than there is in that of the *Hebrews*, whom some affirm to have been so called from *Heber* the son of *Salah*, and others from the surname of *Abraham*, who was stiled the *Hebrew* from his coming from the other side the river, *i. e.* the *Euphrates*.

(F) The reader will easily perceive, from the characters he has

MANUGJAHR, or *Manugeher*, according to some authors, was not the son of *Irege*, but his grandson by a daughter. It is not very material to us which of these opinions is true g. Certain it is, that he was a wise prince, and of a mild disposition; and had a minister, *viz.* the vizir *Soham* before-mentioned, whose fame is still great throughout all the east. *Manugeher*, probably by his advice, made several just regulations in the government of *Persia*: he ascertained, more exactly than any of his predecessors had done, the boundaries of the provinces, into each of which he sent a president or governor, independent of whom he established, in every great town or borough, a mayor or provost; so that the governors had no opportunity of setting up for themselves; and the provosts were obliged to behave prudently, for fear the governor should write against them to court. Observing the infertility of *Persia* to be chiefly owing to the want of water, *Manugeher* considered every way of supplying this defect: he caused fine canals to be cut from the mighty rivers *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, to refresh the barren Manugeher.

g D'HERBELOT. biblioth. orient. art. Manugeher.

has already seen drawn in this history, that, among the oriental nations, wisdom, as well as valour, is thought necessary in a hero. *Phridun* is as famous among them as any of the heroes of *Greece* or *Rome* amongst us; and for the same reason, because he was a man great in all things, in war, and in peace, at the head of armies, and on the throne. On this account, oriental writers preserve, with as great care, the wise sayings of their princes, as the accounts of their conquests. We have excused ourselves above from the repetition of all that has been recorded of this sort, in relation to *Phridun*; but the reader will, in all probability, be pleased with the following specimens of his wisdom, because they contain rules easily applied, and which concern mankind in general.

*Man should weigh well the nature*
*of himself,*
*The varying frailness of this flat-*
*t'ring world,*
*And the true excellence of heav'n's*
*high Lord;*
*Then would he this despise, and*
*trust in him.*
*The world deceives us all. — In*
*God is truth.*
*Let not thy riches or thy pow'r*
*prevail*
*To swell thy bosom with conceits*
*of pride;*
*Look back, remember those thou*
*hast seen high,*
*And mark, if thou hast never seen*
*them sink;*
*Let this teach thee. One end a-*
*waits us all:*
*And when inevitable death com-*
*mands,*
*That we should follow to his*
*dreary realm,*
*Matters it much, if from a royal*
*couch,*
*Or from a mattress thrown upon*
*the ground,*
*We rise to take our journey?* (5).

(5) *D'Herbelot. biblioth. orient. art. Feridoun.*

countries in their neighbourhood; he took care to collect all the streams issuing from the little springs on the tops of mountains, that their waters might be made as useful as possible. To encourage his subjects to cultivate their lands with care, he employed much time in gardening, and took great pains to discover the virtues of herbs and flowers, causing such as were most valuable to be transplanted from mountains, and uncouth places, into his own gardens, or those of his courtiers. But, while he was thus cultivating the arts of peace, *Apheraſiab*, the descendant of *Tur* or *Tour*, invaded his dominions with a great army of *Turks*, in order, as he gave out, to avenge the death of his ancestor. *Manugeher*, finding himself too weak to resist so formidable an enemy, retired towards the country of *Tabreſtan*. Some authors say, that there happened a battle between him and *Apheraſiab*, and that *Manugeher* was routed. However that matter was, all are agreed, that the king of *Persia* withdrew into a fortress, and prepared to defend himself there against the attempts of his enemy. *Apheraſiab* besieged him with all his army; but to no purpose; and the winter drawing on, the *Turk*, being afraid lest his own men should desert him, began to think of peace. Upon this, commissioners were dispatched on both sides, and a treaty concluded on these terms: That *Apheraſiab* should possess all the country east of the river *Gihon*; and that he should leave *Manugeher*, without molestation, in possession of *Persia*, and the provinces dependent on it. Such was the event of this cruel war, which threatened no less than the subversion of the monarchy of *Persia* [b]. As soon as *Apheraſiab* was retired into his own country, *Manugeher* began to provide against such invasions for the future, and ordered all his governors to get ready their quotas of troops. These measures alarming *Apheraſiab*, he gave orders to his forces to make inroads into *Persia*; but the *Turk* had not the same success in this as in the former war. The precautions of *Manugeher* perfectly answered his end; so that the enemy were not only repulsed where-ever they made their courses, but also lost a great number of soldiers, who were taken prisoners. *Apheraſiab* therefore very willingly renewed the peace, and left *Manugeher* to act as he thought fit in his own dominions. That wise and good prince made the city of *Sigjiſtan* for a time his royal seat; and when, by his presence, he had put all things on that side in good order, he sent thither his vizir *Soham* to preserve them in that state; and went himself to reside in the centre of his empire, where he applied himself, as he had done before, to the cultivation of arts and sciences, and to every thing which might render his people

[b] Mirkhond. hist. sect. 9.

power-

powerful and happy. *Soham* managed so prudently in the province of *Sigjistan*, that he gained the good-will of the people, as well as the favour of the court; but, in the midst of his happiness, an accident fell out, which surprised him not a little: his wife was brought to-bed of a son with long yellow hair. *Soham* therefore gave him the name of *Zal-zer*, i. e. golden hair. This young man, when he grew up to years of discretion, gave manifest tokens of an exalted genius, insomuch that *Manugeher* sent for him and his father to appear at court. Thither they went; and the sight of the young nobleman augmented the esteem and gratitude *Manugeher* had for his father and family. Loaded with new honours and dignities, *Soham* and his son returned into their own country, and lived there with the same splendor and reputation that they had done before. One day it happened, that *Zal-zer* went to hunt in the province of *Kablustan*, dependent on the kingdom of *Touran*, but bordering northwards on the *Persian* dominions. *Meherab*, who was at this time governor of that province, being informed of this, went out to meet him, that he might shew his respect to the father by the honours paid to his son. The conversation he had with *Zal-zer* charmed him so much, and made so strong an impression on his mind, that he could not help talking of him to his family upon his return home; which had such an effect on the mind of *Roudabah* his daughter, that she fell violently in love with *Zal-zer* on his report; and, as womens passions are ever sudden and ungovernable, she sent immediately one of her maids into the place where *Zal-zer* was encamped, that she might find an opportunity of speaking with him. Her project succeeded perfectly well: the young nobleman, perceiving the maiden gathering flowers, entered into discourse with her, inquiring her condition, and with whom she lived. The girl, properly instructed, answered him, that she was the servant of *Roudabah*, the daughter of *Meherab*; and then, talking of the family, expatiated on the wit, beauty, and sweet disposition of her lady. *Zal-zer* immediately conceived a great esteem for this amiable person, which, by degrees, ripened into so warm a passion, that he could neither eat nor sleep till he had concerted the means of speaking to her. An interview, as our author observes, between two persons who equally desire it, is very quickly obtained. The lovers made the best use of their time; that is, they exchanged the most solemn vows of fidelity, and engaged to marry each other, as soon as the consent of their parents could be obtained. To cover his amour, *Zal-zer* made a visit at the same time to the father of his mistress, by whom he was very kindly received; and, after staying with him all night, set out on his return to his father in the province of *Sigjistan*. Almost as

soon

ſoon as he came home, he acquainted *Soham* with all that had happened, and that it was impoſſible for him to live, at leaſt in any degree of happineſs, without the poſſeſſion of the daughter of *Meherab*. Some difficulty there was in procuring the king's conſent to this marriage; for it was hitherto a thing without precedent for a *Perſian* to eſpouſe a *Turk*. However, the many ſervices of *Soham*, and the great merit of *Zal-zer*, prevailed ſo far over *Manugeher*, that he at laſt yielded to all they deſired. The nuptials were celebrated with prodigious magnificence, the inhabitants of *Sigjiſtan* and *Kabluſtan* vying with each other in their expreſſions of joy on this occaſion: nor were the conſequences of this match leſs happy, than its concluſion was ſplendid; for, at the end of nine months, the lovely *Roudabah* was brought to-bed of a ſon, who was named *Ruſtan*, the mighty hero of all the oriental romances [i]. The reader will hereafter perceive how the loves of this illuſtrious pair came to find a place in the *Perſian* hiſtory. Let us now return to *Manugeher*, who ſpent all his time in putting the affairs of his kingdom in the beſt order imaginable, with reſpect both to peace and war; that is, he took care to baniſh luxury, to encourage virtue, and to render every man's condition ſo happy, as to engage him to fight for that government, on the continuance of which it depended. The perſonal qualifications of this monarch have been already, in ſome meaſure, diſplayed. It remains however, that we do him juſtice in one particular, of greater importance than all the reſt: he was a moſt zealous worſhiper of the true God, of which we have the moſt ſhining inſtances in the hiſtory of his life and reign written by *Tabari* [k], an antient *Perſian* author. By him we are informed, that as ſoon as this prince heard of the *Turks* paſſing the river *Gjeihon*, in order to drive him out of his dominions, he aſſembled a great council of his nobility, wherein he delivered himſelf in theſe words: "The moſt holy and "high God delivered to me this kingdom, that I might ren-"der him praiſe and glory by my actions as a prince, *pre-*"ſerving my people in plenty and eaſe, and impartially *diſ-*"tributing juſtice, that thereby the glorious gift of God "might, in my hand, be ſtrengthened and increaſed. If, "contrary to this my duty, I had acted ungratefully towards "my Creator, then I ſhould juſtly have deſerved to loſe my "kingdom here, and to ſuffer everlaſting puniſhment for my "wickedneſs hereafter. The moſt holy and high God having "cauſed me to be born of royal blood, and, in right thereof, "beſtowed a kingdom upon me, let us not, my friends, baſely

[i] Mirkhond. hiſt. ſect. 8. D'Herbelot. art. Manougeher.
[k] Apud Hyde rel. vet. Perſ. c. 8. p. 156.

"throw

" throw it away, or tamely ſuffer it to be taken from us. " Conſider well of the ſtate we are in, and to-morrow I will " more largely inform you of my ſentiments of the matter." The next day accordingly the nobles of *Perſia* aſſembled again; and the king, being ſeated on his throne of ſtate, with his royal crown upon his head, and the *mubad mubadan*, or high-prieſt, ſeated near him in his golden chair, roſe up, and ſpoke as he had done the day before, aſcribing all dominion to the Almighty, and acknowleging that the crown of *Perſia* was his gift. He then obſerved, that all things depended alike on the will of the Supreme Being; and that nothing could take effect, but by his command, or with his permiſſion. He ſaid further, that GOD had long indulged the *Perſian* nation in the full enjoyment of many bleſſings, in conſequence of which, they were bound to live in exact obedience to his laws, that is, to make a proper uſe of the good things beſtowed on them. He added, that, as to the point at preſent before them, *viz.* the invaſion of the *Turks*, it came not, but by the permiſſion of GOD; wherefore to him they ought firſt to apply themſelves for its being taken away. He exhorted them to reform their lives, to be conſtant in prayer, to exert their courage, and their underſtandings, in the defence of their country, and to reſt ſtedfaſtly in the hope, that the Almighty would not forſake them, but reſtore them again to peace and quiet, either by giving them a victory over their enemies, or inclining the hearts of their enemies to peace. The piety of this prince was rewarded with a very long life and reign. As to the extent of the former, we have no certainty; but, as to the latter, authors agree in fixing it at an hundred and twenty years. They ſay likewiſe, that the death of *Manugjahr* was, like his life, majeſtic and ſerene; that he called to him his ſon and ſucceſſor, gave him, in few words, his advice as to the government of his dominions, and recommended his ſubjects moſt affectionately to his care [1].

NUDAR or *Naudar* ſucceeded his father; but his reign was far from being as happy. He was ſcarce ſeated on his throne before his grandees began to form parties, and to create ſeditions in his empire; which weakened it ſo much, that the *Turks* immediately conceived hopes of conquering it; a thing they had long ſet their hearts on. With this view, *Paſhangh*, at that time king of *Touran*, the direct deſcendant of *Tur*, the ſon of *Phridun*, called his ſons together; and having expatiated, firſt, on the right which their family had to the kingdom of *Perſia*, and, ſecondly, of the low ſtate the *Perſian* affairs were then in, he told them, that the intent of his drawing Nudar.

[1] D'HERBELOT. biblioth. orient. ubi ſupra.

them

them together, was to know which of them had courage enough to aſſert the pretenſions derived to him from his anceſtors, and to undertake the reduction of the provinces on the other ſide the *Gjeihon*. *Apheraſiab*, his eldeſt ſon, ſtung with ambition, and deſirous of excelling his brethren, immediately offered himſelf to raiſe an army, in order to conquer *Iran*. Accordingly, he drew together four hundred thouſand horſe and foot; and, with this prodigious army, entered *Sigjiſtan*. *Nudar*, as ſoon as he was informed of this, cauſed his beſt troops to file off that way, and gave the command of them to *Soham*, the father of *Zal-zer*; but he being old and decrepit, was forced to march ſlowly towards the enemy; and even that fatigued him ſo much, that he died before he had reached the place of rendezvous: an event highly pleaſing to *Apheraſiab*, who very much dreaded the valour and conduct of this great man. *Nudar*, not doubting that *Soham*, and his troops, were already arrived at the place he appointed them, marched with his army towards *Mazanderan*, where, on a ſudden, and before he expected it, they came within ſight of the enemy. The camps being oppoſite to each other, a *Turkiſh* champion, whoſe name was *Baſmon*, challenged any of the *Perſian* warriors to a ſingle combat; which challenge was readily accepted by *Kobad*, the grandſon of *Kaoh*, of whom we have ſaid ſo much in the life of *Phridun*. The combat terminated in favour of the *Perſian*, who, having ſlain his antagoniſt, ſpoiled him of his arms, and carried them, as the trophy of his victory, to his tent. The *Turks* were prodigiouſly incenſed at this accident, and reſolved with themſelves to revenge it ſpeedily on *Nudar*, and his army. Accordingly, having poſſeſſed themſelves of all the poſts about it, they attacked the *Perſians* in their camp, where a moſt obſtinate battle was fought, till, at length, there happened ſuch a prodigious ſhower of rain, attended with ſuch an extraordinary darkneſs, that *Nudar* laid hold of this opportunity to retire, and to order his ſons *Thus* and *Guſtam*, who were at the head of ſeparate bodies, to march ſpeedily to his relief; which they did, accompanied by *Karen* the brother of *Kobad*, who had found means to withdraw the royal treaſures out of *Sigjiſtan*, and to ſend them to a place of ſafety. *Apheraſiab* obſerving the meaſures taken by *Nudar*, and conceiving that his intent was to ſpin out the war, he, to prevent its running into a length, which, in the end, would have been deſtructive to his troops, ſent an officer of his, whoſe name was *Karahon*, with poſitive orders to attack *Karen*, and the body of *Perſians* under his command; which accordingly he did, killed their commander, and effectually diſperſed the reſt. Not long after, *Apheraſiab* attacked *Nudar* in his camp; and, after obtaining a ſignal

victory,

victory, took that monarch priſoner, in his flight, with many *Perſian* nobles. As ſoon as they came into his preſence, *Apheraſiab* ordered them to be cut in pieces; but his brother, a prince of great humanity and wiſdom, hindered him, and prevailed on him to content himſelf with putting them in priſon; to which, with much ado, he yielded. The next ſtep, after this victory, was to poſſeſs himſelf of the court and treaſures of *Nudar*; in order to which, *Apheraſiab* inſtantly detached a body of thirty thouſand men: they, entering the province of *Sigjiſtan*, made themſelves maſters of the capital, and of the royal palace, the *Perſians* being every-where ſo intimidated, that they durſt not ſtir; but ſubmitted tamely to the yoke which conqueſt had impoſed upon them. *Meherab*, it ſeems, after the marriage of his daughter to *Zal-zer*, had retired into *Perſia*, and lived in great honour and affluence there, till this ſudden overthrow of the empire threatened him, as well as the reſt of its inhabitants. *Meherab*, being a man of great policy, bethought himſelf of a means to divert immediate danger, by ſending a meſſenger to *Apheraſiab*, with very rich preſents, and a letter to this purpoſe; 'That, though he lived in 'Perſia, he was by nation a *Turk*; and not only ſo, but, in 'ſome meaſure, allied to him in blood, being lineally de'ſcended from *Zoak*: wherefore he hoped his family, and 'this early teſtimony of obedience, would be ſufficient to re'commend him to his ſpecial protection.' Having thus amuſed the victor, he gave notice to his ſon-in-law *Zal-zer*, who, aſſembling as privately as he could ſeveral ſmall bodies of men, appointed them a place of rendezvous, where he himſelf joined them; and, finding them numerous enough to attempt ſomewhat againſt the common enemy, he began to act offenſively, and, in a ſhort time, drove the *Turks* out of the province of *Sigjiſtan*. Of which when *Apheraſiab* received intelligence, it provoked him ſo much, that he ordered the unfortunate *Nudar* to have his head ſtruck off in priſon; which was accordingly put in execution, without the leaſt regard to his dignity. As to the length of his reign, authors are divided, ſome making it ſeven years, others enlarging it to nine. *Mirkhond*, whom we generally follow, adheres to the former number. Some oriental writers make this prince cotemporary with *Joſhua*; others place him much higher: we ſhall not determine here who are in the right [m].

APHERASIAB or *Afraſiab*, notwithſtanding this rebellion, Apheror rather inſurrection, looking upon himſelf as monarch of raſiab. *Perſia*, ſent an account to his father *Paſhangh* of the happy ſucceſs with which his expedition had been crowned. But it

[m] MIRKHOND. hiſt. ſect. 8. D'HERBELOT. art. Naudhar.

was

was not long before he had news of another nature to send him; for the *Persians*, universally detesting his haughty and insolent temper, began to raise seditions in every part of the kingdom; nay, their aversion engaged them in steps which carried their intrigues farther; and made them endeavour to stir up the brother of *Apheraſiab*, who had, at first, saved *Nudar*'s life, to put in his claim to the throne, promising him both assistance and obedience. He, burning with the ambition natural to his family, listened readily to the proposal, and advised them to engage *Zal-zer* to invade the provinces in the neighbourhood of *Sigjiſtan*, in the spring; assuring them, that, the war once begun, he would appear in their favour. These negotiations could not be carried on so secretly, but that *Apheraſiab* gained intelligence of them; and immediately set all his wits to work, to prevent their taking effect: with this view he caused his brother to be assassinated, and then applied himself indefatigably to the raising troops, resolving to reduce all his opponents. *Zal-zer*, being informed of these proceedings, and vehemently regretting the loss of the young *Turkish* prince, openly excited the *Persians* to take arms, deriding their cowardice, and giving them to understand, that more than half their enemy's strength lay in their fears. His discourses, by degrees, had such an effect, that the inhabitants of *Persia*, assembling together in small bodies, marched by night through secret and by-ways to his camp; where, when they were all arrived, *Zal-zer* found himself at the head of a very formidable army [n]. *Apheraſiab*, who had his spies every-where, receiving an exact account of *Zal-zer*'s situation, immediately resolved to change his manner of making war, and to act altogether on the defensive. This gave the *Persian* captain a great deal of trouble; but, at last, he found an opportunity of bringing *Apheraſiab* to a battle: it was very bloody, and so obstinate, that it lasted till it was dark; and then each army, retiring to its camp, found that neither side had any reason to boast of victory. The war continued for a long time after this, without any decisive action; whereby all industry being destroyed, there followed first a scarcity, then a famine, and, at the end of this, a grievous pestilence; which, falling at once into both camps, filled *Apheraſiab* and *Zal-zer* with thoughts of peace. Negotiations were not long on foot, before a treaty was concluded, whereby it was stipulated, that *Apheraſiab* should withdraw his troops and effects without molestation, and retire into *Touran*; while *Iran*, and all its dependencies, should remain under the protection of *Zal-zer*. This peace concluded and ratified, it would have been easy for that nobleman to have

[n] Mirkhond. hist. ubi supra.

raised

raiſed himſelf to the throne of *Perſia*; but he, ſcorning to barter immortal fame for a ſhort-lived royalty, ſought out *Zab* or *Zoub*, the lawful heir of the houſe of *Kejomarras*, and put the crown upon his head o.

Zab. ZAB, *Zoub*, or *Bazab*, at the time of his acceſſion to the royal dignity, was far advanced in years, but had, notwithſtanding, a tolerable ſhare of health and ſpirits: he applied himſelf to the reſtoring, as well as he could, the ſhattered affairs of *Perſia*: the more effectually to do this, he aſſociated with him, in the empire, *Gherſchaſp*, his nephew, whom ſome have called *Kiſchtaſp*, and have made him not the nephew and aſſociate, but the ſon and ſucceſſor of *Zab* or *Zoub*: but this ſeems to be a miſtake, and the ground of it pretty obvious, the father of this *Gherſchaſp* being called *Kiſchtaſp*. But to return to *Zab*, he ſacrificed much of the prerogative of the crown to make the people eaſy, and to enable them to recover their loſſes, after the wretched depredations committed by *Afraſiab*, and his troops: he did more than all this; he threw open the royal treaſury, and, as often as any ſums were paid in there, he firſt paid his ſoldiers, and then diſtributed the reſt among the poor. Theſe were certainly high virtues; but this prince is branded for a vice particularly infamous on a throne, *viz.* that of gluttony, or rather luxury in eating; and is recorded to have been the author of various ſorts of ſawces and broths, unknown before in theſe regions. It is not very clear how long he reigned, or who was his ſucceſſor. *Mirkhond* makes him expreſly the laſt of the firſt race of kings, who, from the ſurname of *Huſhangh*, were called, in general, *Piſchdadians*, though to us it ſeems more probable, that they received this appellation, becauſe, during the ſeveral reigns of theſe princes, the laws and conſtitution of *Perſia* were thoroughly ſettled p. According to other authors, *Gherſchaſp* or *Kiſchtaſp* ſucceeded in the empire, by the voluntary ceſſion of *Zab* or *Zoub*; his mother is ſaid to have been a *Jeweſs*, of the tribe of *Benjamin*: he proved a prince of great merit, and deſerving of a better fate than he met; for he did all in his power to reſtore the *Perſian* diadem to its antient luſtre. *Afraſiab*, little regarding his treaties, took advantage of the diſorder the kingdom was in, to re-enter it with a formidable army, and to poſſeſs himſelf of various provinces. The new king fought under great diſadvantages; but, in ſpite of theſe, he frequently defeated the *Turks*, and recovered various places out of their hands: at laſt, however, he fell into the error of many of his predeceſſors; that is, he

o KHONDEMIR, in Khelaſſat Alakbar. D'HERBELOT. art. Afraziab, Zal, Zoub. MIRKHOND. hiſt. ſect. 10. p MIRKHOND. hiſt. ſect. 10. D'HERBELOT. biblioth. orient. art. Naudhar.

put all his affairs to hazard in one battle, which he lost, and with it his life, being killed fighting bravely for the liberty of his country, after a reign some say of six, others of thirty years; but whether the former may not include the reigns of *Zab*, and of this prince too, or whether the latter ought to be accounted the time that this monarch reigned alone, we pretend not to determine. In this all are agreed, that here the empire of the *Pischdadians* ended; and that *Afrasiab*, the descendant of *Tur*, became a third time absolute lord of *Persia* q. How he afterwards lost the possession of this empire, will be shewn in its proper place. In the mean time, it may not be amiss to insert here some remarks on the foregoing period, in order to justify the observation we have so often made, that oriental history, though mixed with fables, is not altogether useless (G).

As

q D'Herbelot. art. Gherschtasb, Kischtasp.

(G) In the course of this work, our method has been to speak first of the chronology, and afterwards of the history of each country; in the present case it was impracticable, unless we had tormented the reader with needless repetitions, and nauseous tautologies. We have therefore chosen to give the series of the *Persian* history, relating to the kings of the first race, as it lies in *Mirkhond*, and other authors; and, after laying down these facts as foundations of onr arguments, to lead the reader by degrees to what we esteem the true state of the antient *Persian* empire. In the first place it is remarkable, that the oriental writers make this race of kings *Medes* by descent. The province of *Aderbayagjan*, of which they make *Kejomaras* to have been at first sovereign, is a part of *Media*, taking in also a part of *Armenia*; so that, in all probability, it was one of the first peopled provinces of the dominion of *Shem*, if we suppose, that territories were ascertained and set out immediately after the flood. Within this province stands the little town, that is, considering it in its present condition, *Nackshivan*, which the inhabitants affirm to have been the first town built after the flood; and indeed, in the *Armenian* language, the very name implies as much, it being equivalent to *the first place*, or *first habitation* (1). Thus the early erecting of a monarchy hereabouts is rendered everywhere probable, and consistent with the most antient accounts sacred and profane. As the power of *Kejomaras* increased, he extended his territories towards the east, and towards the south; for it is agreed, that he made himself master of *Irakagami*, afterwards *Parthia*; and, in process of time, joined thereto the province of *Phars*, or *Proper Persia*; where, some historians affirm, he founded the city of

(1) *Tavernier voyag. tom.* i. *p.* 43. *Chardin. voyag. tom.* i. *p.* 250.

*Istachr*,

As to the religion of theſe antient kings, we have already ſhewn it to be very near the true religion; that is, the religion of the patriarchs. The worſhip of fire was indiſputably a very antient doctrine; and there ſeems to be no reaſon for doubting the truth of what ſome authors have affirmed, that it took its riſe in, if not before, the time of *Kejomaras*. Certain it is, *Iſtachr*, afterwards called *Perſepolis*, though others deny it, and ſay it was later. The ſucceſſors of this prince conquered *Khirman* and *Sigjiſtan*, and afterwards many other countries on the eaſt of the preſent *Perſian* empire. It was *Phridun*, or *Feridoun*, who ſettled the dominions of *Perſia* in pretty near the ſame order we find them at this day: it is evident therefore, that the kings of the firſt race were not petty princes or tributaries, but lords of a very extenſive empire. As to the capital of their dominions in the time of *Kejomaras*, ſome think it was at *Balch* in *Choraſan*, others at *Iſtachr*. Perhaps he might firſt fix his reſidence at *Balch*, and afterwards remove it into the heart of his kingdom. *Huſhangh* reſided again at *Balch*; *Gjemſchid* ſettled himſelf at *Iſtachr*, and is, by moſt of the *Perſian* authors, eſteemed its founder. In the reigns of ſucceeding kings, though their royal reſidence might ſometimes be changed, yet *Iſtachr* remained the capital, and received, from time to time, great improvements from the *Perſian* monarchs. *Kiſchtaſp*, the laſt of them, had a peculiar liking to this place, and, no doubt, took pains to re-edify whatever injuries it might have ſuſtained through the courſe of a long war. Thus the glory of this city, which was afterwards ſo famous among the *Greeks* under the name of *Perſepolis*, began, as we obſerved in our deſcription of *Perſia*, under the firſt race of kings (2). How it was afterwards adorned with a royal palace, of which the ruins are ſtill remaining, we ſhall ſhew in the hiſtory of the princes of the ſecond race: in the mean time, let it be remembred, that ſeveral princes of the dynaſty of the *Piſchdadians* were great lovers of arts, and great encouragers of ingenuity and learning: if therefore there were in their time, eſpecially in the days of *Manugeher*, who is particularly famous in the oriental hiſtory for delighting in architecture, and every thing dependent thereon; if, in his days, we ſay, there were any artiſts capable of carving in ſtone, they might have employed their time in cutting ſome of thoſe wonderful hiſtories in bas-relief, which are yet viſible in the living rock, behind the ruins of *Chilminar*, or of the other works of a like kind remaining in other parts of *Perſia*. This, we ſay, is poſſible, and not improbable; but we affirm nothing: the piety, however, of *Manugeher* is a circumſtance nothing unfavourable to this conjecture, that the king, praying before the fire, and in ſight of the ſun, repreſented in the mountain before-mentioned, might be intended for him.

(2) *D'Herbelot. biblioth. orient. art. Eſtekar.*

that the province where he began to reign was the first in which magism prevailed; and was always held sacred by the professors of that religion, on that account: this the very name implies; for *Aderbayagjan* is no more than the place of fire, *ader* or *azer* signifying fire, and *bayagjan* a place; whence we frequently find this word thus written, *Azerbayagjan*. The high mountain of *Albors* was the principal place of worship in these early times; and the people were persuaded, that celestial fire was preserved there: on this account, when the treasures of *Nudar* king of *Persia* were removed out of *Sigjistan*, as we have before related, they were, for security, placed here. Nay, what is far more extraordinary, this superstition is not yet worn out of the heads of the *Ghaurs*, if we may believe Sir *John Chardin*; on the contrary, they yet speak confidently of celestial or elemental fire, which they say is still to be seen in this mountain [s]. On the whole, therefore, the religion of the *Persians*, under the first race of kings, differed very little from that which still subsists among the *Ghaurs*. Some, indeed, have been of opinion, that there were no *pyrea* or fire-temples at all before the time of *Zoroaster* or *Zerdusht*; others, on the authority of some *Arabian* writers, assert the contrary; but the former opinion to us seems nearest the truth, for the following reasons: First, The most antient historians extant say nothing of temples till after the time of the *exodus* of the children of *Israel*. Secondly, because *Herodotus* says expressly, that the antient *Persians* had no temples, but sacrificed on the tops of high mountains [t]. And thirdly, because *pyrea* being at that time in use, is not consistent with the history of *Zerdusht*, as we shall shortly have occasion to shew. As to the time when these kings reigned, we can determine nothing with any degree of certainty. The Scripture informs us, that *Elam* was a very antient kingdom; for *Chedorlaomer* came with a great army to reduce the region of *Pentapolis* in *Canaan*, and the circumjacent countries, to his obedience, in the days of *Abraham*: from thence we hear nothing of this nation till the kingdoms of *Israel* and *Judah* were on their decline. In respect to these antient times, the *Greek* writers are very insufficient guides, if we may believe the most judicious writer of history that nation ever produced, *viz. Thucydides*; who very frankly declares they knew very little of their own affairs beyond the memory of man [u]; that is, they were able to give no account of them with order and certainty. *Herodotus* pretends not to say any thing of the history of the *Medes* above one hundred and fifty years before the time of *Cyrus*,

[s] Chardin. voyag. tom. i. p. 253. [t] Herodot. l. i. c. 131.
[u] Thucydides, procem. hist.

where

where he places *Dejoces*, whom he makes the firſt king of *Media*, and ſpeaks of his advancement to that dignity in terms [x] exactly correſpondent to thoſe made uſe of by *Mirkhond*, in his hiſtory of the election of *Kejomaras*. *Diodorus Siculus* gives us a liſt of ten *Median* kings, reigning in all, two hundred and eighty-two years [y]. But there is ſtill a great gap of time between the riſe of the *Perſian* or *Medo-Perſian* monarchy, and its being deſtroyed by the *Aſſyrian* emperors. If we allow the *Perſians* to have had kings of their own during this interval, or any conſiderable part of it, which is not at all improbable, we make room for all the *Piſchdadians* at once. But as to the preciſe time in which they reigned, we are quite in the dark; and therefore, inſtead of indulging conjectures, ſhall reſume the thread of our hiſtory, and ſhew by what ſteps *Apheraſiab* was expelled, and the *Perſian* dominions once more reſtored to a prince of that country.

## *The hiſtory of the* Perſian *kings of the ſecond race, or of the dynaſty of the* Kainites.

*Keykobad* or *Caicobad*, whom ſome writers make the ſon of *Zab*, the ſon of *Tahamaſp*, the ſon of *Manugeher*, king of *Perſia*, and others call ſimply the nephew of *Nudar* was ſeated on the throne of *Perſia* by the famous *Zal-zer*, who was ſo loyal to the family that raiſed him, that he twice refuſed the *Perſian* diadem, becauſe he would not injure them. At this time, he and his ſon *Ruſtan* put themſelves at the head of ſuch a body of troops, as enabled them to give *Apheraſiab* abundance of trouble, and, by degrees, to put into the poſſeſſion of *Keykobad* the greateſt part of the provinces of *Perſia*. This monarch proved at once a good prince to his ſubjects in general, and extremely grateful to the perſons particularly concerned in raiſing him to the empire. He intruſted the command of all his forces with *Ruſtan*, and did nothing in civil affairs without the advice of his father. By degrees, his troops, under the command of the famous hero before-mentioned, gained ſuch advantages, that *Apheraſiab* retired before them, and was at laſt driven to ſuch diſtreſs, that he deſired to treat of a peace; but his commiſſioners, and thoſe of the king of *Perſia*, differing about the terms, *Apheraſiab* hazarded a ſecond battle, wherein, notwithſtanding his troops fought with great reſolution, he was totally defeated. In the heat of this engagement, *Ruſtan* deſired ſome of the officers about him to ſhew him *Apheraſiab*; which when they had done, *Ruſtan* ſpurred towards him with ſuch an impetuous force, that he Keykobad.

[x] Herodot. l. i. c. 97, 98. [y] Biblioth. l. ii. c. 3.

beat him from his horſe, and, afterwards diſmounting from his own, tied his hands and feet together with a cord; and, having laid him before himſelf upon his own ſteed, rode out of the battle, and threw him into a particular place. *Apheraſiab*, finding himſelf left alone, ſtruggled with ſuch force, that he at laſt got looſe: then taking the cord, he tied the hands and feet of a dead man, as *Ruſtan* had tied his, and retired to a troop of his own horſe, with whom he made his eſcape. After victory had declared itſelf in favour of the army of *Keykobad*, *Ruſtan* rode up to ſalute him. Amongſt other compliments of congratulation, he informed him, that the war was now at an end, himſelf having made *Apheraſiab* priſoner, whom he alſo promiſed immediately to produce. Riding, to that end, to the place where he had thrown the *Turkiſh* monarch, he found, with ſurprize, a dead man tied in his place. For this overſight of his he aſked pardon of *Keykobad*, and ſolemnly promiſed, that, if he met *Apheraſiab* in battle again, he would not make the ſame miſtake. But that prince, finding his affairs deſperate in *Perſia*, retired into *Turqueſtan*, and ſent from thence an embaſſador to treat with *Keykobad*; who was eaſily prevailed on not to carry his arms into *Touran*, when the right of him, and his family, to *Iran*, was acknowleged by *Apheraſiab*, and all the ſcattered remnants of his army withdrawn [z]. The peace once ſettled, *Keykobad* applied himſelf to the reſtoring the affairs of his kingdom; and, in the firſt place, fixed his court at *Spahawn*, which had been built by the famous king *Houſhangh*, adorned by *Phridun*, and afterwards given by him to *Kaoh* the ſmith, and his family. The reaſon, in all probability, which determined *Keykobad* to reſide here, was its convenient ſituation in the heart of his dominions. His court once fixed, the king next beſtowed his favours on ſuch as had been inſtrumental in the expulſion of the *Turks*. To *Ruſtan* he gave the province of *Zabluſtan*, on the borders of *India*, watered with many pleaſant ſtreams, and adorned with the fineſt proſpects that can be wiſhed. This province afforded a ſurname to *Ruſtan*, and received itſelf a new name from him, that hero being ſtiled, in moſt of the romances, *Zabeli*, becauſe he was governor of *Zabluſtan*; and that province, or at leaſt a great part of it, was thenceforward called *Ruſtandar*, becauſe it had been the government of *Ruſtan*. *Maharab*, ſurnamed *Kabuli*, becauſe he had been governor of *Kabul*, was another of *Keykobad*'s generals, and highly eſteemed by him. *Kavun*, one of the deſcendents of the famous *Kaoh* the ſmith, was alſo a perſon highly eſteemed by this king of *Perſia*; but what particu-

[z] Mirkhond. hiſt. ſect. 12. D'Herbelot. biblioth. orient. art. Afraſiab, Caikobad, Ruſtan.

lar

lar rewards he received, authors do not mention. It ſeems he was a ſort of knight errant, and acquired from thence the ſurname of *Rezm Khuah*, or the ſearcher of adventures. A fourth captain of *Keykobad*'s was *Keſchvad*, ſurnamed *Zerin Kulah*, from a golden tiara which he was allowed to wear, in reward for the mighty things he had done for the good of the empire. *Keykobad* divided all the ſpoil that had been brought into his treaſury among his ſoldiers, regulated their pay very exactly, and afterwards employed them in making great roads throughout the empire, ſetting up public marks at the end of every four thouſand paces; which ſpace, by the *Perſians*, is called *pherſengh*, and from thence *paraſang* by the *Greeks* (H). In the laſt years of his life he grew blind, and continued ſo till the day of his death, which happened, as ſome hiſtorians ſay, after a reign of one hundred years; according to others, when he had reigned one hundred and twenty years [a].

KEYKAUS or *Caikaus*, the ſon, or, as ſome ſay, the grand-ſon of *Keykobad*, ſucceeded him in the throne of *Perſia*; on which he was ſcarce ſeated, before a war broke out in *Mazanderan*, a province bordering on the *Caſpian* ſea, which required his preſence. A rebel prince, taking occaſion from the demiſe of *Keykobad*, made himſelf ſovereign there, and fortified the capital in ſuch a manner, that he made it the ſtrongeſt place in the eaſt. *Keykaus* marched immediately againſt him, and, coming with too great an army to be oppoſed, the rebel ſhut himſelf up in the city of *Mazanderan*, and prepared for a ſiege. *Keykaus*, having viewed the place, and received intelligence, that it was extremely well provided with all ſorts of ammunition and victuals, gave over all hopes of reducing it by force: but as, in ſuch caſes, it is uſual for experienced generals to have recourſe to ſtratagems, *Keykaus* deviſed one, which anſwered his end effectually. He gave out in his camp, and corrupted people to give it out in the city, that he was extremely diſtreſſed for proviſions, and ſhould, on that account, be obliged ſhortly to raiſe the ſiege. His emiſſaries in the place immediately inſinuated to the keepers of the ſtores, that, by

Keykaus.

[a] D'HERBELOT. biblioth. orient. artic. Rezm, Khuah, &c.

(H) As this monarch was renowned for his wiſdom and proweſs, ſo he was no leſs famous on account of his piety. The *Mohammedan* writers inſiſt very much upon this: they aſſert that he had many prophets who reſorted to his court; that he received, honoured, and obeyed them, and in time was a true believer; by which we are to underſtand, that he was not a fire-worſhiper; but in this they are certainly miſtaken. They make him alſo cotemporary with *Samuel* the judge of *Iſrael*, and aſſert that he had ſome intercourſe with him.

ſupplying the king of *Perſia* with ſmall quantities of victuals, immenſe ſums might be got. This trade once on foot, *Keykaus* paid ſo well, that, in a ſhort time, there was not a loaf left. He then ſummoned the city peremptorily to ſurrender; and, on a diſcovery of their circumſtances, the inhabitants were forced to ſubmit [b]. He had not the like ſucceſs in another war, undertaken in this province againſt *Apheraſiab*; for, the *Perſian* army being defeated, king *Keykaus* was taken, and thrown into a priſon, from whence he was releaſed by the timely care of his general *Ruſtan*; who, entering *Touran* with a numerous army, waſted all before him with fire and ſword, declaring, that he would deſtroy the whole country, if they did not ſet his maſter at liberty; which ſo terrified the people, that their clamour prevailed on *Apheraſiab* to diſmiſs *Keykaus*, on his promiſe to recal *Ruſtan*. As ſoon as the *Perſian* monarch had regained his liberty, he made uſe of the hero we have ſo often mentioned to curb his enemies on every ſide; and he is recorded to have carried his arms into *Mezr*, i. e. *Egypt*; *Shamah*, i. e. *Syria*; and *Rum*, i. e. *Aſia Minor*. After theſe wars were over, and all things in a quiet ſituation, *Keykaus*, to ſhew the high eſteem he had of *Ruſtan*'s ſervices, gave him his ſiſter in marriage; the name of this princeſs is *Gebernaz*, i. e. *endowed with all virtues*; and with her, by way of portion, he gave him the office of generaliſſimo of all his armies, and made him vicar-general of his kingdom, with the title of *pehelevan gihan*, i. e. *ſupporter of the* Perſian *empire*. We are not told who it was *Keykaus* himſelf married; but, whoever ſhe was, he had by her two ſons, named *Siavek* and *Phrailorz*. The eldeſt of theſe, *viz. Siavek*, was ſent to live with, and to be bred up under, his uncle *Ruſtan*. How long things continued in this tranquil ſtate, does not appear; but the next war we hear of was againſt *Zulzogar* king of *Arabia*. What provocation he gave *Keykaus*, is uncertain; but the king of *Perſia* carried his reſentment ſo far, that he had well nigh reduced the whole kingdom of *Yemen*, over which *Zulzogar* reigned, under his dominion. At length it came to the ears of *Keykaus*, that this *Arabian* prince had a daughter the moſt lovely woman in the world; upon which the *Perſian* king ſent to demand her in marriage. The king of *Yemen*, deſirous to be rid at any rate of ſuch an enemy, ſent immediately his daughter to the king of *Perſia*'s haram. As ſoon as *Keykaus* beheld *Saudabah*, he was ſo ſtruck with her beauty, that he conceived himſelf the happieſt man in the world, by having her in his poſſeſſion. Overcome therefore with the violence of his paſſion, he abandoned himſelf to all ſorts of exceſſes, giving great entertain-

[b] Mirkhond. hiſt. ſect. 13.

ments,

ments, and encouraging all kinds of diversions in his camp, without so much as remembering, that he was in an enemy's country. *Zulzogar*, who foresaw all this, drew together privately a considerable body of horse; and, falling unexpectedly on the *Persian* army, absolutely defeated it, and made the king and all his court prisoners. The news of this no sooner reached *Persia*, than *Rustan* put himself at the head of the forces left under his command, and marched with them immediatuly into *Yemen*. *Zulzogar* knew very well, that he had no troops capable of contending with the veterans under the command of *Rustan*; and for this reason he treated the king of *Persia*, while in his power, with the utmost civility and respect; so that he had no great difficulty in prevailing on him to send his general orders to forbear hostilities, and to think of peace. A treaty was quickly concluded between the father and son-in-law, whereby the former quitted all pretensions to the kingdom of *Yemen*, and promised to invade it no more; while the latter engaged to be the friend and ally of the *Persian* nation, and to assist it to the utmost of his power: in consequence of which, *Keykaus* was immediately set at liberty, with all those who had been taken prisoners with him, and returned triumphantly into *Persia*, with his new spouse *Saudabah* [c]. Not long after this, *Siavek* came to court, and was received with the utmost affection by his father. *Saudabah*, either charmed with the beauty of his person, or affecting so to be, solicited him to an incestuous amour; which he, being a prince of great virtue, rejected with abhorrence: upon which, waiting a proper opportunity, when the king was one day alone in his parlour, *Saudabah* rushed in, with her hair dishevelled, her night-gown torn, and her breast bloody, crying out for justice against *Siavek*, who had made an attempt upon her honour. The king immediately caused his son to be imprisoned, and obliged him to stand a tryal; some say, he underwent the ordeal by fire: however it was, the young prince was acquitted, and the wickedness of *Saudabah* clearly appeared. Upon which the king would have put her to death, if his son had not interceded for her on his knees. These proceedings having created some divisions and heartburnings in the court of *Persia*, *Apheraſiab*, who waited all opportunities of distressing that nation, failed not to take this, and to pass the river *Gjeihon* with a great body of troops, in order to besiege *Balch*. *Keykaus*, roused by the impending danger, ordered his son to march into *Sigjistan* with twelve thousand horse,

[c] D'Herbelot. biblioth. orient. art. Caicaus. Mirkhond. hist. sect. 13.

there

there to join the forces under the command of *Ruſtan*, in order to make head againſt the enemy. *Siavek* readily obeyed, and, after joining his uncle *Ruſtan*, marched with ſuch expedition, that they were ſoon in the neighbourhood of *Apheraſiab*, and his army; but, not thinking fit to hazard an engagement immediately, they took care to pitch on a very ſtrong camp. *Apheraſiab*, knowing that his affairs would not permit him to carry on a long and lingering war, attacked them therein; which *Ruſtan* foreſaw, and provided ſo well for his reception, that he was not only repulſed, but his troops ſuffered ſo much in the attack, that he began ſincerely to think of peace, in order to prevent the coming of this army of *Perſians* into his dominions. With this view he ſent commiſſioners to the camp of *Siavek* and *Ruſtan*, in order to ſettle the terms of a perpetual alliance: they were very kindly received; and the young prince, his uncle, and two *Perſians* of great quality, who were of his council, ſettled with them the heads of a treaty very advantageous to *Perſia*; which being ratified by *Apheraſiab*, the young prince diſpatched an expreſs to carry the peace to his father. It ſeems the intrigues of *Saudabah* had created this deſerving young prince many enemies in his father's court, who took this opportunity of perſuading the king, that *Siavek* had exceeded his commiſſion, and injured the majeſty of the *Perſian* empire, by the treaty which he had made. *Keykobad*, influenced by theſe ſuggeſtions, diſpatched his uncle *Thus* to the army, with letters full of ſharpneſs, with reſpect to the young prince, and with directions to deliver up the command to *Thus*; and to ſignify to *Ruſtan*, that the king thought him now old enough to take his reſt; and therefore deſired him to retire to his government of *Sigjiſtan*. *Ruſtan* obeyed, and the prince continued in the army, which now marched to the frontiers of *Turqueſtan*, in order to act offenſively againſt *Apheraſiab*. When they were arrived in the neighbourhood of the river *Gjeihon*, the prince taking with him *Piran-Viſſeh*, an officer of diſtinction in the *Turkiſh* army, who had remained with him as an hoſtage, went directly to the court of *Apheraſiab*, to ſhew him how contrary to his honour it was to be guilty of a breach of faith. *Apheraſiab* received him with open arms, placed him on a throne by his own, and gave him his daughter *Franghiz* in marriage [d]. The nobility of *Turqueſtan* were ſo much charmed with this young prince, and gave him continually ſuch ſtrong marks of their eſteem, that *Garſiaveſch*, brother to *Apheraſiab*, took umbrage

[d] D'Herbelot. biblioth. orient. art. Ruſtan, Siavek, Piran-Viſſeh. Mirkhond. hiſt. ubi ſupra.

at

at it, and reſolved to have him taken off. *Siavek*, who was a prince of great penetration, diſcovered his intention; and, foreſeeing that in a ſtrange country it was impoſſible for him to guard againſt ſuch attempts, he ſpoke of it to his wife, who was then with child; and conjured her, in caſe he ſhould be murdered, to ſend his ſon, if ſhe ſhould be brought to bed of one, into *Perſia*. A ſmall time after, what he feared came to paſs: he was killed by ſome aſſaſſins, hired by *Garſiaveſch*, who would alſo have diſpatched his wife, if *Piran-Viſſeh* had not luckily entered the room, and prevented it. *Franghiz* was afterwards brought to-bed of a ſon, called *Key-choſrau*, who, in time, ſucceeded his grandfather. The people of *Turqueſtan* were ſo much grieved for the death of *Siavek*, that, to ſhew their concern, they mourned in *Perſian* habits; a cuſtom which has ever ſince remained amongſt them. The news of the prince of *Perſia*'s death reaching *Ruſtan* in his government, he, without expecting orders, entered *Turqueſtan* with a conſiderable army, burning and deſtroying all the country before him. *Garſiaveſch* raiſed a body of troops as ſoon as he was able, and marched to oppoſe him; but, coming to an engagement, they were ſoon defeated, and *Garſiaveſch* himſelf had his head ſtruck off by the ſword of *Ruſtan* [c]. The deſire this hero had to do all the good he could to the family of his pupil and nephew *Siavek*, put him upon inquiring for his ſon; but his mother kept him ſo effectually concealed, that neither his friends nor his foes could find him out; which gave *Ruſtan* inexpreſſible concern: ſome years after, however, *Key-kaus* ſent *Guiu* the ſon of *Gudarz*, a young *Perſian* nobleman of great capacity, into *Turqueſtan*, in order to diſcover his grandſon. Some ſay, that *Guiu*, having ſought the young prince a long time in vain, met him by chance one day, as he was hunting; and, knowing him by the reſemblance he bore of his father, addreſſed himſelf frankly to him, told him his name, and his commiſſion. *Key-choſrau* liſtened greedily to the propoſal made of retiring into *Perſia*; but deſired that he might carry his mother, and *Piran-Viſſeh*, the old and faithful friend of his father, with him, that they might be ſafe from the attempts of their enemies. This being agreed to, all things were concerted ſo well, that they quitted *Turqueſtan*, and got ſafe into *Perſia*, little to the ſatisfaction of *Apheraſiab*, who was mighty well pleaſed with having in his hands the heir of the *Perſian* diadem. He ordered them immediately to be purſued by ſeveral roads, but all to no purpoſe, though they paſſed the

[c] D'Herbelot. biblioth. orient. art. Caicaus, Siavek, Gherſciaveſch.

river

river *Gjeihon*, in ſight of their purſuers. On the arrival of *Key-choſrau* at the court of his grandfather, the face of affairs ſuddenly changed; thoſe who had been avowed enemies of the prince *Siavek*, his father, were immediately removed; and *Keykobad*, to ſhew his affection for the young prince, made him generaliſſimo of his armies, and raiſed *Guiu*, who had brought him back, to the higheſt honours. *Thus*, who had been no friend to *Siavek*, began to be apprehenſive of the power of *Key-choſrau*; and therefore took all opportunities of influencing *Fraiborz*, the ſon of *Keykaus*, by ſuggeſting to him, that this new-come prince would rob him of the crown of *Perſia*, which ought, by no means, to be placed on the head of one deſcended, by the mother's ſide, from *Tur*, the implacable enemy of their name and nation. Theſe ſeeds of diſſenſion ſown, the *Perſian* court was quickly in diſorder, all the nobility taking one ſide or other, to the no ſmall detriment of the affairs of the nation. *Keykaus*, in the mean time, was unwilling to declare either againſt his ſon or his grandſon: at laſt, to prevent, as far as in him lay, the inconveniences that might attend a diſputed ſucceſſion, he reſolved to give the competitors for the crown a fair opportunity of diſplaying their abilities, and to declare him who had the greateſt deſert his heir. One *Bahaman*, who had been intruſted with the city of *Ardebil* or *Ardevil*, in the province of *Aderbayagjan*, had made himſelf prince of that place, and thrown off his allegiance to the king of *Perſia*. *Keykaus* ſent a body of troops under the command of his ſon *Fraiborz*, to inveſt the town on one ſide, and an equal number, under *Key-choſrau*, to ſit down before it, on the other; informing both the princes, when they ſet out for their reſpective commands, that whoever reduced the place, he would declare him ſucceſſor to the throne. *Thus*, according to his repeated profeſſions of friendſhip to *Fraiborz*, ſet out with him for the army, and did all that in his power lay to make him maſter of *Ardevil*, but to no purpoſe: *Bahaman*, appriſed of the ſiege, had provided all things neceſſary for a long defence; and was himſelf ſo conſummate an officer, that he triumphed over all the attempts of the *Perſian* army under *Fraiborz*. *Key-choſrau* had better ſucceſs; the troops commanded by this young prince behaved better than thoſe under his uncle, inſomuch that *Bahaman*, finding it impoſſible to hold out, ſurrendered *Ardevil* into his hands. According to agreement, therefore, when he returned to court, *Keykaus* declared him heir apparent to the crown; and thereby put an end to the contention which had ſo long ſubſiſted. Some ſmall time after this, the good old monarch, wearied with the fatigues of royalty, retired from the world, and left his grandſon

in

in the possession of the kingdom, after a reign of one hundred and fifty years [f] (I).

KEY-

[f] MIRKHOND. hist. ubi supra. D'HERBELOT. biblioth. orient. art. Caicaus & Caikosrau.

(I) According to the method we have hitherto pursued, we should here take leave of *Keykaus*'s reign. But as it is our design to inform the reader, as far as we are able, of every thing relating to the history of those kings we speak of, we find ourselves obliged to take notice here of some variations in circumstances, into which the *Persian* historians have fallen, as to the most material facts reported in the history of *Keykaus*. Thus, as to *Saudabah*, some make her to have been the daughter of *Gherschiaveschb*, brother to *Apheraschab*: they say likewise, that she was the mother of *Siavek*; who taking some disgust in his father's court, he fled to that of his uncle in *Turquestan*, where, marrying the daughter of the king, he made himself so considerable, that his grandfather, by the mother's side, caused him to be destroyed (1). *Mirkhond*, speaking of the invasion made by *Rustan* on *Apheraschab*'s dominions, in revenge for the death of *Siavek*, mentions one *Keydab*, the son of *Apheraschab*, who commanded the armies of his father, and who was slain in single combat by *Rustan*. If there be any fact in this, then it is probable, that this duel is represented in the figures cut on the rocky mountain of *Tacks-Rustan*, which we took notice of in our description of *Persia* (2). A *Persian* writer hath taken upon him to assert, that *Keykaus* ought to be regarded as the *Nimrod* of the *Hebrews*; and he will have it that both these names signify the *long-liver*, or the *immortal*; adding, that *Keykaus* was so called, because of his long reign, *viz.* of one hundred and fifty years. *Mirkhond*, like a good historian, reports this fact; and observes, that some have stigmatized *Keykaus* with building the tower of *Babel*, and attempting to scale heaven thereby; but he says expressly, that this story is fabulous, and ought not to be regarded; the king of *Persia* being a wise and pious prince, who knew well, that, to ascend to heaven, there was no need of towers.

To prevent the reader's falling into any confusion with respect to the wars recorded in this history, it may be necessary to observe, that the *Persians* had for their neighbours, under the monarchs of the first and second race, on the north-east, the inhabitants of the extended country of *Touran*. We have already spoken so copiously of the sense and derivation of this name, that there is no necessity for our adding any thing farther on that subject: here it is sufficient that we observe, the boundaries thereof were never well fixed; and that it was always designed by an indefinite term, as well by the

(1) *D'Herbelot. biblioth. orient. art. Gherschiaveschb.* (2) *Mirkhond. hist. ubi supra. See before, p.* 113.

*Romans,*

Key-chosrau.

KEY-CHOSRAU, or *Kay-khosru*, succeeded peaceably to the throne of his grandfather, and shewed himself worthy of that pre-

*Romans*, as by the orientals: the former stiled all the provinces on the other side that river which they call *Oxus*, but the antient *Persians Gjeihon*, and the modern *Amu*, *Transoxana*; and the orientals called the same provinces *Mauaralnahar*, i. e. on the other side the river (3). This country was inhabited by the *Turks*, properly so called, whom some conceive to be the same nation with the *Tartars*; and that those we generally call *Turks* have very little right to that appellation (4). On the east of *Persia* lay the empire of the *Indies*, then governed by princes who were natives of that country. To the south of *Persia* lay the peninsula of *Arabia*, governed by its own kings; and on the west, the territories of *Sham* or *Schamah*; for so the *Persians* stiled *Syria*, and the other dominions of the kings of *Nineveh* and *Babylon*. Nothing can be darker, or more confused, than the accounts we have from the *Persian* historians, of the state of their neighbours in those times of which we are now speaking. To us, there seems some reason to doubt whether the word *Khakan*, made use of to signify the supreme monarch of grand *Tartary* by *Mirkhond*, was really heard of in those early times; it seems more likely, that our *Persian* historians bestowed that title, which is now frequent, on the monarch mentioned by the antient historians to have reigned then in these parts, in order to familiarize the stile of his history to his cotemporaries. As the country of *Touran* bordered, as well as *Iran*, on the *Caspian* sea, and as the last battle fought by *Apheraslab* happened in the plains of *Khuerezm*, it was natural enough for him to fly into the mountains neareſt at hand, in hopes of returning that way into *Touran*; and, when he found the enemy possessed of the passes near the mouth of the river *Gjeihon*, he had no other way left than to endeavour to get through the mountains of *Aderbayagjan*, and so round the *Caspian* sea, till he entered *Touran* on the north; in which, however, we need not wonder that he proved unsuccessful, since, from those times to ours, no conqueror whatever has had the honour to make that tour with his troops, excepting only the *Tartar* hero *Zinjis Khan*. From the observations in this note, it will be very plain to the reader, that *Iran*, under the reign of this monarch *Key-chosrau*, contained very nearly the same extent of country, and the same provinces, which are still comprehended under the empire of *Persia*; and that whatever difference there might be, must have lain on the provinces on the west side of the empire; the bounds of which are not exactly laid down by the *Persian* historians. As to the new kingdom on the *Persian* gulf erected in favour of *Fraiborz*, we shall have occasion to mention it here-

(3) *D'Herbelot. biblioth. oriental. art. Touran.* (4) *History of the Tartars, vol. ii. p. 384.*

after;

preference which had been given him; for, in the first place, he took care to rectify all abuses in courts of justice throughout his whole dominions, displacing all such officers as had made themselves odious to the people, and taking every method he could devise to put the poor into a condition of eating bread, issuing for this purpose great sums out of his treasury, and giving audience with the greatest ease to all degrees of people. When he found his kingdom in tolerable order, he summoned a grand council of his nobility, wherein, having represented the miserable death of his father, and the mighty mischiefs which had been done them by the inhabitants of *Turquestan*, he desired them to speak their minds freely, whether it would not be for their interest, as well as for his honour, if an army were immediately raised for the reduction of *Turquestan*. They came unanimously into this proposal; whereupon *Piran-Visseh* returned into his own country, from whence, as we have heard, he fled with *Key-chosrau*, and his mother. The king of *Persia*, knowing that without unanimity no war could be carried on with any reasonable hopes of success, took pains to reconcile himself to *Thus*, and to his uncle *Fraiborz*; and, to shew that his reconciliation was sincere, he entrusted them with the command of thirty thousand horse, and sent them to open the war, by invading the dominion of *Turquestan*[k]. At their setting out, he spoke to them thus: "You must know, that, before my father married the "princess *Franghiz* my mother, he had, by the daughter of "his friend *Piran-Visseh*, a son called *Ferud*. This young "man, I am informed, has at present a command in the army "of *Apheraziab*; but, where-ever he is, remember that he is "my brother, and that, where-ever you find him, you do "him no injury, but render him all honours due to so near a "relation of mine." It happened unluckily, that the *Persian* army no sooner entered the country of *Turquestan*, than *Ferud* came to reconnoitre them, at the head of a body of horse. His scouts informed him, that the *Persians* were by far more numerous than the troops under his command; but he, to shew his valour, instead of retiring, attacked very briskly the army under the command of *Thus*; who, as soon as he understood, that *Ferud* was at the head of the *Turks*, ordered his forces to retire, and, presenting himself before the young prince, informed him of the order he had received from his brother the

[k] Mirkhond. hist. sect. 14.

after: in the mean time let us remark, that the situation of this kingdom proves the extent of *Key-chosrau*'s empire towards the south-east to have been pretty near the same with the present *Shah*'s.

king

king of *Perſia*. *Ferud*, full of imprudent bravery, would not be perſuaded to retire; but cauſing the *Turkiſh* horſe to make a freſh attack, the *Perſians* repulſed them with great ſlaughter; and *Ferud*, to the mighty regret of the whole army, was found dead upon the place [l]. *Key-chofrau* received this news with great concern; and, apprehending that *Thus* had been, in ſome meaſure, inſtrumental in his brother's death, he ſent orders to his uncle *Fraiborz* to take upon him the command of the army, and to ſend back *Thus* a priſoner, to anſwer in *Perſia* for his conduct. *Fraiborz* executed the king's commands exactly with reſpect to *Thus*, and then marched farther into *Turqueſtan*. *Apheraſiab* gave the command of the great army he had raiſed to *Piran-Viſſeh*, the moſt experienced of his generals, and who was perfectly acquainted with the *Perſian* diſcipline. This excellent officer did all that could be expected from him: he gave *Fraiborz* and *Gudar* ſo much trouble, and knew ſo well how to encamp his troops out of danger of an attack, that at length the *Perſians* were conſtrained to retreat, not without very conſiderable loſs, *Gudar*, who commanded in the rear, having no leſs than ſeventy gentlemen of his own family ſlain [m]. The news of this defeat obliged the king to take other meaſures; he therefore removed his uncle from the command of the army, and gave it to *Gudar*, to whoſe valour and conduct it was owing, that any part thereof eſcaped. He alſo ſent *Thus*, who had fully juſtified himſelf as to the death of *Ferud*, with a reinforcement of troops, in order to enable him to carry on the war. *Apheraſiab*, perceiving that the *Perſians* were reſolved to deſtroy his empire, called to his aſſiſtance the *kha-khan* or king of *Great Tartary*, and *Schangal* king of the *Indies*; and, by the help of his confederates, puſhed the *Perſian* troops ſo cloſely, that they, being far inferior in number, were forced to retire to the mountains of *Choraſſan*, where they threw up intrenchments, and fortified their camp in the beſt manner they could. *Key-chofrau*, informed of their diſtreſs, ſent orders to *Ruſtan* to march with the utmoſt diligence to their aſſiſtance. That experienced general readily obeyed his maſter; and the *Perſian* army, that was beſieged in the mountains, when they heard of his approach, made no queſtion of carrying the victory. *Ruſtan*, as an earneſt thereof, deceived the vigilance of the *Turkiſh* officers; and, paſſing their advanced guards in the night, entered the *Perſian* camp, before the enemy was aware. The next day, the moſt bloody battle was fought, that hitherto had been ſeen in *Perſia*. *Ru-*

[l] D'Herbelot. biblioth. orient. art. Caichoſrau. [m] Mirkhond. hiſt. ubi ſupra. D'Herbelot. biblioth. orient. art. Caichoſrau.

*ſtan* did wonders; he took priſoner the *kha-khan* and *kaimus*, one of the principal generals in the ſervice of *Apheraſiab*. In the end, victory declared itſelf for the *Perſians*; and *Apheraſiab*, having loſt half his army, was obliged to retire with the reſt into his own dominions. Notwithſtanding this mighty loſs, the king of *Turqueſtan* meditated new invaſions, exhauſting his whole country to draw together an army ſufficient for this purpoſe. *Key-choſrau*, on the other hand, ſet four great armies on foot, the chief of which lay in the neighbourhood of *Balch*, under the command of *Gudar*. Againſt him *Apheraſiab* ſent a detachment of his choiceſt troops, under the command of *Piran-Viſſeh*, the beſt officer in his dominions. The two armies had not long been in the neighbourhood of each other before an action enſued, wherein *Piran-Viſſeh* was killed, and his army beaten. When *Gudar* ſaw the body of *Piran-Viſſeh* on the ground, he alighted from his horſe, and, remembering the courteſies that nobleman had formerly done to *Siavek*, and to *Key-choſrau* when a young man, bedewed it with tears, and took care afterwards to ſee it interred with all the honours due to ſo great and worthy a man. Of which when the king of *Perſia* was informed, he highly commended his general, and ſpoke with very great regret of the death of his old friend [n]. *Apheraſiab*, when informed of this new diſaſter, ſent his ſon *Schidah* to command the remains of the army, which he cauſed to be reinforced as ſoon as poſſible. By this time *Key-choſrau* was come in perſon to his army, and marched at the head thereof through the plains in the neighbourhood of the *Caſpian* ſea. *Schidah*, thinking this a proper place to give battle, advanced with his army, and attacked the *Perſians* with great reſolution: but his ſucceſs was not anſwerable to his valour; for he was killed in the beginning of the engagement, and all his army cut to pieces. The king of *Perſia*, ſurveying the field of battle, and the vaſt number of dead bodies which lay thereon, cried out aloud, *Khuareſmi-bud*, i. e. *I have ſeen my deſire*: whence the plains in which this battle was fought, and the province wherein they lie, received the appellation of *Khuarezm*, which they ſtill retain. *Key-choſrau* puſhed on the war now with the greateſt vigour, marching directly towards the capital of *Turqueſtan*, whither *Apheraſiab* had retired; but this prince, not thinking himſelf ſafe there, becauſe the people murmured loudly at the evils they felt, firſt ſent away his *haram*, and then retired himſelf. His wives and children fell a ſhort time afterwards into the hands of *Key-choſrau*, who treated them with all imaginable kindneſs and

[n] D'Herbelot. biblioth. orient. ubi ſupra, & artic. Piran-Viſſeh.

reſpect. *Apheraſiab* wandered from province to province with a ſmall body of troops, till, being ſhut up in the mountains of *Aderbayagjan*, he was at laſt taken priſoner, and, by the orders of *Key-choſrau*, put to death °. Thus ended this long and bloody war, which had well nigh exhauſted both empires. After it was finiſhed, *Key-choſrau* fixed his court at *Balch*, for the conveniency of governing *Touran* as well as *Iran*. There it was that, ſeeing himſelf in full poſſeſſion of two great empires, this monarch did what none of his predeceſſors had thought of: he computed all the levies which had been made in *Perſia* for the carrying on the war againſt the *Turks*; and, out of the mighty treaſures which were fallen into his hands, he reſtored to every family the amount of the taxes they had paid. He ſent for his uncle *Fraiborz*, and, after having commended him for his fidelity, erected ſeveral provinces on the ſhore of the *Perſian* gulf into a kingdom, and made him ſovereign thereof. He aſſembled the nobility of *Touran*, and, having ſhewn them the folly of hating the inhabitants of *Iran*, as they had hitherto done, adviſed them to conſider of ways and means for re-eſtabliſhing the peace of their country, and aſſured them, he would contribute to it as far as lay in his power. He then marked out the quarters, and ſettled the yearly pay of his ſoldiers; took an exact account of the ſtate of all the provinces; reformed ſeveral abuſes in religion; and, when he had done all this, ſaid, He had reigned long enough for his own glory, and that it was now time for him to quit this world, and dedicate the reſt of his days to GOD. With this view, he introduced his ſucceſſor *Lohraſp* into a grand aſſembly of the nobility, put the *tagi* on his head, and retired himſelf to a cell in the deſert, having attained to the age of ninety years, ſixty of which he had paſſed upon the throne P (K).

Key-choſrau *reſigns the crown.*

DURING

° D'HERBELOT. biblioth. orient. art. Caichoſrau. P MIRKHOND. hiſt. ubi ſupra. D'HERBELOT. ubi ſupra.

(K) What has been above related of the reign of *Keychoſrau*, is taken from the beſt and moſt credible hiſtorians, and connected with all the accuracy in our power; let us now ſee what other remarkable facts have been related of this monarch, which could not ſo well be reduced into the order we have followed. With reſpect to the deciſive battle fought againſt the king of *Turqueſtan*, ſome writers tell us, that it was not a general engagement, but that twelve *Turks*, and as many *Perſians*, fought in the ſight of both armies, which Providence decided in favour of the latter; and this combat is very famous in oriental romances, where it is generally ſtiled *Genk duazde rokh*, i. e. the combat of the twelve heroes. The terms on which this combat was

fought

DURING his reign flourished *Lokman* the famous philosopher of the east, called, by way of surname, *Lokman al Hakim*; i. e. *Lokman the Wise*. It would lead us far out of our way, should we enter here too deeply into the history of this extra-

fought were these: that, if the *Turks* were victorious, the *Persians* should own *Apheraſiab* for their lord; but, in case the *Persians* were successful, then the *Turks* were to retire into their own country, and so quit all pretensions to *Iran* (1). *Apheraſiab* complied with the agreement, and marched directly back into his own country; but, say the same writers, he soon after broke the peace, by sending his son with a numerous body of horse to make inroads into *Persia:* in consequence of which followed the battle of *Khuarezm*, in which they make *Apheraſiab* and his brother to have been present. They add, that, after the loss of the battle, *Apheraſiab*, with the remains of his army, fled into the mountainous countries on the banks of the *Caſpian* sea, intending to pass, if possible, behind it, and so through the extended territories of the *Kipjaks* into his own dominions; but his efforts were vain, the forces of *Key-chosrau* surrounding the handful of troops *Apheraſiab* had with him in the mountains of *Aderbayagjan*; so that he was at last taken prisoner, and put to death (2). *Mirkhond*, and the writers we have followed, do not say much as to the personal bravery of *Key-chosrau*; but there are writers who inform us of a very extraordinary act of chivalry, performed by this monarch. They tell us, that in his reign there appeared in the mountains, which separate *Irak Ajemi* from *Phars*, or as we call them, *Parthia*, from *Proper Persia*, a monstrous serpent, which struck the people with such terror, that they abandoned their habitations, and left all the adjacent country desolate; this formidable dragon they stiled *Gavschid*. The king, being informed of this, resolved, like a good prince, to go immediately and destroy this monster. *Key-chosrau* hunted it for some time before he came up with it; but at last found it in its den in the mountains of *Aderbayagjan*; and his guards flying at the sight of the dragon, he attacked it alone, and killed it with his own hand. On the spot where this remarkable deed was done, a *pyreum*, or fire-temple, was erected, called in succeeding times *Deir Gavschid*, *i. e.* the habitation of *Gavschid*, renowned to this day amongst the *Persees*, and held by some to be the first fire-temple erected in *Persia* (3). Though some writers are silent as to the valour of this prince, yet all who treat of his reign, expatiate loudly on his wisdom and piety. Some believe him a prophet; most acknowlege that he conversed with the prophets, and was in a peculiar manner favoured by the Almighty for the great regard he always shewed towards religion, and religious persons.

(1) *D'Herbelot. biblioth orient. ubi supra.* (2) *Mirkhond. hist. ubi supra.*
(3) *D'Herbelot. biblioth. orient. artic. Deir Gasvid.*

ordinary person: we shall therefore content ourselves with observing, that it is generally agreed he was by birth an *Ethiopian* or *Nubian*, the oriental word *Habaschi* including both, his parents mean, and himself sold for a slave, and carried from one place to another, till, at last, he was brought into the land of *Israel*, where he lived under the reigns of *David* and *Solomon*. The *Arabian* writers tell us, that, sleeping, in this condition, during the heat of the day, the angels entered his room, and awaked him, with this salutation; *Lokman*, we are the messengers of God, thy Creator and ours, who hath sent us to thee, to inform thee, that he will make thee a monarch, and his lieutenant over the whole earth. *Lokman*, after remaining silent for a small space, returned this answer: If, by the absolute command of God, I am to become what you say, his will must be fulfilled in all things; and I hope, if it comes to pass, that he will afford me the necessary assistance of his grace, that I may exactly execute his orders: but if he would give me leave to choose, I wish rather to continue in the state I am in, and that he would prevent me from offending him; without which grace, all the pomp and grandeur of the world would be to me no more than a cumbrous and insupportable load. This, say these authors, appeared so just in the sight of God, that he bestowed on *Lokman* such an excellent understanding, that he composed, say they, ten thousand apologues, moral maxims, and wise sayings, each of them more valuable than the whole world: a phrase implying no more, than that they are highly useful, as well as wonderfully sublime. They tell us also, that *Lokman* standing one day in the midst of a great number of people, who all greedily listened to his wise and pleasant discourses, an *Hebrew* of great quality asked him, if he was not the black slave whom he had seen formerly tending the sheep. *Lokman* readily answered, I am. And how then, said the nobleman, have you attained so high a degree of virtue? Why, answered *Lokman*, by these three easy steps: I have always spoke the truth, I have constantly kept my word, and I have never meddled in any thing which did not concern me. A *Persian* poet hath recorded another extraordinary instance of *Lokman*'s presence of mind: his master sent him, with some other slaves, to gather fruit in his garden; the rest eat the best: and when his master missed them, they roundly swore, that *Lokman* eat them whether they would or not. The matter, sir, said *Lockman*, is easily decided; let us all drink heartily of warm water, and then let us join hands, and run round: his lord commanded the experiment to be immediately made; upon which they all fell to vomiting, with this difference, that they brought up the fruits which they had eaten, and *Lokman* nothing but the warm

water. The comment of the *Perſian* poet on this ſtory is ſo remarkable, that the reader will doubtleſs be pleaſed to ſee it: 'When we ſhall all drink of this hot water, at our tryals, in 'the day of the laſt judgment, then whatever has been con- 'cealed in the heart, and hidden far from the ſight of men, 'ſhall be thrown up, in the view of all the world; and the 'hypocrite, who acquired the reputation of a ſaint by his diſ- 'ſembling, ſhall then be covered with ſhame and confuſion of 'face.' What we have reported is ſufficient to ſhew, that there is a ſtrong reſemblance between the hiſtory of *Lokman*, as reported by the eaſtern writers, and that of *Æſop*, as we find it written by the *Greeks*. Both were mean in their original, both ſlaves, through the ſeverity of fortune, both famous for their wiſdom, and both delivered their maxims in the ſame manner, that is, by way of apologue. But there is a wide difference between the times in which the oriental authors ſay *Lokman* lived, and thoſe wherein the *Greeks* place *Æſop*. As to the firſt, it is generally allowed, that *Lokman* lived in the reign of *Solomon*, whereas *Æſop* is ſaid to have been cotemporary with *Cræſus* king of *Lydia*, and *Solon* the *Athenian* legiſlator. From the hiſtory of their lives, and from the compariſon of their fables, there is all the reaſon in the world to believe, that *Lokman* and *Æſop* were the ſame perſon; the difficulty ſeems to lie here, whether the *Greeks* ſtole him from the orientals, or whether the orientals took him from the *Greeks*. It ſeems moſt natural to believe the former, ſince, in ſuch caſes, the *Greeks* are found to have been notorious thieves, and to have altered every point of antient hiſtory they were able, to their own advantage: beſides, the apologue was certainly the favourite mode of teaching in the eaſt, long before that or any other kind of learning was known to the *Greeks*: after all, this is but conjecture, which we offer to the reader's conſideration, rather than his belief. The chief reaſon why *Lokman* is ſo much conſidered in the eaſt, is, becauſe *Mohammed* has mentioned him in terms of reſpect, in the koran; and has affirmed, that GOD beſtowed on him the gift of extraordinary wiſdom [t]. His fables, which are far from being numerous, have been printed in *Arabic* and *Latin*, at *Leyden*; ſo that *Europe* is now no ſtranger to the wiſdom of that famous perſon [u]. But to return to *Key-choſrau*, he is reported to have been himſelf a very wiſe and very learned prince, as well as remarkably pious. He was very fortunate throughout his reign, and yet he was ſo little exalted by an uninterrupted ſeries of good fortune, that he not only reſigned the crown, and retired into

[t] Koran. Sor. LOKMAN. art. Lokman, note H.

[u] D'HERBELOT. biblioth. orient.

the deserts on the skirts of the province of *Aderbayag jan*, but left also this remarkable memento to all his successors, by causing it to be engraved in one of the rooms of his palace [w] (H).

[w] Mirkhond. hist. sect. 14. D'Herbelot. art Kaichosrau.

(H) It is very fit, that we should give an account in this note what our reasons were for inserting the life of *Lokman* in the *Persian* history. Not to trouble the reader with too long a detail, we shall acquaint him with no more than two: First, *Lokman* wrote in the *Persian* language, as is generally agreed, and as the learned editor of his fables in *Holland* positively affirms (8). Secondly, It is from *Persian* writers that we have the best and fullest accounts of *Lokman*'s life and manners; and as they constantly speak of him as cotemporary with *Key-chosrau*, the third king of their second dynasty, it was but just, that we should insert his memoirs under that reign. Having thus justified our speaking of *Lokman* here, let us be indulged a few thoughts on fable, and on the high reputation which this author has obtained from his writings in that way. It is universally agreed, that the apologue was one of the most antient methods of instructing; and, of consequence, that it was invented in the east, where indeed all kind of science took birth. That this mode of teaching was far elder than *Lokman*'s days, admitting that he lived where the oriental writers have placed him, we know from the sacred writings. And that this method was long, if it be not still, cultivated in the east, is a point so notorious, that we need not undertake its proof. Bishop *Patrick* has advanced a very ingenious, though it may be no very solid opinion, in relation to the rise and decay of fable. He says, that it was invented in early times, when mankind were as yet rude, and histories unwritten; that, as these came into vogue, fable declined, because truth being always preferable to falshood, men chose rather to appeal to facts which had happened, than to suppose things which might never come to pass (9). But, with the bishop's good leave, the other side of the argument may be taken, and supported with greater force; for points of history are very seldom exactly agreed on in all their circumstances, and consequently can hardly ever be similar one to another; whereas fables, which are indeed representations of facts without names, may be adjusted to the utmost nicety, and consequently are able to strike with far greater vigour than any history applied. We will give an instance, which will effectually support what we say: Might not *Nathan* the prophet, when he reproved *David* for taking the wife of *Uriah*, have easily bethought him of some history, which would nearly have represented the case of that prince? but will any man say,

(8) *Præfat. Erpen. Locm. fab. Proverbs.*

(9) *See preface to his paraphrase on the*

that

"WE ought not to value ourselves too much on our exalta-
"tion above the ordinary rank of men, since we are no more
"secure

that a lecture from history would have penetrated the soul of *David* with so lively a sorrow as *Nathan*'s noble application of his parable, *Thou art the man* (10)? Fables shew us truth in an easy natural light, and the mind having thus consented to a doctrine proposed, the understanding afterwards applies; and we learn with the greater ease, because we do not discern the teacher. But to return to *Lokman*; his fame is so great, and so universal throughout the east, that, to express an high idea of any man's wisdom, they are wont to say, as the learned *Erpenius* expresses it, *Non necesse est docere Locmannum*: There is no need of teaching *Lokman* (11). His fables were doubtless almost without number; but the collection we have of them is not large. Sir *John Chardin* has printed a *French* translation of them, which agrees exactly with the *Arabic* and *Latin* version above referred to. We call them versions, because, as we observed before, *Lokman* wrote originally in *Persian*; and, at this day, Sir *John Chardin* tells us, this nation is so fond of them, that they are the first things they teach their children, and spare no pains to make them enter into, and comprehend their meaning. An instance or two may not be unacceptable (12).

The boy in the river.

*A little boy went one day into a river, and, not having learned to swim, had like to have been drowned: seeing a man at a distance, he called out to him for help: the man, as soon as he saw the lad's distress, began to expostulate with him on the folly of going into a river before he had learned to swim: the boy, instead of answering him, cried out,* Save me, save me, and then chide as long as you will.

The smith and his dog.

*An honest smith had a dog that slept all the while his master was at work; but as soon as he left off, and sat down with his companions to dinner, the dog waked, and solicited him for meat:* Worthless animal! *said the smith*, how canst thou sleep amidst the noise of hammers, which shake the very earth, and yet wake at the wagging of one's jaws, which scarce make any noise at all?

The goose and the swallow.

*The goose and the swallow entered into a league of friendship, and resolved to live together. They came unluckily to a place where the fowlers were watching: the swallow, as soon as she saw them, flew away: but the poor goose, not being able to make use of her wings, was taken and killed.*

The passage in the *Koran*, referred to in the text, is the whole thirty-first chapter, which therefore bears the title of *Lokman*. *Mohammed* speaks in his own

(10) 2 *Samuel* c. xii. (11) *Præfat. Erpen. Lokman. fab.* p. 7. (12) *Chardin. voyag. tom.* iii. *p.* 227.

" secure of our crowns, than they of their estates. That
" which descended from several monarchs to me, will descend,
" when I am gone, to several others; who then would be
" proud of what is uncertain in itself, and cannot at best last
" long?"

Lohrasp. LOHRASP, or *Lohorasb*, was the successor of *Key-chosrau*, and his near relation, that prince having no heirs male. The authors, who have recorded the principal events which happened under the reigns of the several princes of the first and second race, differ in no part of their account so much as where they speak of the actions of this prince. For the reader's ease, as well as our own, we will first give, as succinctly as we can, the story of this monarch's reign, according to *Mirkhond*; and we shall afterwards set down such variations as seem of greatest importance, affixing the authors names from whom they are taken. *Lohrasp* was the nephew to king *Key-kous's brother*, and was the next heir male of the royal line. He was elected king, and not without considerable opposition. His temper was known to be severe and haughty; the grandees therefore were many of them for putting the sceptre into a milder hand;

person at the beginning thereof, vehemently declaiming against irreligious persons and idolaters, such especially as despised the *Koran*, and lived in the errors of their fathers. He then makes GOD speak thus: *We inspired knowlege into* Lokman, *and taught him to give* GOD *thanks; he that returneth thanks to* GOD *for his graces, doth good to his soul; for* GOD *hateth the ungrateful, and praise is in all places due to him. Remember thou, that* Lokman *said to his son, O! my son, believe not that* GOD *hath equals; it is an exceeding great sin; we have commanded man to honour his father and his mother; his mother bringeth him forth with sorrow, and weaneth him at two years old: be not thou forgetful of* GOD's *benefits; honour thy father and thy mother; for thou shalt be one day judged before* GOD. The rest of the chapter contains a great many excellent admonitions, which are all put into the mouth of *Lokman*, and consequently shew how high this philosopher stood in the opinion of *Mohammed*. To say the truth, *Mohammed* was a very artful person, and took care never to run counter to popular opinions, where it might be avoided. The character of *Lokman* was too well established to be overturned by him; and therefore he very wisely represented him as one who had long ago taught the same doctrines which he now sought to recommend. Hence, however, it has come to pass, that some commentators on the *Koran* have taught, that *Lokman* was a prophet; though others understand what *Mohammed* says of that sage's having only the gift of teaching (13).

(13) *D'Herbelot, biblioth. orient, art. Locman.*

and

and at the head of this faction was *Zal-zer*, the father of *Ruſtan*; but their cabals were in vain: *Lohraſp* carried it in ſpite of them all, and was declared king. As ſoon as he was ſeated on the throne, he determined with himſelf to raiſe his reputation, and to extend his empire, by making war on both ſides thereof. In conſequence of this reſolution, he fixed his court at *Balch*, and took all poſſible methods for putting every thing in the beſt order in the eaſtern provinces of *Iran*. He ſent, in the mean time, his general *Gudarz*, with a puiſſant army, into *Shamah* or *Syria*, with orders to reduce the whole of that large country under his power. *Gudarz* effectually anſwered his maſter's expectation: he conquered all *Syria* as far as *Damaſcus*, and alſo *Paleſtine*, with the famous city of *Jeruſalem*, called by the *Perſians* the *habitation of the ſaints*. The reigning king of the *Jews* ſubmitted, and promiſed to pay tribute; for which he put as hoſtages into the hands of the *Perſian* general ſeveral perſons of quality, whom *Gudarz* quickly after cauſed to be ſlain. This provoked the *Jews* to a rebellion, and gave *Gudarz* the opportunity he wanted of ſacking *Jeruſalem*, where he treated the inhabitants with inexpreſſible cruelty, and, having loaded his ſoldiers with riches, retired, carrying into *Perſia* with him a vaſt number of captives. King *Lohraſp* had two ſons, the eldeſt called *Guſhtaſp*, the younger named *Zaris*. The former was of a fierce, haughty diſpoſition; but was at the ſame time warlike, and of great abilities. This young prince drew in many, who were fond of novelty, to join him in a rebellion againſt his father; in which he had at firſt ſucceſs, and gained over to him a very conſiderable party. But *Lohraſp*, having drawn together all his friends, and done every thing in his power to engage the people to his ſervice, marched ſo briſkly againſt his ſon, that *Guſhtaſp*'s adherents, fearing the fortune of the day in caſe of a battle, abandoned him by degrees; which he obſerving, began immediately to provide for his own ſafety, by retiring into *Turqueſtan*, in ſo diſtreſſed a condition, that he lived at that court even unknown and unſuſpected. Here, by a very odd accident, he married the daughter of the reigning prince, It was, it ſeems, a cuſtom in that country, that, whenever the king had a mind to diſpoſe of a daughter in marriage, public notice was given, and the people aſſembled in great numbers in an open court, where being diſpoſed into the beſt order the place would allow, the king entered with his daughter, one of whoſe hands was held in his, and, in the other, ſhe had a golden apple, enriched with precious ſtones. When they were advanced into the middle of the place, the king let looſe his daughter's hand; and ſhe, after walking round, and obſerving every body diligently, beſtowed herſelf, and her apple

apple, on the man ſhe liked beſt. It happened, not long after *Guſhtaſp*'s arrival in *Turqueſtan*, that the king determined to give his eldeſt daughter in marriage; and, having brought her out into the court, after the manner before deſcribed, ſhe, after looking a little about her, gave her apple to this unknown perſon. The grandees of *Touran* were inexpreſſibly vexed at ſeeing themſelves deſpiſed by the princeſs for a ſtranger, whom they ſuppoſed of low birth. They therefore engaged the king to make a law, that, for the future, the princeſſes of *Touran* ſhould have their choice only out of people of high quality, that the royal line might not be drawn into contempt. The king had ſtill two daughters, as remarkable for their beauty, as for their birth. Theſe were demanded in marriage by the two ſons of a neighbouring and potent prince, to whom the king of *Touran* made no ſcruple of promiſing them, on this condition, that they would reduce under his obedience two lords who had revolted, and who committed great devaſtations throughout all *Touran*. The young princeſs, conſidering the difficulty of this taſk, had recourſe to *Guſhtaſp*, of whoſe proweſs they had ſufficient proofs, and engaged him to be aſſiſtant therein. *Guſhtaſp*, as ſoon as he had undertaken to ſerve them, appointed an hunting-match, and invited the two brothers to be of the party: he alſo brought to the chace a ſmall body of reſolute friends. When they were aſſembled, he diſcovered to them his project, which was to go immediately to a certain caſtle, where, he was informed, the two rebel lords had an interview, and to ſtorm it, before they could have any intelligence of their expedition. This was immediately agreed to, and inſtantly carried into execution. *Guſhtaſp* entered the place firſt himſelf; and, having ſeized the rebels, put them into the hands of the two princes, who conducted them to court, and preſented them to the king. The *Turkiſh* monarch was prodigiouſly pleaſed with this feat of arms, and very readily made good his promiſe to the princes, by giving them his daughters in marriage. A few days after, he cauſed great feaſts to be celebrated, and appointed public tournaments; wherein *Guſhtaſp* behaved himſelf in ſuch a manner, that he carried the glory of the day from all who were preſent. The king, who had hitherto ſhewed him but little countenance, ſpoke to him on this occaſion very kindly, and gave him the higheſt praiſes. *Guſhtaſp* took this opportunity of ſaying, that, if he had excelled in combats that were not in earneſt, he had likewiſe been of ſome uſe in quelling the diſturbers of the public peace. This ſtruck the king's mind, who eaſily comprehended the meaning; and, having diligently ſought out the truth, made *Guſhtaſp* henceforward his favourite. It is to be obſerved, that, after the conqueſt of *Touran*

by

by *Key-kosrau*, though the people were left to live under their own laws, and their own princes, yet they were obliged to own the superiority of the monarchs of *Iran*, and to pay them a considerable tribute. *Gushtasp* persuaded his father-in-law, that this was at once dishonourable, and needless; and therefore advised him to throw off the yoke, by refusing tribute, and by making preparations for, and declaring war against *Lohrasp*, in case he should dispute his independency. This *Gushtasp* did to be revenged of his father, and from an apprehension, that, if ever he was discovered, the nobility of *Touran*, in a time of peace, would certainly deliver him up. *Lohrasp* was exceedingly surprised at the arrival of the *Turkish* embassador in his court. He treated him, however, with great civility, and endeavoured to get out of him the true source of these extraordinary proceedings. The embassador, at first, thought to put him off with trivial answers; but, on the king's pressing him, he acknowleged at last, that a certain stranger, who had married his master's daughter, was the true author of all this mischief. *Lohrasp* no sooner heard this, than he guessed it was his son, and immediately dispatched a messenger to inquire privately, whether it was so, or not. As soon as he was certain, that this new and dangerous enemy was his son *Gushtasp*, he took at the same time a most strange and most generous resolution; which was, to spare his people at the expence of his crown. He found he was grown old; he saw the ambition of his son was to be satisfied with nothing less than the diadem; and, as he knew he was brave and wise, though undutiful to him, he determined to resign to him his dominions; and, in order to this, he sent his younger son *Zaris* with the *tagi*, or ensign of the royal dignity in *Persia*, to his brother in *Turquestan*. *Zaris* took care to give his brother private notice of his arrival. *Gushtasp* went immediately to pay him a visit; and, being informed of his father's resolution, accepted the *tagi* or *tiara*, and caused himself to be solemnly proclaimed king of *Persia*. His father-in-law was at first prodigiously disturbed, conceiving that there was some treason against him in these proceedings; but, when he found things were really as they had been represented, he was overjoyed to the highest degree: and the nobility of *Touran* came in crouds to pay their compliments to the new king of *Persia*. These ceremonies over, *Gushtasp* took leave of his father-in-law, and, with his wife *Karathun*, set out for his own dominions, carrying with him a grand retinue, and a considerable number of camels loaded with riches. *Lohrasp* received his son Lohrasp with all the marks of tenderness and joy. *Gushtasp* retained *withdraws to a* him at court for many years, and did nothing without his ad- *solitary* vice. At last the good old man withdrew to lead a solitary *life.* life;

life; to meditate on the vanities of this world; and to contemplate the wisdom and goodness of GOD. A short time after, he died, having first sent for his son, and given him, in his last moments, the most salutary counsels in respect to his own glory, and the good of his people. This *Lohrasp* was surnamed *Balki*, i. e. the *Balchian*, because he resided mostly at *Balk* or *Balch*, one of the antientest cities in his dominions [p] (L).

GUSH-

[p] MIRKHOND. hist. sect. 15.

(L) It must be owned, that the foregoing account, taken from *Mirkhond*, is by no means agreeable to what other *Persian* authors have written on the same subject. In two of the most celebrated histories of this people, we find it recorded, that *Lohrasp* was the grandson of *Keykobad*, and that he was opposed by the *Persian* nobility, not for his cruelty or pride, as *Mirkhond* suggests, but because his father and himself had led their lives in privacy; whence it was believed he had not the capacity of reigning: it is also said, that he was the first *Persian* monarch who enacted martial laws, and obliged his troops to live like the rest of his subjects, according to the rules of equity and justice, and not as they had hitherto done, at free-quarter, and in contempt of both. He allowed his general officers, and governors of provinces, to give audience on a tribunal, raised one story from the ground, and railed round about, reserving to himself only this distinction, that he had a carpet or cloth of state thrown before his foot-stool. We are likewise told, that the name of the general, sent by this prince to invade *Syria* and *Palestine*, was *Raham*; and that he was surnamed by the *Persians Bakhtalnassar*, from whence the *Hebrews* framed the name of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and the *Grecks Nebuchadonosor*. We have also, on the same authority, the history of *Gushtasp*'s flight, marriage, and succession to the throne of *Persia*; but we are likewise told, what little agrees with *Mirkhond*'s history, that *Lohrasp*, within a short time after he resigned the throne, was besieged in the city of *Balch* by *Arjasp*, nephew of *Afrasiab*, the famous *Turkish* monarch, who, after the town fell into his hands, caused the old king of *Persia* to be put to death, after he had reigned one hundred and twenty years (13). *Khondemir*, the famous *Persian* historian, differs not only from *Mirkhond*, but the writers last cited; he says, that *Lohrasp* was the son of *Keykaus*'s brother, and that he was elected on account of his extraordinary virtues: according to him, it was *Gudarz* who conquered *Palestine*, and was surnamed by the *Persians Bakht-Nassar*; which surname has occasioned such confusion among the *Hebrew* and *Greek* writers. As to the flight of *Gushtasp*, this writer says, that he retired to the court of a certain *Greek* prince, where he mar-

(13) *Lebtarik. Tarir. Montekeb.*



ried

GUSHTASP, or *Kiſchtaſp*, the ſon of *Lohraſp*, ſucceeded his father with general applauſe: he was a prince of great ſtrength Guſhtaſp

ried the king's eldeſt daughter, called by him *Kenaioum*, and, who, as he tells the ſtory, preſented him publicly with an orange, which is plainly ſubſtituted for the golden apple. Inſtead of the two rebellious lords, he ſpeaks of two terrible monſters, that this *Grecian* prince, whoever he was, inſiſted ſhould be killed by thoſe who pretended to the young princeſſes, who were ſtill unmarried.

The firſt of theſe was a furious ſerpent, which had its den in a wood ſo very thick, that it was thought almoſt impoſſible to penetrate it, in order to combat this deſtructive animal: the other was a lion prodigiouſly fierce, which traverſed the plain country, and tore to pieces all he met with, whether of human kind, or cattle. Two of the chief princes of *Greece*, who were pretenders to the daughters of the king in whoſe court *Guſhtaſp* lived, were quite abaſhed at theſe propoſals, deſpairing of the conqueſt of theſe monſters, and conſequently of the princeſſes. However, they informed *Guſhtaſp* of the anſwer the king had given them. *Guſhtaſp* readily offered them his aſſiſtance, and accordingly attacked the monſters, killed them both, and gave all the honour of theſe extraordinary feats of chivalry to the two *Greek* princes, which procured for them the wives they deſired. Some time after this, *Guſhtaſp* growing a little into the king's favour, that prince aſked him one day how he paſſed his time. *Guſhtaſp* anſwered, that ſometimes he went a hunting; and that lately, as he was taking that diverſion, he killed two extraordinary creatures. The king immediately underſtood what he meant, and, having cauſed the matter to be thoroughly inquired into, found that *Guſhtaſp* had ſlain the monſters; upon which he immediately made him his chief miniſter, as well as favourite; and, at his perſuaſion, refuſed to pay the king of *Perſia* that tribute which he was wont to ſend him yearly, and alſo declared war againſt him. *Lohraſp*, being informed of all this, immediately conceived it was his ſon who had influenced this king to ſuch bold proceedings; and therefore, inſtead of providing for the war, he ſent his younger ſon with the tiara, or royal diadem of *Perſia*, to *Guſhtaſp*, as a pledge of his friendſhip, and a certain ſign, that he intended him for his ſucceſſor. On his return to his father's court, continues our author, the venerable old man went out to meet him; kiſſed his feet, according to the *Perſian* cuſtom in ſubmitting to a ſovereign; and, after tenderly embracing him, placed the crown upon his head with his own hands; after which he retired from the world, to lead a recluſe life at *Balch*, where he was killed. The prophets *Jeremiah*, *Daniel*, and *Eſdras*, were his cotemporaries (14). If we may believe the eloquent author of the *Shah Nemeh*, or

(14) *Khondemir, in Khelaſſat. Al Akbar.*

Royal

ſtrength and activity of body, of great wiſdom, and extraordinary abilities of mind. He, leaving *Balch* to his father, went to reſide at the antient metropolis of the kingdom, *Iſtachr*, i. e. cut out of the rock; which he adorned with many fine ſtructures, and reigned there in peace and glory about thirty years; at the end of that ſpace, there appeared, in his dominions, a very extraordinary perſon, who took upon himſelf the character of a prophet, and declared that he was ſent by God to teach ſuch as would liſten to him, the right way: this perſon was the *Zoroaſtres* of the *Greeks*, and the *Zerduſht* of the *Perſians*; but as the hiſtory of this famous perſon is of very great conſequence, we have found it neceſſary, to prevent confuſion, to detach it from the reign of *Guſhtaſp*, and to deliver what hath been collected of this wonderful man, by authors of all nations, in a regular narration, with all the candour and impartiality we are maſters of.

*Royal Chronicle*, *Balch*, at the time *Lohraſp* reſigned the kingdom to his ſon *Guſhtâſp*, was eſteemed by the *Perſians* as the holy city, the fountain of their religion, and the place worthieſt of their eſteem, as *Mecca* is now by the *Mohammedans*; on this account therefore, *Lohraſp* made it the place of his abode, where, laying aſide his royal robes, he put on the habit of a prieſt, applying himſelf wholly to devotion, in imitation of his predeceſſor *Gjemſchid*, for the ſpace of thirty years, till he was ſlain, as will be hereafter related, in a cloyſter of his own building, which he called *Nau-bahar*, i. e. the new ſpring (15).

In this note we have mentioned two hiſtories, beſides that of *Mirkhond*; and ſhall here give the reader a ſhort account of their authors, that he may be able to judge, in ſome meaſure, of the credit due to each. *Tarikh Montekheb* is the *Turkiſh* name of a tranſlation of a *Perſian* hiſtory, ſtiled in that language *Tarikh Khozideh*; i. e. the choſen chronicle, written originally in *Perſian* verſe, and afterwards reduced into proſe by its author *Hamdallah Ben Abikekr Ben Ahmed Ben Naſſer Al Maſtouſi Al Cazvini*, i. e. native of the city of *Casbin*. It contains a general hiſtory from the creation to *A. H.* 730 (16). The book commonly cited under the title of *Lebtarik*, is properly called *Lobb Al Taovarikh*, i. e. the marrow of hiſtories: it was written in the *Perſian* language by *Jahia Ben Abdallathif Al Cazvini*: it is divided into four books; the firſt, containing the life of *Mohammed*, and the twelve *Imans*; the ſecond, the lives and reigns of the kings who governed before the introduction of *Mohammediſm*; the third, the hiſtory of the reigning family in *Perſia*; the fourth, an univerſal hiſtory of the dynaſties prior to *Mohammed*; it comes down to *A. H.* 948, the author dying in 960, or in the year 1552, according to our account (17).

(15) *Pbirdauſi in Shah Nameh. Hyde rel. vet. Perſ. c* 23. *p.* 302. (16) *D'Herbelot. biblioth. orient. art. Tarikh Khozideh.* (17) *Idem ib. art. Lobb. Al Taovarikh.*

*The*

## *The life of* Zoroastres, Zoroaster, *or* Zerdusht; *extracted as well from* Greek *and* Latin, *as oriental historians.*

IF to be famous after death can afford any joyful sensation to the immortal spirit, that of this man, whether prophet, impostor, or philosopher, must needs receive high satisfaction from the wide extension of his fame, which has been diffused throughout the whole learned world, and subsisted even to latest ages. The *Greeks*, who were very inquisitive after the inventors of science, amongst the nations whom they stile barbarians, and from whom, notwithstanding, they drew all the learning they had themselves, have written so confusedly, and so obscurely, concerning *Zoroasters*, that it is hard to know hrw many famous men bore this name, when they lived, or for what they were eminent. *Arnobius* is thought to have reduced them to four; but such is the misfortune of all who have written about *Zoroaster*, that the sense of this very passage is disputed, some affirming, that *Arnobius* speaks but of three *Zoroasters*; others, that he mentions only two (K). How-

(K) In the text we have mentioned a passage from *Arnobius*, which has been very differently understood. This *Arnobius* was a rhetorician, and the master of the famous *Lactantius*; being converted to the christian faith, he wrote a large work, in a declamatory stile, against the *gentiles*; wherein there are many things contained of high use in respect to the history of learning among the antients; for though, as a christian, he wrote but indifferently, these books being composed soon after his conversion, and before he was well instructed in the faith; yet, as to heathen learning, he was a great proficient therein; and his authority, in such a case as this, must have consequently considerable weight. The passage, which has been so differently interpreted, runs thus: *Age, nunc veniet quis super igneam zonam magus interiore ab orbe Zoroastres, Hermippo ut assentiamur auctori. Bactrianus & ille conveniet, cujus Ctesias res gestas historiarum exponit in primo, Armenius Hostanis nepos, & familiaris Pamphylius Cyri* (16). *Patricius*, the famous collector of the *Zoroastrian* oracles (17), *Gabriel Naude*, a man of distinguished learning (18), and *Kircher*, who well understood these things (19), believe that *Arnobius* mentions here four *Zoroasters*; the first a *Chaldean*; the second a *Bactrian*; the third a *Pamphylian*; the fourth an *Armenian*. *Salmasius* will needs have the text read thus (20): *Age, nunc veniat, quæso, per igneam zonam magus interiore ab orbe Zoroastres, Hermippo & assentiamur auctori, Bactrianus, & ille conveniat, cujus Ctesias res gestas historiarum exponit in primo,*

(16) *Declam. contra gentes.* (17) *Comm sup. orac. Zoroast.* (18) *Apolog. pour les grands hommes, &c.* (19) *Obel. Pamphil.* (20) *Exerc. Plinii.*

*Arme-*

However, four was certainly not too large a number, since authors undoubtedly mention many more. Of these we shall speak

*Armenius, Hostanis nepos, & familiaris Pamphilus Cyri.* It is evident, by these alterations, that *Salmasius* has got rid of one *Zoroaster*, though one would think he has introduced another; since, of the three *Zoroasters*, which he admits to be spoken of in this passage, the first is said to be an *Ethiopian*, or one coming from a country near the torrid zone; for so *Salmasius* expounds *per igneam zonam, & ab interiore orbe*; which *Ethiopian* or *Lydian Zoroaster Hermippus* makes a *Bactrian*; the second *Armenius*, nephew of *Hostanes*, of whose actions *Ctesias* gives us an account in the first book of his history; the third named *Pamphilus*, friend to *Cyrus*. *Ursinus*, from the same words, is positive that *Arnobius* mentions but two, exploding the *Bactrian Zoroaster* of *Hermippus*, and shewing, from *Ctesias*, that *Zoroaster* was not so antient as *Eudoxus* fansied, but that he lived in the time of *Cyrus* (21). We are afraid our readers are already fatigued enough with these dry researches as to the *Zoroaster* of the *Greeks*: we hope, however, they will have patience enough to hear what we have to offer by way of apology for this profusion of quotations, of which, in the other parts of this *Persian* history, we have been as sparing as possible. Our reasons are these; first, in order to gain any credit for the history of *Zerdusht*, as written by oriental authors, there was a necessity of destroying the credit which has been so long given to the *Greeks*; and, to do this, the best and shortest method was to shew what the *Greeks* had said, and what, from their writings, the most able of their disciples had been able to collect, which, we presume to say, is very little or nothing. Secondly, We thought it necessary to shew the reader, that, in order to make some sense of the varying stories of the antients in relation to *Zoroaster*, who, by the way, is called by a greater variety of *Greek* names, than he is in the oriental languages; though in them, as we have shewn, the orthography of his name is far from being settled; I say, we thought it convenient to shew, that several *Zoroasters* have been supposed, in order to the distribution of the several stories about him. After all, the candidates for the honours bestowed on the true *Zoroaster*, may be reduced to two, the *Chaldæan* and the *Persian*; and the very ingenious Mr. *Stanley* has, with great impartiality, divided these honours between them. But, thirdly, our history of *Zerdusht* will set this matter in its true light, by shewing that there is in reality but one *Zoroaster*. If it be inquired, how the *Chaldæan* magi came to derive themselves, and their doctrines from this *Persian*; and how this is to be reconciled to that chronology, which hitherto has been approved by all the learned, and sets the *Chaldæan*

(21) *In Zoroast.* (22) *Chaldaic, Philosophy, p.* 4.

*Zoroaster*

ſpeak as ſuccinctly as we can: the firſt is thought to have been a *Chaldæan*: *Suidas* calls him an *Aſſyrian*; and ſays alſo, that he was ſtruck dead by fire from heaven [t]. It is very probable, that this is the ſame *Zoroaſter* ſpoken of by *Dion Chryſoſtom*, and ſaid to have appeared in fire [u]. The ſecond was a *Bactrian*, and a king, whom *Juſtin*, and the authors who follow him, make cotemporary with *Ninus* the *Aſſyrian*, by whom he was vanquiſhed in battle, and ſlain [x]. He is reputed to have been the inventor of magic; and is ſaid by *Arnobius* to have conteſted with *Ninus*, not only with ſteel and ſtrength, but by magical force, and the occult ſciences of the *Chaldæans* [y]. The third was a *Perſian*, as *Laertius* informs us [z]; *Clemens Alexandrinus* ſtiles him a *Mede* [a]; *Suidas*, a *Perſo-mede* [b]: but they all ſpeak darkly and ambiguouſly. The fourth was a *Pamphylian*, commonly called *Er*, or *Erus Armenius*. Concerning this *Zoroaſter*, *Clemens Alexandrinus* quotes *Plato*, affirming, that he began a book thus: 'This wrote I *Zoroaſter* 'Armenius, by deſcent a *Pamphylian*, dying in war; and, be-

[t] Sub voce Ζωροάστρης.
[u] Orat. Boriſth.
[x] Lib. i.
[y] Decl. contra gentes. ALEXAND. ſtrom. lib. i.
[z] LAERT. in proœm.
[a] CLEM. Ζαροάστρης.
[b] In vocibus Μάγοι, Ἀστρονομία,

*Zoroaſter* far higher; we ſhall anſwer, that, in the firſt place, we are not accountable for the miſtakes of others: the *Greek* writers knew not what to call him, or where to place him; for, as Mr. *Stanley* juſtly obſerves, "The ſame name it is, "which ſome call *Zabratis*, "others *Nazaratas*, others *Za-*"*res*, others *Zaran*, others *Za-*"*radas*; all which are but ſe-"veral corruptions from the "*Chaldee* or *Perſian* word, which "the *Greeks* moſt generally ren-"der *Zoroaſter* (22)." What certainty can be expected from ſuch writers? But then, ſecondly, leſt this ſhould ſeem an evaſive anſwer, we allege, that *Zoroaſter* was not the inſtitutor of the magi, nor the author of a new religion, which we ſhall ſhortly prove at large; and this, as we conceive, occaſioned the great confuſion about *Zoroaſter*: it was a received opinion, that he was the founder of magiſm; it was eaſily diſcoverable, that magiſm was as antient as the days of *Abraham*, and that it was the religion of *Chaldæa*: it was natural enough therefore, for ſuch as looked upon *Zoroaſter* to be the inſtitutor of the magian doctrines, to ſay with aſſurance, that he lived in theſe times; but then, diſcovering from the *Perſian* records, at what time he truly lived, they choſe, rather than abandon their former opinion, to make two *Zoroaſters*; the firſt a *Chaldæan* or *Aſſyrian*, cotemporary with *Ninus*; the ſecond a *Perſian*, flouriſhing in the reign of *Darius Hyſtaſpis*.

(22) *Chaldaic Philoſophy*, p. 4.

'ing in *Hades*, I learned of the gods.' He is reported, by the same author, to have risen again after being ten days dead; and to have told strange things which he had seen in that space [c]. The fifth was a native of *Proconnesus*, mentioned by *Pliny* [d]. Some have imagined, not without reason, that he is the same with *Aristeus* the *Proconnesian*, mentioned by *Suidas* to have had an art of letting his soul go out of his body, and return as often as he pleased [e]. The sixth lived at *Babylon*, at the time *Pythagoras* was carried thither by *Cambyses*, as we are told by *Apuleius* [f]. As the *Greeks* made several *Zoroasters*, so they placed them in different ages of the world: *Justin* makes him thirteen years older than *Sardanapalus* [g]; *Eudoxus*, cited by *Pliny*, placed him six thousand years before the death of *Plato* [h]; *Plutarch* makes him flourish five thousand years before the war of *Troy* [i]. Some authors, mentioned by *Suidas*, fix him five hundred years before the *Trojan* war [k]; *Apuleius* [l], *Iamblichus* [m], *Porphyry* [n], *Clemens Alexandrinus* [o], and *Agathias* [p], place him where he ought to be placed, about the time of *Cyrus*; and *Pliny*, discoursing on this very subject, says, that the most accurate writers were of opinion, he lived a little before *Xerxes* [q]. But however they might differ in circumstances, they all agreed in paying him great honours: *Plato* [r], *Aristotle* [s], *Plutarch* [t], and *Porphyry* [u], acknowlege him to have been a person of extraordinary learning. *Pliny* tells us, that he laughed the same day he was born; that his brains beat so hard, that they lifted up the hand laid upon them; which was a presage of his future sagacity: he adds what is very extraordinary, that be lived in the deserts twenty years, upon cheese so mixed, that it did not grow stale [x]. *Solinus* draws his character in few words: he was, says he, *optimarum artium peritissimus*; in the best arts most skilful [y]. *Apuleius* stiles him, *omnis divini arcani antistes*, the chief doctor in all divine mysteries: and adds, that he was the preceptor of *Pythagoras* [z]: *Agathias* tells us, he lived under *Hystaspes*; and that he was the author of magism among the *Persians*, changeing their old religion, and introducing new opinions [a]. *Dion Chrysostom* says more of him than any of these writers, and from better authority, since what he delivered he had from the

[c] Plato. polit. lib. x. [d] Hist. nat. lib. xxx. c. 1. & l. vii. c. 16. [e] Sub voce Ἀριστεύς. [f] Florid. ii. [g] Ubi supra. [h] Hist. nat. l. xxx. c. i. [i] De Iside & Osiride. [k] Sub voce Ζωροάστρης. [l] Florid. ii. [m] In vita Pythagoræ. [n] Idem ibid. [o] Stromat. l. v. [p] Hist. lib. ii. [q] Ubi supra. [r] In Alcibiade. [s] In libro de magia, citante Laert. in procem. [t] De Iside & Osiride. [u] In vita Pythagoræ. [x] Hist. nat. l. xxx. c. 1. [y] Cap. 1. [z] Florid. ii. [a] Hist. lib. ii.

*Per-*

*Perſians* themſelves, as we ſhall hereafter have occaſion to ſhew [b]. *Cteſias*, an author univerſally condemned, was, in all probability, more in the right about *Zoroaſter* than thoſe who have anſwered him, ſince we know, from *Arnobius*, that he affirmed him to have lived under the reign of *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, and ſpent the firſt book of ſix, which he wrote on *Perſian* affairs, in delivering his hiſtory [c]. The ſum and concluſion of all we have hitherto ſaid, is this, that, except *Cteſias* and *Dion Chryſoſtom*, all the antients who have written concerning *Zoroaſter*, knew little about him more than this, that he was a very learned and wiſe man, and the principal of the magi; in reſpect to which, *Euſebius* indeed ſays, that he wrote a book, which, from the citations he has given us, ſeems to have contained the chief doctrines of the *Perſian* religion [d].

THE oriental writers are ſomewhat better agreed, in relation to this wonderful man, whom they call *Zerduſht*, *Zaraduſht*, *Zaratuſht*, and *Zard-huſht*; for they, generally ſpeaking, acknowlege that he flouriſhed in the reign of *Guſhtaſp*. The author of *Lebtarikh*, indeed, ſays, that ſome old writers confound him with *Dohak* or *Zohak*, one of the *Piſchdadian* princes [e]; but all the *Perſian* hiſtorians, who are to be ſuppoſed beſt acquainted with the affairs of their own nation, ſpeak of him, not as the author, but as the reformer of the magian religion, which, they ſay, he performed by the aſſiſtance of *Guſhtaſp* (L). With reſpect to his family; the common opinion

[b] Orat. Boriſthen. [c] Contra gentes. [d] Præpar. evangel.
[e] D'HERBELOT. biblioth. orient. art. Zerduſcht.

(L) Some *Arabian* writers have endeavoured to inſinuate, that what they call the religion of the fire-worſhipers, is not of great antiquity; but all impartial authors agree in rejecting this notion, and admit that magiſm began very early, nay, even before the time of *Abraham*: certain it is, that the oldeſt book extant in the world favours this opinion; for thus ſpeaks *Job* in his proteſtation of his integrity, and his fervent declarations, that he had always held the true faith, and done all the good he could: "If I beheld the ſun, "when it ſhined, or the moon "walking in brightneſs, and "my heart hath been ſecretly "enticed, or my mouth hath "kiſſed my hand, this alſo were "an iniquity cogniſable by the "judge; for I ſhould have de-"nied the GOD who is above "(2)." Nothing can be clearer than this, nor can any thing more fully prove, that this hereſy was as old as the *Perſians* make it, who affirm that *Kejomaras*, their firſt king. was the author of their religion; and therefore of old they affected much to call themſelves *Kejo-*

(2) *Job* xxxi. 26.

nion of the *Persian* and *Arabic* writers is, that he either was a *Jew*, or went very early into *Judea*, where he received his educa-

*marsians*, or *Kejomarthites*. But the point they chiefly laboured, in respect to antiquity, was the persuading themselves, and others, that their religion was the religion of *Abraham*. It would be no difficult matter to shew the probable source of this opinion, which we have also touched elsewhere; but as this work is intended for a body of history, and not a collection of critical inquiries, we chuse to insert here some extracts from a celebrated *Arabian* history of the religions of the east, rather than to amuse our readers with conjectures of our own, "The *Persian* kings "in general, says this writer, "adhered to the religion of *A-* "*braham*, and their subjects "were always of the religion "of their prince; there was "likewise a chief or high- "priest, reputed the wisest of "wise men, from whose man- "date there was no appeal, and "whose sentence was never re- "versed, the same reverence be- "ing shewn to them, as we "heretofore shewed unto our "caliphs." A little after, he says, "The peculiar doctrine "of the magi was the duality "of the spiritual nature, which "they affirmed to be good and "evil, virtuous and wicked, be- "nevolent and destructive; these "natures they distinguished, by "calling the one light, and the "other darkness, or rather, in "their own terms, *Yezdan* and "*Ahriman*. Hence it came to "pass, that their whole reli- "gion, and all the questions of "the magi, turned on these two "points, the explication of "light being mixed with dark- "ness, and of light freeing it- "self from darkness." Some pages farther, the same author speaks thus: "Though the "magi affirm these two prin- "ciples, yet the most antient of "them did not think themselves "under a necessity of affirming, "that both existed from eter- "nity; on the contrary, they "held only light itself existent, "and that darkness was pro- "duced; but in accounting for "this, they were sometimes at "a loss; however, they con- "stantly asserted, that they re- "ceived these doctrines from "wise men and prophets, among "their ancestors; first, from "*Kejomaras*; secondly, from "*Zervan the Great*; thirdly, "from another prophet, whose "name was *Zerdusht*. The "*Kejomarthites* insist, that *Kejo-* "*maras* is the same with *Adam*, "wherein they agree with some "*Indian* and *Persian* chronolo- "gers; yet they are contradicted "by others skilful in that art. "The *Kejomarthites* also affirm, "that their great master esta- "blished the opinion of two "spiritual beings, *Yezdan* and "*Ahriman*, acknowleging the "former to be eternal and self- "existent, and owning the lat- "ter to be produced and cre- "ated, and that after this man- "ner: *Yezdan*, i. e. God, said "in himself, Unless I am op- "posed, how shall it be, *i. e.* "how shall my glory arise? "which thought produced dark- "ness, which is opposite to "light;

education under one of the prophets, with whom he lived as a ſervant; and, emulous of his glory, ſet up for a prophet afterwards himſelf [f]. Who this prophet was, is not well agreed; ſome ſay *Elias*, others *Ezra*, and ſome again, one of the diſciples of *Jeremiah*. Doctor *Prideaux* thinks *Elias* was too early, and *Ezra* too late; he therefore fixes upon *Daniel* [g]. Doctor *Hyde* inclines to *Ezra* [h]. How true the whole of the ſtory is, is hard to ſay, ſince the *Mohammedans* are all great enemies to *Zerduſht*; and, if we take a part of their evidence, we ought to take the whole; and then it will ſtand thus: he quitted the ſervice of the *Hebrew* prophet, becauſe, having deceived and cheated him, the holy man prayed GOD to ſtrike him with a leproſy; which accordingly followed: if ſo, then *Zerduſht* muſt have been the ſame with *Gehazi*, the ſervant, not of *Elias*, but *Eliſha*; and, conſequently, the credibility of the whole tale will be deſtroyed. The *Perſees* in *India* pretend, that *Zerduſht* was originally a *Chineſe*; that his father's name was *Eſpintaman*, and his mother's *Dodo*. But in this they are miſtaken; for, as to his genealogy, we are not at all at a loſs, ſince it is thus ſet down in the book of *Sad-der*; *Zarataſht* was the ſon of *Purthaſp*, who was the ſon of *Piteraſp*, the ſon of *Hitcheraſp*, the ſon of *Thechſhuneſch*, the ſon of *Eſpintaman* [i]: hence *Zerduſht*, being frequently called the ſon of *Iſpeutamen*, the *Perſees* in *India* miſtook him for his immediate parent; whereas, indeed, he was only his remote anceſtor. He firſt took upon him the character of a prophet, in the province of *Aderbayagjan*, which was always the reſidence of the fire-prieſts, as we have already ſhewn. *Khondemir* gives us this account of his turning prophet: he ſays, that *Zerduſht*, from his great skill in aſtrology, diſcovered, that another prophet was to ariſe, not inferior to *Moſes*, whoſe voice all the world was to obey: he from thence took it into his head, that he muſt needs be that prophet: upon this, retiring into a cave, and revolving theſe things in his mind, a

[f] ABU MOHAMED MUSTAPHA in vita Guſhtaſp, apud HYDE rel. vet. Perſarum, p. 313. MEGJDI in Zinato l'Magjalis, apud HYDE, p. 315. [g] Connection of the Old and New Teſtament, part i. book iv. p. 213, 8vo. [h] Relig. vet. Perſar. c. 24. p. 314. [i] Idem, p. 312.

" light; and then began the " controverſy which has ſince " ſubſiſted between them (3)." We are informed by the ſame author, that *Zerduſht* himſelf owned *Kejomaras* to have inſtituted that religion he came to reform; ſo that it may paſs for a point tolerably well eſtabliſhed, that the religion of the *Perſians* is as antient as their monarchy.

(3) *Shariſtani apud Hyde relig. vet. Perſar. c. 22. p. 294.*

light suddenly appeared, being no other than an illusion of the devil, who, conversing with him out of the midst of the fire, *Zerdusht* no longer doubted that he had received the mission of prophecy, but immediately set about a book, containing a system of diabolical doctrines, which he called *zend*; and, having finished it, he made it his business to go about the world, teaching this new religion, and erecting fire-temples [k]. There is certainly a great deal of truth in what this writer says; but, we presume, his notion of the devil's appearing in the fire, and dictating diabolical doctrines to *Zerdusht*, is a stroke of *Mohammedan* zeal, and not much to be depended on. That *Zerdusht* really retired into a cave, and there studied and composed his *zendevasta*, is certainly true; and that, in this cave, he gave himself up to prayer and contemplation, imbellishing it with a great number of curious symbols, is acknowleged, and may be proved: but that he was either prompted by the devil, or acted from a spirit of imposture, is what we dare not assert, since his doctrines, if we except his permission of incest, which, however, is no-where found in his writings, and is fixed on him only by his enemies; we say, his doctrines, if we except this, do not seem calculated at all for supporting the empire of *Satan*: and, if we may believe the divines, and a greater than all divines, the devil is too wise to do or teach any thing which may destroy his own kingdom. We shall content ourselves, therefore, with observing what has not been observed before, that the Almighty had a peculiar favour for the *Persians*, and even for *Darius Hystaspis*, the patron of *Zerdusht*; and spoke many things by his prophets, as we shall prove at the bottom of the page, insinuating his care, that they should not be deceived in the first and principal point of a religion, which, it is agreed, *Zerdusht* made it his business to fix, beyond dispute (M). How long he remained in this cave, or how

[k] D'Herbelot. biblioth. orient. art. Zerduscht.

(M) To clear the memory of *Zerdusht*, we shall shew here, first, that the Almighty spoke of and to *Cyrus*, as of and to a prince acquainted with him the true God; and never reproaches either him, or his people, with idolatry. Thus the prophet *Isaiah* having, with wonderful eloquence, displayed the power of God, and assured his countrymen, that, after all their sufferings, which their sins would bring upon them, he would yet turn again, and remember them in mercy, and raise up a deliverer for them; which was *Cyrus* king of *Persia*; "This, saith "the prophet, is the God that "saith to *Jerusalem*, Thou shalt "be inhabited; and to the ci- "ties of *Judah*, Ye shall be "built; and I will raise up the "decayed places thereof: that "saith to the deep, Be dry, and "I will dry up thy rivers: "that

how many books he wrote there, is not very certain: we are told, indeed that he brought twelve volumes to *Gushtasp*, each

" that saith of *Cyrus*, He is my " shepherd, and shall perform " all my pleasure; even saying " unto *Jerusalem*, Thou shalt " be built; and to the temple, " Thy foundation shalt be laid. " Thus saith the LORD to his " anointed, to *Cyrus*, whose " right hand I have holden, to " subdue nations before him; " and I will loose the loins of " kings, to open before him " the two-leaved gates, and the " gates shall not be shut; I will " go before thee, and make the " crooked places strait; I will " break in pieces gates of brass, " and cut in sunder the bars of " iron. And I will give thee " the treasures of darkness, and " hidden riches of secret places, " that thou mayest know, that I " the LORD, which call thee by " thy name, am the GOD of " *Israel*. For *Jacob* my ser- " vant's sake, and *Israel* mine " elect, I have even called thee " by thy name; I have surna- " med thee, tho' thou hast not " known me (4)." This remarkable prophecy, which does so much honour to *Cyrus*, was spoken of him an hundred years before he was born; and surely, if language can prove any thing, the stile of this prophecy will be sufficient to shew, that *Cyrus* was no idolater. We are very well aware, that there is an expression at the close of what *Isaiah* says of this glorious monarch, which has been construed in this sense; but we can easily, and, at the same time, fully prove, that it ought not so to be understood; the expression is this: *I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known me.* The meaning of which, we say, is this; that GOD gave him the title of his *shepherd*, and his *anointed*, and actually employed him as the minister of his will, before *Cyrus* knew any thing of the matter: but how does this shew he was an idolater, or that he worshiped not the true GOD, though he was unacquainted with the *Jewish* dispensation, and knew not that GOD by the name of *Jehovah?* After the taking of *Babylon*, *Daniel* certainly explained all these prophecies to *Cyrus*; and shewed him, that while he believed himself acting only in consequence of the schemes he had formed, he was indeed fulfilling what GOD had foretold of him; in all which he was furthered and assisted by the divine power, particularly in his amazing stratagem for taking of *Babylon*, by altering the course of the great river, which, in the prophecy before quoted, *Isaiah* had distinctly foretold, making the Almighty speak thus, *That saith to the deep, Be dry, and I will dry up rivers.* As soon as *Cyrus* was acquainted with these prophecies, he readily testified his obedience to *Jehovah*, and his sincere belief, that he was the only true GOD, as appears by his edict for restoring the *Jews*, which begins with these remarkable words: " Thus saith *Cyrus*

(4) *Isaiah* xliv. 26. xlv. 1—6.

each of which contained an hundred skins of vellom: but this will be the less wondered at, if we consider, that the antient *Persian* character took up a great deal of room; and *Zoroaster*

" king of *Persia*, *Jehovah*, God
" of heaven, hath given me all
" the kingdoms of the earth,
" and he hath charged me to
" build him an house at *Jeru-*
" *salem*, which is in *Judah*.
" Who is there among ye of all
" his people? His God be with
" him, and let him go up to *Je-*
" *rusalem*, which is in *Judah*,
" and build the house of *Je-*
" *hovah*, God of *Israel:* he is
" God, who is in *Jerusalem* (5)."
We suppose there needs no commentary to prove, that *Cyrus* was now acquainted with *Jehovah*, and was convinced, that *Jehovah*, who revealed himself to the *Hebrews*, was the only true God, or, as *Cyrus* himself stiles him, God of heaven. The very king, of whose reign we are now speaking, *viz. Gushtasp*, knew all this as well as *Cyrus*; for, in his decree relating to the temple of *Jerusalem*, we find these words: " That which
" they have need of, young bul-
" locks, and rams, and lambs,
" for the burnt-offerings of the
" God of heaven, wheat, salt,
" wine, and oil, according to
" the appointment of the priests
" which are at *Jerusalem*; let it
" be given them day by day
" without fail, that they may
" offer sacrifices grateful unto
" the God of heaven, and pray
" for the life of the king, and
" of his sons (6)." But the close of this decree is yet stronger: " God, who hath caused his
" name to dwell there, *i. e.* at
" *Jerusalem*, destroy all kings and
" people that shall put their hand
" to alter, or to destroy this house
" of God at *Jerusalem*. I *Darius*
" have made a decree: let it be
" done with speed (7)." But let us return a little to *Isaiah*, and mark what God says of himself, after the long description given by him of the power and empire of *Cyrus:* " I am *Jeho-*
" *vah*, and none else; there is
" no god besides me; I girded
" thee, *i. e. Cyrus*; though thou
" hast not known me, *i. e.* by
" my name *Jehovah*; that they
" may know from the rising of
" the sun, and from the west,
" that there is none besides me;
" I am *Jehovah*, and none else;
" I form the *light*, and create
" *darkness*; I make *peace*, and
" create *evil*; I, *Jehovah*, do
" all these (8)." It is most evident, that this declaration was made in regard to the errors which had crept into the magian religion, in respect to *light* and *darkness*, and the powers presiding over them. That *Zerdusht* rectified these errors, and expressly taught what is declared in the text, that there was one self-existent Being, author of *light*, and of *darkness*, of *good*, and of *evil*, is acknowleged by antient and modern authors, by the friends and enemies of *Zerdusht*, nay, by dean *Prideaux* himself, who yet loads him with reproach, and never mentions him but by the opprobrious name of *impostor* (9).

(5) *Ezra* i. 2. (6) *Ezra* vi. 9. (7) *Ezra* vi. 12. (8) *Isaiah* xiv. 5, 6, 7. (9) *Connect. of the Old and New Testam. part* i. *book* iv. *p.* 212, & *seqq.*

did

did not only deliver the principles of his religion, but alſo his own hiſtory, and the rudiments of moſt ſciences, therein, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew hereafter, when we come to ſpeak particularly of that book, and of its contents. In the mean time, we need not wonder, that he retired ſo long from the world, or choſe a cave for his abode, ſince works of this nature require ſilence and compoſure. The antient prophets reſided much in deſerts; that is, in unfrequented places. *Epictetus*, and other philoſophers, had their cells, whither they retired, to avoid the noiſe and tumult of the world; and they did all this without reproach. And why ſhould *Zoroaſter*'s cave be made the ſtrong proof of his being an impoſtor? We ſhall ſhew, that his retiring to a cave was highly commendable, if the inſtructing mankind may be eſteemed ſo (N).

As

(N) *Porphyry* has quoted an oracle, which, he ſays, was pronounced at *Delphos*, of a very extraordinary nature; it runs thus:

*Chaldees* and *Jews* are wiſe in worſhiping
A ſelf-begotten GOD, of all things king.

Theſe *Chaldees* were the *magi*, which we can eaſily prove from another learned writer, *viz.* *Laertius*, who ſpeaks thus (10): "It is ſaid, that philoſophy had "its original from the *Barba-* "*rians*, ſince among the *Per-* "*ſians* were *magi*; among the "*Babylonians* or *Aſſyrians*, the "*Chaldæans*; among the *Indi-* "*ans*, the *gymnoſophiſts*; and "among the *Celtes*, the *druids*." For this *Laertius* quotes *Ariſtotle*; nay, *Porphyry* himſelf had the higheſt eſteem for the *magi*, ſince he deſcribes them thus: *Among the* Perſians, *thoſe wiſe perſons who were employed about the Divinity, and ſerved him, were called* magi. *Laertius*, on the authority of *Ariſtotle*, or the author of the treatiſe of magic, ſpeaks of the manner in which they lived: *They refrain*, ſays he, *from rich attire, and from wearing gold; their garments are moſtly white; their beds the ground; their food nothing but herbs, cheeſe, and bread; their chief employment is praying to* GOD, *and exhorting men to live uprightly*. *Dion Chryſoſtom*, the moſt polite writer among the *Greeks*, corrects the errors of his countrymen with reſpect to thoſe magi, in theſe words: "The "*Perſians* called thoſe magi, who "were employed in the ſervice "of the gods; but the *Greeks*, "being ignorant of the mean- "ing of that word, apply it to "ſuch as are ſkilled in magic, a "ſcience unknown to the *Per-* "*ſian* ſages (11)." Theſe magi were not only the ſcholars, but the maſters of *Zoroaſter* or *Zerduſht*; they flouriſhed long before his time, and he doubtleſs acquired the rudiments of that knowlege, which he afterwards ſo much improved, from them. *Dion Chryſoſtom* has very happily ſet down what from good autho-

(10) *In proœm. hiſt. dogm. & vit. philoſoph.* (11) *Orat. Boriſthen.*

rities

As our deſign, in this ſection, is to follow the oriental hiſtorians, we think it neceſſary to inſert here what is delivered by

rities he learned in relation to *Zoroaſter*. "It is reported, ſays "that admirable writer, that, "through love of wiſdom and "juſtice, he, *i. e. Zoroaſter*, "withdrew himſelf from men, "and lived alone in a certain "mountain; that afterwards "leaving the mountain, a great "fire, deſcending from above, "continually burned about him. "Upon this the king, with the "prime nobility of *Perſia*, "came and prayed with him to "GOD; that he was unhurt by "the fire; delivered himſelf in "terms, which diſcovered more "than human wiſdom, exhort-"ing the people to be chearful, "and to offer certain ſacrifices, "as if GOD had come with him "to that place; thenceforward "he converſed not with all men, "but with ſuch only as were "moſt addicted to truth, and, "by reaſon of their ſtudies, "more capable of the know-"lege of the gods, whom the "*Perſians* ſtile magi (12)." Having thus learned from an unbiaſed author, what it was that led *Zoroaſter* to mountains and deſerts, let us next ſee what we can diſcover as to his employment in his cave. But, before we proceed to quote authorities on this head, let us obſerve, that, according to all the accounts we have hitherto had of the magi, they were very indifferently fitted to act in ſubſerviency to an impoſtor, ſuch as *Zerduſht* has been reported; for they were ſpiritual people, who ſought not power and wealth, but wiſdom and truth; they reſemble rather the baptiſt in his coarſe cloathing, and his ſimple diet, than thoſe who are to be ſeen in the courts of kings, proſtituting religion to private ends, and unworthily taking the name of GOD in vain, to gratify the pride of mortals. In our account of the *Perſian* religion, we have given *Zerduſht*'s rule for the clergy of all ranks; and from thence it evidently appears, he thought not of erecting an empire over the conſciences of men, for the aggrandizing the prieſthood, which, among the *Perſians*, was hereditary; but endeavoured to make his prieſts ſuperior to other men by the ſingle method whereby one man can excel another, *viz.* through purity of morals, and improvement of the underſtanding (13). Such a ſcheme as this needed neither conjuring nor fanaticiſm to recommend it; and therefore, *prima facie*, it ſhould ſeem, that a man of *Zerduſht*'s character retired to a cave for the ſake of privacy and ſilence, and not to raiſe devils, or coin lying fictions: theſe are fit works for illiterate and ambitious men, ſuch as *Mohammed* was, but not for *Zerduſht*. It ſo happens, however, that we have ſome proof of this great man's employment in his cell. *Porphyry* tells us, "that *Zoroaſter*, firſt among the "*Perſians*, did conſecrate a na-"tural cave in the mountains, "in honour of *Mithra*, the king

(12) *Orat. Boriſthen.*

(13) *See above, p. 162. in not.*

"and

by the *Perſian* hiſtorians, relating to the appearance of *Zerduſht*, when he firſt took upon him the character of a prophet, and demanded from *Guſhtaſp*, and his ſubjects, the obedience due to a meſſenger from GOD. In regard to this, we

" and father of all; ſignifying " by this cave the world framed " by *Mithra*, by the other things " diſpoſed within it, in fit diſ- " tances, the elements and quar- " ters of the world (14)." The very learned *Celſus*, as we find him quoted by *Origen*, gives us alſo an account of theſe caves in theſe words: " The *Perſians*, " ſays he, in their *Mithrian* " rites, repreſent ſymbolically " the twofold motion of the " ſtars, *viz.* of thoſe ſtiled " fixed, and of the planets, and " the paſſage of the ſoul through " them. To demonſtrate this, " they ſet up a ladder, on the " aſcent of which there were " ſeven gates, with the eighth at " the very top; the firſt of " lead; the ſecond of tin; the " third of braſs; the fourth of " iron; the fifth of a mixed " maſs; the ſixth of ſilver; and " the ſeventh of gold. They " attributed the firſt to *Saturn*, " the ſlowneſs of that planet's " motion being intimated by " the lead; the ſecond to *Venus*, " on account of the ſoftneſs " and brightneſs of tin; the " third being of braſs, than " which nothing is more ſolid " or durable, to *Jupiter*; the " fourth to *Mercury*, becauſe, " like iron, he is ſuited to all " ſorts of labours, from whence " profit may be drawn; the fifth, " becauſe of its mixture, vari- " ableneſs, and irregularity, to " *Mars*; the ſixth to the moon; " and the ſeventh to the ſun, be- " cauſe of the likeneſs in their " colour to ſilver and gold (15)." Here is a great deal of philoſophy, but no witchraft or enthuſiaſm, in theſe repreſentations; and if *Zoroaſter* be condemned either as a magician or impoſtor, on account of the furniture of his cave, what will become of our makers of orreries? We will conclude this very note, with obſerving, that the moſt judicious *Dion Chryſoſtom*, whom we have ſo often quoted and commended, knew well the folly and falſhood of the *Greeks*, in what they reported of the religion of the *Perſians*, and of their conſecrating horſes to the ſun (16). They were far, ſays he, from fanſying the chariot of the ſun, the moſt ſublime ſpectacle in nature they were acquainted with, the ſupreme charioteer, who put the univerſe in motion, and ſtill guides it. Of this ſubject, not *Homer*, not *Heſiod*, but *Zoroaſter*, and the magi his diſciples, taught by him, have ſung in ſtrains worthy of the glorious theme. But all their diſcourſes are to be interpreted in a very different manner, nay, directly oppoſite from the comments of our writers. They acknowlege, that the director of the univerſe is inacceſſible and inſcrutable; they compare the motions of the ſun and moon to horſes under direction; but, as to horſes conſecrated to them, the *Greeks* have reported numberleſs fables.

(14) *In antr. nymphar.* (15) *Celſus apud Origen. contra Celſum, lib.* vi.
(16) *Orat. Boriſthen.*

have

have a copious relation, written by a *Perſee*, from authentic memoirs of antient times, preſerved by the judicious doctor *Hyde*; the ſubſtance of which, as it never appeared before in our language, we hope will be well received, though, doubtleſs, it ſtands in need of great allowances, as to the miracles mentioned in it, and other things: however, the fabulous hiſtory of the *Perſians* is at leaſt as well worth knowing as the conjectures of weſtern authors on this ſubject, which are often as improbable, and always as uncertain. Thus then proceeds our author: 'In this reign flouriſhed *Zerduſht* the prophet. 'He, coming into the preſence of *Guſhtaſp*, informed him of 'his commiſſion, in theſe terms: I am a prophet, ſent to thee 'by the moſt wiſe GOD; and this book, *viz.* the *zendevaſta*, 'I brought from paradiſe: alſo he gave me this caſſock, and 'this girdle, ſaying, Put on this caſſock, and gird thyſelf 'with this girdle, that thy ſoul may be delivered from *Gehenna*, and that thou mayeſt find ſalvation: go alſo and propagate the true religion throughout the world. When *Guſhtaſp* had heard this meſſage from the prophet, he ſaid, But 'how ſhall I know, that thou art really a prophet, and came 'to me from the moſt high GOD? for without a ſign, the 'truth of what you ſay cannot be known; neither ought a 'religion to be received till it be ſupported by miracles: if, 'therefore, thou art truly a prophet, ſhew us ſome ſign, that 'I may know, and be aſſured, that thou art a meſſenger of 'GOD. When *Zerduſht* heard what the king demanded, he, 'in compliance therewith, wrought the following miracle: 'he planted before the gate of the palace a cypreſs-tree, which 'grew, in a few days, ſo wonderfully, that it was near ten 'fathoms in girth, and full ten in height; and, in the top of 'this tree, he erected a ſummer-houſe. When the king had 'beheld this miracle, he was convinced; and determined, in 'his mind, to embrace the religion of *Zerduſht*. He was, 'however, adviſed to call for certain wiſe men, who might 'diſpute with *Zerduſht*. This was accordingly done; but 'they could not convince him; on the contrary, *Zerduſht* 'prevailed. Theſe, however, hating him, deviſed this method for his deſtruction: *Zerduſht* had his lodgings in the 'palace; and, as often as he went out, he left his keys with 'the porter: this porter they corrupted, and engaged him to 'be ſilent, and not diſcover any thing they did. They then 'made uſe of him to gain entrance into the lodgings of *Zerduſht*, when he was abroad; and, when they had ſo done, 'they threw into his wardrobe, put into his book *zend*, and 'into his cloakbag, all ſorts of unclean and impure things; 'ſuch as the bones of cats and dogs, and the hair and nails of 'dead bodies: theſe they ſcattered amongſt his things. Which

'when they had done, they went out, ſhut the doors care-
'fully, and returned the keys to the porter. *Zerduſht*, in
'the mean time, walked in the ſimplicity of his heart, praiſing
'GOD; but his enemies conſidered not this. They imme-
'diately addreſſed themſelves to the king, to this purpoſe:
'This wicked man, *viz. Zerduſht*, is employed every night
'in diabolical practices; by which, O king, thy heart will be
'inevitably inſnared, unleſs thou wilt inſtantly ſend ſome of
'thy guards to ſearch his apartments, that thou mayeſt be
'certified whether theſe things be ſo or not. The king ſent
'hereupon his guards to the apartments of *Zerduſht*, to ſearch
'them, and to bring all things they found in them before him.
'This accordingly was done; and all ſorts of unclean things,
'ſuch as the bones of dogs and cats, the hair and nails of dead
'bodies, were found in his cheſt of cloaths, his book of *zend-*
'*evaſta*, and in his cloakbag. The king, ſeeing all this, turned
'to *Zerduſht*, and ſaid, in an high paſſion; How is this, thou
'profligate; and what is it thou haſt been doing? *Zerduſht*
'heard his accuſers, and the king, patiently, and without
'emotion. At laſt, he thus anſwered for himſelf; O king,
'all thou ſeeſt, I know nothing of, neither belongeth it to me.
'Then the king called for the porter; and having examined
'him, the king threw from him the book *zend*, and com-
'manded *Zerduſht* to be ſhut up in priſon. Thus, notwith-
'ſtanding his innocence, *Zerduſht* was thruſt into confine-
'ment; which he endured chearfully, ſtanding all day in one
'poſture, praying to and praiſing GOD, without receiving any
'ſuſtenance whatever. It happened ſhortly after, that a black
'horſe, of which the king was particularly fond, was taken
'in an odd manner, its fore-feet ſhrinking up to its belly in
'ſuch a way, that the creature fell down to the ground, and
'could no way be raiſed up. The maſter of the horſe, called
'in the *Perſian* language, *Mih-mard*, when he came, as he
'was wont, into the ſtables, and perceived what had befallen
'the king's favourite ſteed, he went immediately, and ac-
'quainted *Guſhtaſp*. The king no ſooner heard it, than he
'went in perſon to the ſtable; and, having viewed the horſe,
'called for the wiſe men who had engaged him to impriſon
'*Zerduſht*, and deſired them to contrive immediately ſome
'remedy for this extraordinary malady of the horſe; which
'they were unable to do, and confeſſed as much to the
'king. When *Guſhtaſp* found this, he grew very uneaſy,
'becauſe he valued his horſe extremely. On the fourth day,
'the porter went to ſee *Zerduſht* in priſon: of him *Zerduſht*
'inquired news, and why he came not before to viſit him.
'The porter told him, the court was much diſturbed on ac-
'count of a misfortune which had befallen the king's black

'courſer.

'courser. *Zerdusht* bid the porter tell the king, that, when he 'should be released out of prison, he would quickly restore 'his horse. The porter ran with this news to the king, who, 'as soon as he was informed thereof, sent for *Zerdusht* out of 'prison, and carried him with him to the stable. *Zerdusht* seeing 'the condition the horse was in, turned to the king, and said, 'Sir, this is no easy matter, but, on the contrary, a cure very 'difficult to be performed. One thing, however, I have to 'desire, that what you wish may be effected; it is this: 'That you believe with your whole heart, that the religion 'I taught you is true, and came from GOD; which if you do 'sincerely, I shall be able to restore your steed; otherwise, it 'must remain in the state it is in. Then the king, struck 'with the awful steadiness of *Zerdusht*, believed according as 'he desired. Upon which the prophet, advancing to the 'black horse, stroked his right fore-foot with his hand; 'whereupon the fore-foot immediately withdrew out of the 'belly of the horse, and hung in its natural position. Then '*Zerdusht*, turning to the king, said, It is necessary, sir, that 'both your sons come hither, embrace the religion I have 'taught, and promise to make war on infidels for the propa-'gation of this religion. Then came instantly *Bashuten* and '*Isphendiyar*, the sons of *Gushtasp*, and embraced the religion 'of *Zerdusht*, as he had desired. Upon this the prophet went 'again to the horse, and with his left-hand stroked the horse's 'left fore-foot, which immediately the creature extended in 'its natural state. Then turned *Zerdusht* to the king, and 'said, Sir, it is still necessary, that *Ketayun*, the mother of '*Isphendiyar*, should embrace this religion. Then *Gushtasp* 'sent one of his attendants, with *Zerdusht*, to the palace; and 'the prophet, being come into the queen's presence, addressed 'her thus: O thou, matron of matrons, whom GOD hath 'preferred above all women, and raised high above your sex, 'by giving thee *Gushtasp* for thine husband, and *Isphendiyar* 'for thy son, like whom there is none upon the earth; be-'hold now the king of kings, and thy son *Isphendiyar*, have 'embraced, and with their whole hearts believe, the truth of 'the religion I have taught; it is necessary, O queen, that you 'also receive and believe it. Then answered *Keytayun*, What-'soever my husband and my son believe, that also will I em-'brace and believe. Then *Zerdusht*, returning to the black 'horse, put up his prayers; and, stroking with his right-hand 'the right hind-foot, it was restored to its natural strength. 'Then *Zerdusht*, turning to the king, said, You see your 'horse has recovered three legs; it is necessary, for the re-'covery of the fourth, that you interrogate your porter, and 'get the truth out of him, that the innocent may not be

'blamed,

'blamed, ſeeing, if the porter told the truth, then the horſe 'will fully recover, or otherwiſe remain in the ſtate it did. 'The king thereupon ordered the porter to be brought, and 'cauſed him to be ſeverely threatened, that he might diſcover 'the truth, as to the ſcattering unclean and abominable things 'in the lodgings of *Zerduſht*. The porter, dreading the 'king's anger, moſt humbly beſought him to grant him his 'life; which the king having promiſed, he then opened the 'whole conſpiracy, in theſe words: Four of theſe wiſe men, 'who are ſo much in your favour, that I was afraid of re-'fuſing them any thing, gave me a bribe, and taking the keys 'from me, did all that your majeſty has heard and ſeen. 'When the king had heard all that the porter had to ſay, he 'was extremely ſorry; and made a long apology to *Zerduſht* 'for the injury he had done him, in cauſing him to be ſo long 'impriſoned, without any grounds at all, beſeeching him to 'paſs by and forgive it. Then the four wiſe men were 'hanged on a gibbet; and *Zerduſht*, having lifted up his hands 'in prayer, ſtroked with his left-hand the left hind-leg of the 'horſe, which immediately fell from his belly, and reſted on 'the ground, as it uſed to do; ſo that quickly after the beaſt 'roſe, and ſtood up on all his feet. At this the king greatly 'rejoiced, treating *Zerduſht* with greater honour and reſpect 'than ever, cauſing him to be placed on a golden ſeat; him-'ſelf, *i. e.* the king, believing the book *zendevaſta*, and live-'ing in exact conformity to its precepts. It is reported, that 'ſome time after this king *Guſhtaſp* applied himſelf to *Zer-'duſht*, and ſaid, There is one thing that I deſire of thee; and 'I deſire it ſo earneſtly, that I hope you will not refuſe it, 'ſince, if you grant me this requeſt, then ſhall I be thoroughly 'ſatisfied, that thou art a prophet ſent unto me by the moſt 'high God. *Zerduſht* deſired the king, that he would ex-'plain himſelf, that he might apply to God for the gratifica-'tion of the king's will. Then king *Guſhtaſp* ſaid, My de-'ſire is this, that, while I am yet alive, my ſoul may be ſatiſ-'fied, as to its future ſtate, by beholding the joys of heaven, 'that it may be certain concerning them, and at eaſe. More-'over, I deſire that I may know all things that ſhall paſs till 'the day of judgment, with the ſame exactneſs as I know 'things preſent. 3dly, I deſire, that, in all the wars I wage 'on account of religion, my body may remain as it is; and I 'become invulnerable. 4thly, I deſire, that my ſoul may 'continue to exiſt to the day of reſurrection; and that I die 'not at all. The prophet of God, hearing this, anſwered, I 'will certainly put up my prayers to the Creator of all things; 'neither doubt I at all, but that the moſt high God will grant 'what you have deſired. But your four requeſts muſt be

'yielded to four different perſons, ſince it belongs to GOD 'alone to enjoy them all at once: do you, therefore, conſider 'who theſe perſons ſhall be; and I will put up prayers, that 'one of your requeſts may be granted to each. Then king '*Guſhtaſp* deſired for himſelf, that he might be permitted to 'behold his place in paradiſe, and take a diſtinct view of all 'that was therein. He likewiſe mentioned three other perſons, on whom the remaining bleſſings ſhould be beſtowed. 'Then *Zerduſht*, being ſatisfied, retired to his own lodgings, 'and ſpent the whole night in prayers and praiſes to GOD, 'beſeeching him, that, if it were poſſible, all theſe things 'might come to paſs. The next day, when light appeared, 'and the ſun diſplayed his beams on the tops of the mountains, it came into the mind of *Zerduſht* to conſecrate the 'four following things; *viz.* wine, a roſe, a cup, and the 'kernel of a pomgranate. And, after he had conſecrated theſe 'by prayer, having the ſacred twigs in his hand, he preſented 'the wine to *Guſhtaſp*; and, as ſoon as the king had drank 'thereof, he fell down, as if in a deep ſleep, and continued 'for three days and three nights in the ſame poſition, his ſoul, 'within that ſpace, aſcending into heaven, and beholding there 'the joys of the bleſſed. At the end of three days he awaked; 'and, going to *Zerduſht*, beſought him to pardon his incredulity. Then the prophet gave to *Gjamaſp* the roſe which 'he had conſecrated; which he no ſooner ſmelt, than he knew 'all things that had paſſed, all that had happened from the 'beginning, and which were to happen, and which ſhould 'happen to the day of reſurrection. Then *Zerduſht* gave milk, 'in the cup, to *Beſhuten*, the ſon of *Guſhtaſp*, who, by drinking thereof, was made immortal. As to the fourth thing, '*Iſphendiyar*, having eaten the kernel of the pomgranate, had 'his body rendered as invulnerable as braſs. After this, the 'religion of *Zerduſht* ſpread, and was propagated every-where, 'all men readily yielding belief thereto, excepting *Argjaſp* 'king of *Touran*, who embraced it not[1].

THE great deſire all people have to magnify the princes who have ruled, and the prophets who have taught them, hath doubtleſs encouraged the *Perſees* to propagate a multitude of ſtrange things in relation to *Zerduſht*. The foregoing long quotation is ſufficient to ſhew the nature of their notions, and to excuſe us from making any further tranſcripts from their books. Let us return therefore to the ſtory of propagating his doctrines.

THE two reigning hereſies, before the birth of *Zerduſht*, were *zabiiſm* and *magiſm*. The latter was far leſs groſs than

[1] E lib. rariſſ. cui titul. Shah-nama-neſr.

the

the former; and consequently there required more care to keep its professors from going over to the opposite religion; for history informs us, and the experience even of our own times renders it manifest, that the bulk of mankind embrace more readily superstition than truth. Hence it came to pass, that the *Zabians* gained ground in *Persia*, and multitudes, especially of the common people, were fallen into wrong notions of the Deity, and into gross errors in their manner of worshiping him, living also in continual fear of the evil spirit, whom they conceived to be the enemy of their species, and the continual disturber of the world. *Zerdusht* took pains to root out all these notions, and to make the people easier than they had been, by inspiring them with reasonable opinions. He taught them, that the Supreme Being was independent, and self-existent from all eternity; that *light* and *darkness*, *good* and *evil*, were continually mixed, and in a continual struggle, not through any impotency in the Creator, but because such was his will, and because this discordancy was for his glory; that, in the end, there would be a general resurrection, and a day of retribution, wherein such as had done well, and lived obedient to the law of God, should go, with the angel of light, into a realm of light, where they should enjoy peace and pleasure for evermore; and those, who had done evil, should suffer, with the angel of darkness, everlasting punishment in a land of obscurity, where no ray of light or mercy shall ever visit them; that thenceforward light and darkness shall be incapable of mixture to all eternity. He took great pains to persuade his disciples of all the attributes of the Divinity, especially of his wisdom and his justice; in consequence of which he assured them, that they had none to fear, but themselves, because nothing could render them unworthy of the divine favour, but their vices. Of all virtues, he esteemed what the *Greeks* called *philanthropy*, and the apostles *brotherly love*, the greatest; for which reason he exhorted all his followers to acts of charity and beneficence, sometimes alluring them by promises, at other times driving them, as it were, by threatenings. The *credenda* of his religion were not numerous, nor perplexed, though, according to the mode of the east, he sometimes made use of parabolic relations; as for example, when he taught, that, on the fourth day after death, the soul came to the bridge *Tchinavar*, and was there met by the angels *Mihr-Izad* and *Reshu-Izad*, who weighed in the balance the good and evil actions of the soul attempting to pass; and, in case the former prevailed, then it went safely over the bridge; if the latter, it was thrown thence into *Gehenna*, that is, into the region of darkness, where the souls of the wicked

Zerdusht's *doctrine.*

are punished [m]. That this is really a parabolic description, and not a literal account of what is to happen after death, we suppose appears from the very face of the relation; for it cannot be supposed, that *Zerdusht*, who was indisputably a very wise and learned man, and who took pains to make all his disciples so, should nevertheless attempt to impose upon them so absurd a thing as this, taken in a literal sense; *viz.* that a spirit, divested of matter, should travel over a bridge lying across hell, and leading to heaven; and that, after weighing his actions in a pair of scales, the good angel should either lead him over safe, or the bad one push him down: this is absolutely incredible. But that he should make use of these terms to insinuate, that the effects of our good and evil deeds transcend the grave, and either lead us to everlasting rest, or plunge us into never-ending misery, is easy to be understood, and might as easily have been believed. In the book *sad-der*, which is a compendium of the doctrines of *Zerdusht*, collected in his own words, this description of the state of the dead is placed in the first chapter; and, in the second, it is thus applied: Men, who believe the religion of *Zerdusht*, will be afraid not only of great, but of small sins; for, since all are weighed and numbered, and, according to the preponderating of this or that scale, they are to be happy or miserable for ever, whoever thinks of this will be afraid of adding weight to the left-hand scale, and earnestly desire to heap meritorious actions into that on the right-hand; because his all rests on this tryal. This is sound divinity, and very intelligible, where the mind is unprejudiced; otherwise it is easy to ridicule the *soul-supporting bridge*, and the *action-weighing angels*, and consequently to expose *Zerdusht*, not only as a wicked, but as a weak impostor. But to proceed: he carefully instructed those who heard him, and directed them to instruct all who would believe in his religion, that no man ought to despair of the mercy of God, or suppose that it was too late for him to amend. He declared, that though we had a faculty of distinguishing between good and evil, yet that man has no conception of the value which God sets on our actions, nor how far the intention may sanctify even a trivial act; wherefore even the worst of men may hope the divine favour from repentance and good works. This he exemplified by another parable, which is also recorded in the book *sad-der*, and which runs in these words: "It is reported of *Zerdusht*, the author of our religion, that "one day, retiring from the presence of God, he beheld the "body of a man plunged in *Gehenna*, his right foot only "being free, and sticking without. *Zerdusht* thereupon cried

[m] Sad-der, part i.

" out, What is this that I ſee? and wherefore is this man in
" this condition? He was anſwered, This man, whom you
" ſee in this condition, was formerly the prince of thirty-
" three cities, over which he reigned many years, without
" doing any one good action; for, beſides oppreſſion, inju-
" ſtice, pride, and violence, nothing ever entered his mind;
" and, though he was the ſcourge of multitudes, yet, with-
" out regarding their miſery, he lived at eaſe in his palace.
" One day, however, as he was hunting, he beheld a ſheep
" caught by the foot in the thicket, and thereby held at ſuch
" a diſtance from food, that it muſt have periſhed. This
" king, moved at the ſight, and alighting from his horſe, re-
" leaſed the ſheep from the thicket, and led it to the paſture.
" Now, for this act of tenderneſs and compaſſion, his foot
" remains out of *Gehenna*, though his whole body be plunged
" therein for the multitude of his ſins. Endeavour therefore
" to do all the good thou canſt, without fear or apprehenſion;
" for GOD is benign and merciful, and will reward even the
" ſmalleſt good thou doſt [a]." Theſe hints of his doctrines, compared with what has been already delivered in ſpeaking of the religion of the antient *Perſians*, cannot but be ſufficient to ſhew the general import of *Zerduſht*'s ſcheme of religion. As to exterior rites, he altered the old method of burning fire on the tops of mountains, and in other places, under the open air, engaging his followers to erect *pyrea* or fire-temples throughout all the dominions of *Perſia*, that this ſymbol of the Divinity might not, at every turn, be liable to be extinguiſhed. He gave them likewiſe a liturgy, which they hold to have been brought to him from heaven; and therefore refuſe to make any alterations therein, though the language, in which it is written, is long ago grown obſolete, and is very little underſtood by the prieſts themſelves. The prieſts, or, as we ſtile them, the magi, were, according to his inſtitution, of three ranks: the firſt conſiſted of the ordinary or parochial clergy, as Dr. *Prideaux* very ſignificantly terms them. Their duty was to read the holy offices daily in the chapels, and, at certain ſtated and ſolemn times, to acquaint the people with the contents of *Zerduſht*'s books, and to paraphraſe on and explain them. In theſe parochial chapels there were no fire-altars, but lamps only, before which their devotions were performed. The next degree of their clergy had the ſuperintendency of theſe ordinary prieſts, and were to them what biſhops are to us. Theſe too had their churches, in which were altars, whereon fire was continually kept, there being a certain number of the inferior clergy appointed to attend them, who, by four at

*The magi of three ranks.*

[a] Sad-der, part v.

a time, waited constantly near the altar, to supply it with fuel, and to assist such devout persons as resorted thither with their advice, and their prayers. Above these was the archimagus, *i. e* the high-priest, or, as the *Persians* stiled him, the *mubad mubadan*. *Zerdusht* himself assumed this office, and resided in the city of *Balch*, where he governed his magians, and instructed them in all sorts of learning. As the austerity of his own life, and his extensive knowlege, supported him in the high reputation he had gained among his cotemporaries, he recommended, as we have seen in the rules given by him for the conduct of the archimagus, the same behaviour, and the same application to study, unto his successors. These injunctions were, for many ages, pursued by them, and was the reason that they were admitted into the king's councils, sat with him in judicature, and had the education of the heirs of the crown; insomuch that *Pliny* tells us, in this time, *this religion was received by many nations, and bore sway in the east over the king of kings*. It remains now, that we give an account of the book of the laws still extant among the *Persees*, and indubitably written by *Zerdusht*, whether he was a prophet, or impostor; for, as to the remaining actions of his life, and his immature death, they belong to the reign of *Gushtasp*, and shall be accordingly taken notice of therein.

*The* archimagus, *or high-priest.*

ZERDUSHT's book, containing the institutes of his religion, is stiled *zend*, or *zendevasta*, usually pronounced *zund*, and *zundavastaw*, which is not a *Persian*, but an exotic word, signifying a *tinder box*; its author, in compliance with the oriental custom of giving all important treatises allegorical names, having pitched on this to express the nature of his book, which was to inspire its readers with divine zeal. He likewise caused it to be stiled the book of *Abraham*, intimating, that it contained the doctrines held by that patriarch. It is written, not in the ordinary *Persian* character, but in the old *Persic*, called from thence, among the ordinary *Persees*, the *zund* character. The very learned Dr. *Thomas Hyde* proposed to the world the publishing a correct edition of it, with a *Latin* translation; but, meeting with no encouragement to undertake so laborious and expensive a work, the world has been deprived of the sight of this great curiosity [o]. It was originally written in twelve hundred skins, and consists of one-and-twenty parts, or different treatises, all comprehended under the general title of *zend*, or *zendevasta*; which is the reason that we have had, in *Europe*, so many different accounts of this book, and its contents. For the sake of the people who profess this religion, and who have, notwithstanding, no knowlege at all either of

*Zerdusht's book, or the* zendevasta.

[o] Hist. vet. Persarum, p. 25.

the *zund* character, or of the language in which that book is written, a very learned prieſt has taken the pains to make a compendium thereof in modern *Perſian*, which is the book *ſad-der*, ſo often quoted by us from the *Latin* verſion publiſhed by Dr. *Hyde*, and annexed to his *impartial hiſtory of the religion of the antient* Perſians. This learned critic is of opinion, that *Zerduſht* did not originally intend to have made this book conſiſt of any more than two parts, *viz.* the *zend* and *pazend*, reſembling the *miſhna* and *gemara* in the *Jewiſh talmud*; the firſt containing the liturgy and principal doctrines of his religion; the ſecond a commentary on them, explaining and ſhewing the rationale of them: but, as new adverſaries roſe up daily, and other occaſions required new treatiſes, *Zerduſht* continued to write them, and to add them to his *zendevaſta*, which ſtill retained the general title of the volume. Amongſt the pieces comprehended under that title, there is one bearing the title of *Zeratuſht-nama*, i. e. *the hiſtory of* Zerduſht, which is no other than his life, written by himſelf. This, that it may be more generally known, has been rendered into the common *Perſian* by the prieſts who publiſhed the book *ſad-der* [p]. The celebrated Dr. *Prideaux*, ſpeaking of this book, acknowleges, that the rules and exhortations to moral living are written very preſſingly, and with ſufficient exactneſs, excepting only in one particular, which is that of inceſt; for this, he ſays, is wholly taken away by *Zerduſht*, who teaches, that nothing of this nature is unlawful; but that a man may not only marry his ſiſter, or his daughter, but his mother; and he very juſtly obſerves, that this is ſuch an abomination, that, though all things elſe were right in that book, this alone were ſufficient to pollute it. But, in ſupport of all this, the doctor does not quote either the book itſelf, or its compendium the book *ſad-der*, or any other treatiſe written by an avowed *Perſee*, but the authorities of *Diogenes Laertius*, *Strabo*, *Philo Judæus*, *Tertullian*, and *Clemens Alexandrinus* [q]. It is but reaſonable, that we ſhould ſuſpend our belief, till we have a deciſive account of this matter, eſpecially if we conſider, that, in other reſpects, theſe authors are frequently miſtaken. It may indeed be urged, that inceſt was commonly practiſed by the *Perſian* kings (if we give intire credit to the *Greek* hiſtorians); but, admitting this to be ſo, it is no direct proof, that *Zerduſht* allowed it, any more than the contrary practice of the *Perſees* at this day is a demonſtration, that he did not allow it. As to the reſt of the contents of this book, we ſhall not inſiſt farther on them here, becauſe it would lead us into

[p] Hiſt. relig. vet. Perſarum, c. 25, 26. [q] Connection of the hiſt. of the Old and New Teſtament, part i. book iv. p. 223, & ſeqq.

too long a digression from the thread of our history; but the inquisitive reader will find, at the bottom of the page, some farther accounts relating to the works of *Zoroaster* (O).

We

(O) In this note we shall speak of *Zerdusht*'s writings: and, that we may do this clearly, we will consider them, first, as they are known to the *Persees*, and oriental nations in general; secondly, as they are known to the *Greeks*.

The *zendevasta*, as we have said in our text, is divided into one-and-twenty treatises, each called by the *Persees Nesick*, or, broadly pronounced, *Nusk*, i. e. *a part*. Every one of these treatises has its proper title suited to the subject of which it treats. Thus *pazend*, which is the name of the second treatise, signifies the prop or buttress of the *zend*, because it comprehends the reasons supporting the doctrines delivered in the first part, called simply the *zend*; the sixteenth treatise is that called *zeratusht-nama*, or the life of *Zerdusht*, mentioned in the text. Dr. *Hyde*, who, like a generous man, desired that all the world should partake of the treasures he had in his hands, published the contents of this book, in hopes they might so far move the curiosity of the public, as to enable him to publish the book itself. It contains forty chapters, and about an hundred and forty pages; wherein the whole mystery of *Zerdusht*'s character as a prophet, and the methods made use of by him for propagation of his religion, are set forth at large (17). The twentieth treatise in the *zendevasta* is called *bizishk-nama*, i. e. the *book of physicians*, because it treats of the virtues of drugs, and how they may be applied. Thus the writings of *Zerdusht* contain not only the religion, but the learning, of the magi; and therefore he recommended it to all his successors in the office of high priest, to be perfect masters of all useful learning. As the book *zend* is the bible of the *Persees*, so, to express a right or just thing, they say *zendaver*, *i.* e. permitted by the *zend*; and an evil action they call *na-zendaver*, *i. e.* not permitted by the book *zend*. *Zendlaph* signies a zealous *Persee*; but *zend-chuan*, which, literally rendered, is a reader of the *zend*, signifies not a common reader, but him who reads it in the parish-church; so that it is equivalent to what the *Jews* call *chacham*, and the *Mohammedans imam*. As to the notion of *Curtius*, of the magi singing their prayers, it is not, strictly speaking, true, though they have a particular tone of voice proper to the recital of their prayers, in which they agree with the modern *Jews*, and perhaps with many other nations (18).

As to what the *Greeks* knew of *Zoroaster*'s writings, it is difficult to say what ought to be believed: *Eusebius* speaks of a collection of physics written by this great man; and quotes from thence the following descriptions

(17) *Hist. vet. Persar.* c. 24. p. 329, 330. (18) *Ibid.* p. 342.

of

We will conclude our account of this extraordinary person with observing, that he is said, by credible authors, to have pre-

of God's attributes, affirming them to be the express words of *Zoroaster*: "God hath the head "of an hawk; he is the first, in- "corruptible, eternal, unbe- "gotten, indivisible, most like "himself, the charioteer of every "good, one that cannot be "bribed, the best of things "good, the wisest of things "wise; he is moreover the fa- "ther of equity and justice, "self-taught, self-existent, in- "finitely perfect, omniscient, "and the sole ruler of nature "(20)." *Suidas* ascribes to him four books of nature, one of precious stones, five of the wisdom of the stars (21). *Pliny* says he wrote two millions of verses, on which *Hermippus* wrote commentaries, a treatise on agriculture, and a book of visions (22). But, of all the works mentioned by the *Greeks*, his oracles are the most considerable, because of them there are still some remains, could we be sure they were genuine; but *Porphyry* says expressly, that some Christian heretics, boasting of the secret works of *Zoroaster*, attempted to deceive the world; and, if they believe what they say, are deceived themselves; since these treatises are no better than forgeries (23). The famous prince of *Mirandula* gave the oracles yet extant some reputation, by the following account of a manuscript in his own possession: "I was, says he, for- "cibly taken off from other "things, and engaged to study "the *Arabian* and *Chaldæan* "learning, by certain books in "both those languages, which "came to my hands, not acci- "dentally, but, questionless, by "the disposal of God in favour "of my studies: hear the in- "scriptions, and you will be- "lieve it. These *Chaldaic* "books, if I ought to call them "books, and not treasures, are "the oracles of *Zoroaster*, *Aben-* "*ezra*, and *Melchior*, magi, in "which those things which are "faulty and defective in the "*Greek*, are read here perfect "and intire. There is also an "exposition, by *Chaldaic* wise "men, concise, and somewhat "obscure indeed, but full of "rare mysteries, and curious "learning. There is, besides, a "book of the *Chaldaic* theo- "logy, with a copious and ad- "mirable discourse of the wis- "dom of the *Persians*, *Grecians*, "and *Chaldæans* (24)." *Ficinus*, to whom he directed this letter, found these books after his decease, but so worn and illegible, that nothing could be made of them. Some of these oracles, which escaped the injuries of time, were first published at *Paris* by *Lewis Tillet* in 1563, with the commentaries of *Gemistus Plethon*: the same were afterwards translated, and with the comment of *Psellus* published at *Paris*, 1607. But *Franciscus Patricius*, having greatly inlarged them by excerpts from *Proclus*,

(20) *Eusebius, præp. evang.* (21) *In voce* Ζωροάστρης. (22) *Hist. nat.* l. xxvi. c. 21. (23) *In vita Plotini.* (24) *Epist. ad Ficinum.*

predicted the coming of the Messiah; and this not in dark and obscure terms, such as might have been applied to any other person, but in plain and express words, and such as could not be mistaken: nay, farther, it is affirmed, that the wise men out of the east, recorded by the evangelist [r] to have come to *Bethlehem*, and there worshiped our Saviour on account of his star, which they had seen in their own country, were the disciples of *Zerdusht* (P). Some of the learned indeed, slighting this rela-

[r] Matth. ii. 1.

*Hermas*, *Simplicius*, *Damascius*, and *Arnobius*, sent them into the world with an accurate translation of his own. From him our ingenious countryman, Mr. *Stanley*, took them; and published them with the commentaries of *Pletho* and *Psellus*, at the end of his *Chaldaic* philosophy, in 1661 (25).

(P) The wisdom of the east was not only a scripture-phrase, but used also by the best profane authors, who knew very well, that notwithstanding the boasting of the *Greeks*, science came originally from that other corner of the world. It is a common, but no very probable opinion, that they were kings who visited our Saviour in his cradle; tho' they might indeed come from a king, that is, from the king of *Persia*, to inquire for the Messiah. That they might come, as some have insisted, from *Arabia*, is true, because *Arabia* lay in their way; but that the magi came from another country than *Persia*, in which they always flourished, is what cannot easily be believed: but that these magi, or wise men, went into *Judea*, in pursuance of *Zerdusht*'s prophecy, is a point to be proved, not by us indeed, who have not seen the *zendevasta*; but, even without seeing it, we shall be able to justify what we have said in the text, and defend ourselves from the imputation of superstition, if we can but produce probable authorities. *Sharistani*, whom we have more than once quoted, in his history of the religions of the east, says expressly, that *Zerdusht* prophesied in his *zendevasta*, that in latter times there should arise a man called *Oshanderbegha*, i. e. *homo mundi*; which differs little from the title Christ often gives himself of the *son of man*, of whom *Zerdusht* prophesied, that he should teach the world true religion and justice; that, for a time, his kingdom should be oppressed by the devil; but in the end this righteous person should triumph, and establish peace and happiness upon earth (26). To this let us add a very extraordinary passage from the travels of M. *Tavernier*: "They give, "says he, three children to "their prophet; and though "they have not hitherto ap"peared in the world, their "names are, however, settled. "As he passed the river, say "they, *ab ipso ceciderunt tres semi*"*nis genitalis guttæ*, which are "preserved to the end of the "world: that God shall send

(25) *Vide* preface to the Chaldaic oracles.

(26) *Sharistani apud Hyde rel. vet. Persar. c.* 31. *p.* 383.

"2 vir-

relation, have fixed on *Balaam*'s prophecy [s], in order to account for that event; and hence, without doubt, it happened, that

[s] Hyde hist. relig. vet. Persar. p. 384.

" a virgin for whom he has a " favour, into the same water, " who, *per receptionem primæ* " *guttæ*, shall be impregnated, " and bring forth a son, who " shall be called *Oushider*; he " shall appear in the world with " great authority, and shall " oblige it to receive the law " of his father, and shall dis- " course with much eloquence, " and confirm what he says with " miracles. The second, who " shall be called *Oushiderma*, " shall be conceived in the same " manner; he shall second his " brother in his designs, and " shall assist him in preaching; " he shall stop the course of the " sun ten days, to force, by " that sign, the belief of the " people whom he teaches. The " third shall be conceived by the " same mother, in the same " way; his name shall be *Sen-* " *noiet-hotius*; he shall come in- " to the world with greater au- " thority than either of his bro- " thers, that he may reduce all " nations to the true religion; " after which shall be the gene- " ral resurrection, when the " souls in heaven, and in hell, " shall return, and take posses- " sion of their bodies; the " mountains, and all the metals, " shall then melt, and, sinking " into the gulf of hell, shall " fill it up; so that the man- " sions of the devils shall be " ruined. After this great " change, the earth shall be " plain and pleasant, and men " shall live happily therein, " praising God, and his pro- " phet (27)." Dr. *Hyde* observes very judiciously, that these three sons represent the three states of the Messiah; his nativity, when his coming was published to the world by various means; his ministry, while he continued upon the earth, preaching, and doing miracles; and his second advent, when he shall judge the world in righteousness, and his saints shall rejoice and sing (28). But the strongest evidence of this matter is the testimony of the famous *Abul Pharajius*, who writes thus: " *Zorodasht*, or *Zerdusht*, " the preceptor of the magian " sect, began to teach in *Ader-* " *bayagjan*, or, as some say, in " *Assyria*. He taught the *Per-* " *sians*, that our Lord Christ " would manifest himself, com- " manding them to carry him " gifts, telling them, that, in " the latter times, a virgin " should conceive without the " help of man; and that, when " she should bring forth, a star " should appear shining in the " day-time, in the middle of " which the figure of a virgin " should be seen. You there- " fore, O my children, having " notice of his birth before all " other nations, when ye see " that star, follow it, which " will direct you to the place " where he is born; adore him, " offer him your gifts; for he " is that Word which established

(27) *Tavern. voyag. tom.* i. *lib.* iv. *p.* 485. (28) *Hist. rel. vet. Persar. c.* 31. *p.* 383.

" the

that so learned a man as *Hornius* was of opinion, that *Zoroaster* might have been the same person [t]. On the whole, we may be permitted to say, that, on a view of what different authors have delivered concerning *Zerdusht*, and his writings, he stands fairly intitled to the character we have given him of an extraordinary person; especially when we reflect, that his ministry was of no long continuance; according to the most authentic accounts, not above five years; that is, from the time of his presenting himself to *Gushtasp*, to his being slain at the sack of *Balch*. But it is now time for us to return to the history of *Gushtasp*, and of the remarkable events which happened during his reign (Q).

THE

[t] Hist. philosoph. lib. ii. c. 4. p. 80.

" the heavens (29)." This passage is quoted by Dr. *Hyde*; but there is another in the same author, which he has not mentioned, which we therefore shall, from that excellent author, exhibit to our readers: " The " same year *Cæsar* the emperor " sent *Cyrenius* into *Judea*, in " order to tax it. *Joseph*, the " husband of *Mary*, going up, " upon this occasion, from *Na-* " *zareth* to *Jerusalem*, that he " might give in his name, when " he came to *Bethlehem*, in the " way *Mary* did bring forth a " son. The magi brought their " gifts from the east, and of- " fered to Christ gold, myrrh, " and frankincense. Being que- " stioned on this head by *He-* " *rod* in their passage, they " answered thus: *A person of* " *great fame among us, in a book* " *which he left us, hath thus* " *admonished us: There shall* " *hereafter be born in* Palestine *a* " *male child, descending from* " *heaven, whom the greatest* " *part of the world shall obey:* " *now the sign of his appearance* " *shall be this: Ye shall see a* " *strange star, which shall di-* " *rect you till it stops, which* " *when you shall behold, take ye* " *gold, myrrh, and frankincense,* " *and offer them to him, and* " *adore him; then return ye,* " *lest great evil should overtake* " *ye. Now, therefore, this star* " *appearing, we come to do as* " *we were commanded (30).*" A noble testimony surely!

(Q) The death of *Zerdusht* was violent indeed, but we cannot call it unhappy, since his religion did not perish with him, which certainly it would have done, if he had been as bungling an impostor as some would make him. A *Persian* historian tells us, that *Argjasp* overturned the fire-temples erected by *Zerdusht* in *Balch*, and slew seventy priests, putting out the sacred fire with the blood of the magi (31): whether this must be understood literally, or figuratively, it would be difficult to tell, if another historian had not related it more at large: " Notice, says this writer, be- " ing given to the king of *Tou-* " *ran* of certain merchants, that

(29) *Abul-Pharajius in hist. dynast. p.* 83. (30) *Ibid. p.* 110. (31) *Megjdi. apud Hyde hist. relig. vet. Persarum, p.* 319.

" there

THE old animosities between the inhabitants of *Touran* and *Iran* broke out into a fresh war, while *Gushtasp* sat on the throne of his ancestors. It is not easy to say, whether this monarch, or *Argjasp*, who then reigned in *Touran*, was the aggressor. *Mirkhond* inclines to the former opinion, and makes this a religious war, undertaken to reduce *Argjasp*, and his subjects, to the faith of *Zerdusht*. Be that as it will, *Gushtasp*, having assembled the whole forces of his empire, marched with them into *Touran*; and, meeting *Argjasp* in battle, vanquished him, slew his son in the field, and, before the *Turkish* monarch could assemble a new army, possessed himself of his capital, and gave the plunder of it to his soldiers. After which, returning triumphantly into *Persia*, he, on some jealousies or suspicion, imprisoned his son *Isphendiyar* in a strong castle, seated on the top of an high mountain, called *Ghird Kouch*, i. e. the round mount: but he had soon reason to repent the ill usage of so deserving a prince; for *Argjasp*, irritated by the treatment he had met with, raised all the forces of *Touran*, and, making a sudden inroad into the province of *Chorassan*, sacked the city of *Balch*, where he killed *Lohrasp*, the father of *Gushtasp*, in his cloyster, and slaughtered *Zerdusht*, with all his priests attending there on the chief fire-temple, which he likewise overturned, committing all the outrages that a mind, stung with the remembrance of what the *Persian* king had done in his own country, could suggest [u]. Elated with this conquest, he

*New war between the inhabitants of* Touran *and* Iran.

Zerdusht *killed.*

[u] MIRKHOND. hist. sect. 16. LEBTARIK.

"there were no soldiers left in "*Balch*, all of them having "repaired to the army of *Gush-* "*tasp*; and that his father *Loh-* "*rasp* was left alone in that "city, with such as attended on "the *pyrea*, and eighty priests; "*Argjasp*, on this information, "drew together an army of fif- "teen thousand men, sending "his son *Kohram* before him, "and following with all expe- "dition himself. It is said, "that, when *Argjasp* entered "*Iran*, *Lohrasp*, receiving advice "thereof, came out of his re- "treat, and, putting himself at "the head of a small troop, "with them he killed many "of the enemy; but in the "end, *Lohrasp*, with the eighty "priests before-mentioned, were "slain, and the holy fire extin- "guished with their blood: "with these priests also fell "*Zerdusht* the prophet, who "then resided at *Balch* (32)." Hence it came to pass, that *Suidas* affirms of the *Assyrian Zoroaster*, that he desired to die by fire from heaven, and advised his countrymen to preserve his ashes, assuring them, that, while they were kept, their kingdom should never fail (33). All which the *Alexandrian* chronicle refers to the *Persian Zoroaster*, or our *Zerdusht* (34).

(32) *In Shahnama vetr. apud Hyde rel. vet. Persar. p.* 325. (33) *Ubi supra.*
(34) *Chron. Alexand. p.* 89.

advanced

advanced so briskly into the dominions of *Iran*, that *Gushtasp* did not think fit to meet him in battle; but chose rather to consider, how an army might be drawn together able to fight that of *Argjasp* on his return. His counsellors advised him to set his son *Isphendiyar* at liberty, and to intrust him with the management of the war. Necessity compelled him to take their advice; and he accordingly sent his brother *Gjamasp* to *Isphendiyar*, not only to release him, but also to assure him, that his father would resign to him the throne, in case he proved victorious. As soon as *Isphendiyar* arrived at the army, the *Persians* took new courage, and numbers resorted to his standard, though they had declined following his father. The young prince failed not to make use of these advantages; and, coming suddenly on *Argjasp*, defeated intirely all his numerous army, obliging him to retire out of *Persia*, and to make all the haste he could into his own dominions. After this glorious victory, *Gushtasp* received his son with all imaginable marks of kindness and esteem. However, he declined putting him in possession of the crown; and, in order to amuse him, observed, that it would be unbecoming so brave a prince to put his father's crown upon his head, while his sisters, who were taken prisoners at the sack of *Balch*, remained still in captivity. *Isphendiyar*, piqued at this pretence of his father, which shewed, that he did not think the prince had throughly humbled his enemies, immediately determined to undertake a new expedition, that his father might have no excuse left for the non-performance of his promise. With this view, he selected out of his army twelve thousand foot, and as many horse, with whom he advanced towards the frontiers of *Touran*, accompanied by his brother *Bashuten*, who was elder than himself.

Argjasp *defeated by* Isphendiyar.

Having received intelligence, that *Argjasp* was retired to one of the strongest places of his dominions, to which there were three different roads; the one plain and easy, fit for the caravans, but so round about, that it required no less than six months time to reach the place; the second pretty difficult, but so direct, that, by it, a man might reach the court of *Touran* in a month; and the third, which was hardly passable, lay through woods and morasses, and afterwards over high mountains covered with snow; *Isphendiyar*, having directed his brother to advance as expeditiously as he could through the second of these roads, he, with some resolute friends, threw himself into the third. They were all habited like merchants, and carried with them jewels, and other curiosities, of great value. The instructions he gave his brother were these; that, when he drew near the residence of *Argjasp*, he should post his army, with all the silence imaginable, in the neighbourhood of certain meadows, which lay near the city; and that, as soon

Isphendiyar's *stratagem to surprise* Argjasp.

ſoon as he ſhould perceive a great number of fires lighted in that meadow, he ſhould order his horſe to advance, and execute the orders which ſhould then be given them. *Iſphendiyar*, and his retinue, making the beſt of their way, reached in ſeven day the court of *Touran*. The prince being introduced to *Argjaſp* as a merchant, who fled from the ſeverity of *Iſphendyiar*, and was deſirous of ſelling his goods in the dominions of *Touran*, the king received him, and his companions, with all imaginable courteſy, and accepted very kindly the magnificent preſent which the prince thought fit to make him. This lucky beginning was followed by a train of ſucceſs anſwerable to *Iſphendiyar*'s wiſhes; for, in a ſhort time, he wrought himſelf into the higheſt degree of confidence with the king, and his principal courtiers. When therefore he was appriſed, that his brother, with his forces, was arrived at the place appointed, he invited the king and court to a grand collation in the meadows adjoining to the town. Thither they came in the evening; and, great fires being lighted for dreſſing the proviſions, theſe ſerved as ſignals to *Baſhuten*, who, at the head of his horſe, ſuddenly charged the *Turks*, and made himſelf maſter of the city. *Iſphendiyar*, and thoſe who were about him, diſpatched, without delay, the moſt conſiderable of the nobility, the prince killing with his own hand *Argjaſp* king of *Touran*. Then, putting his ſiſters, whom he had releaſed out of captivity, into the hands of his and their brother *Baſhuten*, he adviſed him to retire, with part of his forces, into *Perſia*, while he, with the reſt, marched againſt ſeveral *Indian* princes, in order to force them, and their ſubjects, to abandon idolatry, and receive the religion of *Zerduſht*; in which expedition *Iſphendiyar* had prodigious ſucceſs, and returned afterwards into *Perſia*, crowned with laurels. When he arrived at *Iſtachr*, he expected that his father would, without delay, perform the promiſe he had ſo ſolemnly made, and ſo often repeated, of reſigning to him his dominions; but the politic *Guſhtaſp* intended nothing leſs. He received his ſon, as before, with all the tokens of amity and tenderneſs; but, inſtead of putting the crown upon his head, he entertained him with a ſtudied diſcourſe on his great abilities, and the laudable obedience he had hitherto paid to all his commands. After this, the crafty old prince complained, that there was ſtill one enemy left to be ſubdued, even in the heart of his dominions, *viz.* *Ruſtan*; who, having fortified himſelf in the provinces committed to his charge, abſolutely refuſed to obey the king's commands, or receive the religion of *Zerduſht*. *Guſhtaſp* inſinuated, that it was neceſſary for *Iſphendiyar* to reduce this nobleman, before he aſſumed the diadem, ſince otherwiſe he would receive from his father but half a kingdom. Piqued at

Iſphendiyar *kills* Argjaſp *with his own hand.*

this

this behaviour, the generous *Isphendiyar* set out for *Sigjistan*, carrying with him his son *Bahaman*. On their arrival there, *Rustan* met him, and conferred with him at first with great civility and respect; but, when the prince insisted on his yielding obedience to his father's commands, and professing immediately the faith of *Zerdusht*, *Rustan* grew angry, and, from hard words, they quickly came to blows. As they were both men of great strength and agility of body, as well as of high spirit, and unconquerable valour, the combat was long and doubtful. At last it inclined to *Isphendiyar*; but *Rustan*, collecting all his strength into one blow, gave the prince so deep a wound, that he died upon the spot, having only time to recommend his son to *Rustan*, and to desire his brother *Bashuten* to take care of his body. Both his requests were exactly complied with; *Bashuten* carried back his body into *Persia*, where it received the highest funeral honours; and *Rustan* carefully sent home his son. *Gushtasp* was inconsolable for the death of so deserving a prince: his grief, however, was forced to give way to the necessity of the state; for the new king of *Touran* no sooner heard what had happened in *Persia*, than, raising a great army, he invaded that kingdom, and wasted it without mercy with fire and sword. *Gushtasp*, having collected as great an army as the time would permit, marched with all possible diligence to oppose him; and, after having encountered, and intirely routed his forces, constrained him to retire into his own dominions. The public peace being now restored, *Gushtasp*, to shew the respect he had for his son's memory, resigned the crown to *Bahaman* the son of *Isphendiyar*, and, according to the example set him by his father, retired from the world to a magnificent pleasure-house he had erected not far from *Schiras*, a palace of such superb architecture, that, in after times, as *Mirkhond* tells us, it was attributed to *Solomon* the son of *David*, to express its excellence [x]. In all probability it stood in the neighbourhood of that mountain, which, lying behind the famous palace of *Persepolis*, is held to be the sepulcre of the antient *Persian* kings. We have seen, from various instances, that it was a common thing among the *Persian* monarchs to quit their thrones, when they found their health and spirits decay, and to spend the last years of their life in contemplation. If we admit, that *Gushtasp* was the *Hystaspes* of the *Greeks*, then we may apply what *Ammianus Marcellinus* says of the latter to this retreat: "*Hystaspes*, says this historian, was a most wise person, who, "boldly penetrating into the inner parts of *Upper India*, came "to a woody desert, whose calm silence was possessed by those

Isphendiyar *killed by* Rustan.

Gushtasp *resigns the crown to* Bahaman.

[x] Mirkhond. hist. sect. 16.

"high

" high genius's the *Brahmans*. From these he learned the true " system of the heavenly bodies, and their motions, and the " true rites of pure religion; with which knowlege he returned " into *Persia*, and taught it to the magi, amongst whom it " has, by tradition, been preserved even to this time [y]." But perhaps, admitting *Gushtasp* and *Hystaspes* to be one and the same person, we ought to refer this expedition to his junior years, when he fled from his father into *Touran*, from whence his journey into *India* was not difficult. There are some *Persian* writers, however, who give a very different account of this matter; of which the reader will have a clearer apprehension, if he recollects what we cited from an antient *Persian* historian, as to *Zerdusht*'s promising king *Gushtasp* to fulfil his extraordinary requests. These historians say, that not *Gushtasp*, but his son *Bashuten*, addicted himself to divine meditations; and that this *Bashuten*, in conformity to the prophet's promise, was transported to the mountain *Dunbavand* or *Damavand*, with thirty of his guards, where they yet live in the most quiet and happy manner; the approach of all living creatures to their sacred retreat being prevented by thick steams of sal armoniac issuing from all sides of the mountain [z]. Our famous traveller Sir *Thomas Herbert* ascended this mountain, and passed directly over it, without meeting any such steams. He acknowleges, however, that there are vast quantities of sulphur thereon; and that, in the night, some luminous vapours are seen thereabouts, which, he thinks, proceed from the sulphur [a]. But the learned Dr. *Hyde* is for the old opinion, and is for attributing them rather to sal armoniac; but confesses, not only that the history of *Bashuten* is fabulous, but that some stories of the same sort, related of *Gushtasp*, are likewise unworthy of belief [b]. We may, with tolerable certainty, affirm, that the reign of *Gushtasp* was the reign of learning in *Persia*. In his time flourished a celebrated astrologer, whose name was *Gjamasp*, surnamed, according to the oriental custom, *Al Hakim*, i. e. the *wise*, or the *sage*. That such a person there was, and that he flourished about this time, is pretty clear; but who he was, is very far from being certain. Some have made him the son of *Daniel* the prophet [c]; others the counsellor of king *Gushtasp*: but the greater number, and those too of the most credible writers, say, that he was the brother of that prince, and not only so, but his confident and chief minister [d]. The science, for which he was

Gjamasp, *a celebrated astrologer.*

[y] Ammian. Marcell. hist. l. xxiii. [z] Hyde hist. relig. vet. Persar. c. 23. p. 306. [a] Herbert's travels, p. 112. [b] Hyde relig. vet. Persar. ubi supra. [c] Chalil Suphi apud Hyde relig. vet. Persar. p. 385. [d] Mirkhond. ubi supra. Leb. Tarikh.

parti-

particularly famous, was astrology; and, from his skill therein, he is said to have predicted the coming of the Messiah. Some treatises under his name are yet current in the east, of which the reader will meet with some account in the following note (R).

BAHA-

(R) Dr. *Hyde*, speaking of the philosopher mentioned in our text, cites a passage from a very antient author, having before told us, that this author asserted there had been among the *Persians* ten doctors of such consummate wisdom, as the whole world could not boast the like; then he gives the author's words, to the sense following: "Of these the sixth was *Gjam-*
"*asp*, an astrologer, who was
"counsellor to *Hystaspes*. He
"is the author of a book, in-
"titled, *Judicia Gjamaspis*; in
"which is contained his judg-
"ment on the planetary con-
"junctions. And therein he
"gave notice, that *Jesus* should
"appear; that *Mohammed* should
"be born; that the magian re-
"ligion should be abolished,
"*&c.* nor did any astrologer
"ever come up to him (35)."
Of this book there is an *Arabian* version, the title of which runs thus: *The book of the philosopher* Gjamasp, *containing judgments on the grand conjunctions of the planets, and on the events produced by them.* This version was made by *Lali*; the title he gave it in *Arabic* was *Al Keranat*, and he published it *A. D.* 1280. In the preface of his version it is said, that after the times of *Zoroaster*, or *Zerdusht*, reigned *Gushtasp*, the son of *Lohrasp*, a very powerful prince, who possessed not only *Iran*, but *Touran*, and *Habaschia*, i. e. *Ethiopia*; that, in his reign, flourished in the city of *Balch*, on the borders of *Chorassan*, a most excellent philosopher, whose name was *Gjamasp*, author of this book; wherein is contained an account of all the great conjunctions of the planets which had happened before the time of this astrologer, and which were to happen in succeeding ages; and wherein the appearances of new religions, and the rise of new monarchies, were exactly set down. This author, throughout his whole piece, stiles *Zerdusht*, or *Zoroaster*, *our prophet* (36). That astrology, by which we mean foretelling future events, or pretending to foretel them by contemplating the heavenly bodies, was a science, if we may be allowed so to call it, very early in vogue among the *Persians*, might be easily proved, if this were a proper place. To say the truth, the very terms in use among astrologers, are irrefragable proofs of it; for they are most of them either *Arabic* or *Persic*; and for this reason, *Chaldæa*, the mistress of our western astrology, was, in antient times, always in the possession either of the one or the other of these nations. The notion of predicting the rise and progress of religions from

(35) *E lib. Mucj. p. 227. apud Hyde rel. vet. Pers. c. 31. p. 385.* (36) *D'Herbelot. bibl. orient. art. Giamasb.*

the

BAHAMAN, the ſon of *Iſphendiyar*, ſucceeded his grandfather *Guſhtaſp* in all the mighty empire he had acquired. Before we Bahaman.

the grand conjunctions of the planets, has been likewiſe propagated in our weſtern parts: *Cardan* was a bold aſſertor of this doctrine, and, if he did not intend it himſelf, we are pretty certain, that his ſcholar *Vaninus* actually thought of ſubverting the belief of the goſpel-diſpenſation, by pretending that all religions owed their force and predominancy to the influence of the ſtars (37). The modern *Perſians* are ſtill great votaries to this ſort of knowlege; but they diſtinguiſh between aſtronomy and aſtrology; they ſtile the former *elm-nejoum*, i. e. the ſcience of the ſtars; and the latter *eſte-krag*, i. e. the revelation of the ſtars: they have, however, but one word to expreſs aſtronomer and aſtrologer, *viz. manegjim*, which is exactly equivalent to the *Greek* word *aſtrologos*. Of all the provinces of *Perſia*, *Choraſſan* is the moſt famous for producing great men in that art; and in *Choraſſan* there is a little town called *Genabed*, and in that town a certain family, which, for ſix or ſeven hundred years paſt, has produced the moſt famous aſtrologers in *Perſia*; and the king's aſtrologer is always either a native of *Genabed*, or one brought up there. Sir *John Chardin* affirms, that the appointments in his time, for theſe ſages, amounted to ſix millions of *French* livres *per annum*; which ſhews how highly theſe ſort of people are yet eſteemed in that country. As to the notions they have of the tranſcendent ſkill of the antient profeſſors of that art, the author, juſt now mentioned, gives us a ſingular inſtance in the hiſtory of *Alkendi*, a *Jew*, who was profeſſor of judicial aſtrology at *Bagdad*, in the caliphate of *Almamoum*. Againſt this *Jewiſh* aſtrologer all the *Mohammedans* had a very great ſpleen: one, more hardy than the reſt, reſolved to attack his reputation, and to endeavour to diſpoſſeſs him of the caliph's eſteem: to this end he repaired to *Bagdad*, and, finding *Alkendi* in the caliph's preſence, he aſked him why he took upon himſelf to know more in aſtrology than other people. *Becauſe I know*, replied *Alkendi*, *what you know not, and you know not what I know*. This provoked the *Mohammedan* doctor ſo much, that he would needs make a trial of his boaſted knowlege in the ſight of the caliph. In order to this, each drew a circle about himſelf, and ſat down therein, with his books and inſtruments. The *Mohammedan* doctor at laſt took a piece of paper and a pen, and, after ſeeming to write a good deal, folded it up, and gave it the caliph; deſiring *Alkendi* to give a proof of his ſkill, by telling what was written in his paper; to which the other, after a little time, anſwered, *You have written but two words in your paper: one is the name of a plant, the other of an animal*. The caliph,

(37) *In amphitheatr. & dialog.*

we enter upon the reign of this prince, it is neceſſary, that we ſhould ſettle his name. *Mirkhond* calls him, as we do, *Bahaman*;

opening the paper, found this to be true. And this adventure ſpread the fame of *Alkendi* throughout all the eaſt. It happened there was then reſident in the college of *Balch* a young ſtudent, of bright parts, who had been ſcholar to the *Mohammedan* ſage, over whom *Alkendi* had triumphed: he was ſo much piqued at the diſhonour done his maſter, that, as ſoon as he heard this ſtory, he bought himſelf a poniard, and took a journey of twelve hundred *Engliſh* miles from *Balch* to *Bagdad*, on purpoſe to murder *Alkendi*. When he arrived at this laſt-mentioned city, he inquired the time when *Alkendi* taught in the public ſchools; which when he had learned, he went thither, with his poniard under his gown, as if he had been a ſtudent come to hear him. *Alkendi* was in the midſt of his lecture when he entered the room; but he immediately made a full ſtop, and, turning his eyes to this ſtranger, addreſſed him thus: *I know who you are, and to what purpoſe you come: your name is* Albumazar (the true orthography is *Abu Ma Shar*); *and you will become one of the greateſt aſtrologers of your time; but then you muſt lay aſide the bloody deſign which brought you hither, and you muſt throw into the midſt of the ſchool that poniard which you carried on purpoſe to kill me.* *Albumazar*, ſtruck at this ſpeech, firſt threw down his poniard, and then himſelf, at the feet of *Alkendi*: thenceforward he applied himſelf ſtrictly to the ſtudy of aſtrology, and became, as that ſage had predicted, wonderfully famous, being known to the learned world by the name of *Albumazar* of *Balch* (38). What credit this account may deſerve, we leave the reader to judge. *Gjamaſp* predicted, as we hinted in the text, the coming of Chriſt. A very learned countryman of our own has reported the ſame thing from *Albumazar*; his words are theſe: "In the ſphere "of *Perſia*, ſaith *Aben Ezra*, "there ariſeth upon the face of "the ſign *Virgo* a beautiful "maiden, ſhe holding two ears "of corn in her hand, and a "child in her arm: ſhe feedeth "him, and giveth him ſuck, "*&c.* This maiden, ſaith *Albumazar*, we call *Adrenedeſa*, "the pure virgin. She bringeth up a child in a place "which is called *Abrie* (the "*Hebrew* land); and the child's "name is called *Eiſi* (*Jeſus*). "This was enough to make "*Albertus Magnus* believe, that "our Saviour Chriſt was born "in *Virgo*; and therefore cardinal *Alliac*, erecting our "LORD's nativity by his deſcription, caſteth this ſign into the horoſcope. But that "was not the meaning of *Albumazar*; his meaning was "(ſaith frier *Bacon*), *Quod beata "Virgo nata fuit, quando ſol fuit "in Virgine; & ita habetur ſignatum in calendario; & quod "nutriet filium ſuum in terra*

(38) *Chardin. voyag. tom. iii. p. 203.*



"Hebræorum:

*man*; and ſays, that he had two ſurnames, the one *Dirazdeſt*, i. e. *Long-hand*, becauſe his right hand was longer than his left; and the other *Ardſhir*, on this account: When his mother was big with this ſon, there came a great aſtrologer to the court of *Guſhtaſp* his grandfather; and, addreſſing himſelf to *Iſphendiyar*, preſented him a ſmall baſket, which, he told him, was for the uſe of the ſon that ſhould be born to him: upon opening it, there was found a veſſel full of milk, and a little flour; the perſon who brought it alleging, by way of excuſe, that his circumſtances did not allow him to bring any thing better. *Iſphendiyar* and his wife were ſo much ſatisfied with the preſent, that they took from thence the name of their ſon, *ard* ſignifying flour, and *ſhir* milk, in their antient language: hence it came to paſs, that this prince was better known by his ſurname than by his proper name, being generally called, in the oriental hiſtories, *Ardſhir Dirazdeſt*, and by the *Greeks*, *Artaxerxes Longimanus*. He is repreſented by *Mirkhond* as one of the wiſeſt and beſt princes that ever ſwayed a ſceptre: he was ſo ſolicitous for the impartial diſtribution of juſtice to all his ſubjects, that he ſent ſome favourites of his own privately into the courts of all his governors, that they might bring him exact informations of their behaviour: and, when the time of their governments was expired, he ſent for them into his preſence, and either rewarded and commended their virtues, or elſe puniſhed what they had done amiſs, according to the nature of the offence. In a year after his acceſſion to the throne, he ſummoned the ſtates of his kingdom, whom he addreſſed in terms full of tenderneſs and love: he told them, that he had aſſumed the regal dignity, not to gratify his own ambition, but to do good to them: he therefore intreated them, if they knew any wrong ſteps he had taken, or any vices that he had, which were detrimental to the public, that they would freely cenſure and reprove them; nay, if they held him utterly unworthy of the empire, he exhorted them to depoſe him; for he ſaid, that kings ought to be public bleſſings, and that ſuch as were not ſo ought not to wear the title. The ſtates, after highly commending the king's zeal, and receiving from him whatever they deſired, ſeparated, and, going into their reſpective provinces, carried with them the higheſt ſenti-

*Why ſurnamed* Dirazdeſt.

*His character.*

" Hebræorum: *That the ſaid virgin was born, the ſun being in that ſign, as alſo we have it ſet down in the calendar; and that ſhe was to bring up her ſon in the* Hebrew *land* (39)." The reader is to obſerve, that *Albumazar* wrote expreſly from the *Perſic* aſtrologers, it may be from the very works of *Gjamaſp*, which induced this note.

(39) *Mr. John Gregory's notes on various paſſages of Scripture, p.* 152.

ments of duty and reſpect for ſo deſerving a prince. *Ardſhir*, or *Bahaman*, took care to repair all the cities, fire-temples, and public edifices, which, during the wars in *Iran*, had either been beaten down, or, through the injuries of time, had fallen to decay. This being done, and his empire every-where in a flouriſhing condition, he thought it a proper time to revenge the death of his father, and to reunite the provinces of *Sigjiſtan* and *Kabul* to his eſtates; and, to this end, he raiſed a conſiderable army, and marched into the territories of *Ruſtan*; whither he was no ſooner come, than he was informed, that this great warrior was dead; but that his ſon *Feramorz* had taken poſſeſſion of his government, and was marching to oppoſe him with a great army. The king of *Perſia*, being deſirous that the war ſhould have a ſpeedy determination, did not decline a battle, in which he had all the ſucceſs he could deſire, the enemy being intirely defeated, and *Feramorz* killed upon the ſpot. He took likewiſe *Zal-zer*, the father of *Ruſtan*, priſoner, and returned triumphantly into *Perſia*, after obliging the inhabitants of thoſe provinces to acknowlege him for their lawful lord. *Mirkhond* gives us a very extraordinary account of the death of *Ruſtan*, which happened a little before this war commenced: he had, according to this hiſtorian, a brother whoſe name was *Chajal*, whom he ſent to collect his revenues in *Kabul*, where it happened, that *Chajal* fell deſperately in love with the governor's daughter, who was a woman of moſt accompliſhed beauty, and of the rareſt qualifications. The governor, obſerving how much the young man was ſmitten, made him promiſe to do for him whatever he deſired, provided he might have his daughter. *Chajal* having promiſed this, the governor propoſed to him the delivering his brother into his hands, that he might ſecure to himſelf the abſolute poſſeſſion of his own territories, by putting him to death: to which *Chajal*, for the ſake of his miſtreſs, aſſented. On his return home, diſcourſing with his brother, he informed him, that the governor of *Kabul*, whom he truſted ſo much, was indeed a very tyrant, and grievouſly oppreſſed the people under his juriſdiction. *Ruſtan*, highly inflamed at this, threatened to put that governor to death, and to extirpate his family; to which end he aſſembled all his forces: but his brother, laying hold of the predominant quality of vanity, which was always prevalent in *Ruſtan*'s temper, perſuaded him that his preſence alone was ſufficient to frighten the governor of *Kabul* into ſubmiſſion: whereupon he ſet out, attended only by a friend, and this treacherous brother. As ſoon as they arrived in the neighbourhood of *Kabul*, the governor, with a very few of his attendants, came, and made his ſubmiſſion; and, having moſt humbly beſought *Ruſtan*'s pardon, which *Ruſtan* readily gave him,

*Defeats and kills* Feramorz *the ſon of* Ruſtan.

*Account of the death of* Ruſtan.

him, the governor intreated him to reſt that night at his houſe, which was but a ſmall diſtance from them. When they came near its gates, *Chajal* rode on his brother's right, and the governor on his left; when, on a ſudden, the ground gave way, and *Ruſtan* and his horſe fell into a deep pit which had been prepared for him, and ſo artfully covered with earth and leaves, that he did not perceive it. *Ruſtan*, being appriſed of their treachery, intreated one of the governor's attendants to give him a bow and arrows, that he might not be devoured alive by wild beaſts. The man, touched with his misfortunes, put them immediately into his hands; whereupon *Ruſtan*, drawing the bow with all his ſtrength, let fly two arrows with ſuch dexterity, that he ſtruck the treacherous governor, and his perfidious brother, each to his heart, dying a little after himſelf of the wounds he received on his fall. Such, if we yield an implicit belief to the *Perſian* hiſtorians, was the end of this mighty warrior, the glory and ſupport of his country, and of its kings. But we ſhall ſhew, in the note below, that this ſtory of the life and adventures of *Ruſtan* muſt not be underſtood exactly as they have related it (S). After the reduction

(S) The title of this ſection is *The hiſtory of* Perſia, *according to the oriental writers*. It is therefore our duty to report whatever we find in authentic hiſtorians; but it does not follow, that we muſt either believe ourſelves, or obtrude on our readers, all things contained in them, for matters of fact. We are as ſenſible, as the moſt inveterate critics can be, that there is much of fable perhaps in the beſt *Perſian* hiſtorians; and it is not impoſſible that we may ſometimes miſtake their meaning. For example; we know that *Aphoraſiab*, king of *Touran*, muſt have lived ſeveral hundred years, if what we have ſet down in our hiſtory be true; or elſe, for a long ſeries of years, the princes of that country were ſtiled *Apheraſiab*, as the kings of *Egypt* were called *Pharaohs*, and the kings of the *Philiſtines* were intitled *Abimelech*. But then the ſame difficulty recurs as to *Ruſtan*. His father *Zal-zer* lived to be carried away priſoner by *Bahaman*, of whoſe reign we are now ſpeaking: he muſt then have been near ſeven hundred years old, and *Ruſtan*, who was lately dead, muſt have been greatly upwards of ſix hundred: theſe are incredible things, and therefore we muſt ſuppoſe, that, notwithſtanding the *Perſian* hiſtorians ſpeak all as of one man, there was a ſucceſſion of heroes in the ſame family, who were hereditary governors of the province of *Sigjiſtan*, and called, from their famous anceſtor, *Ruſtans*. Something of this ſort we meet with in Scripture, where not only two kings of *Gerar* are called *Abimelech*, but both the captains of their hoſts are ſtiled *Phicols* (40). What renders our conjecture ſtill the more pro-

(40) *Geneſ.* xxi. 22. xxvi. 26.

duction of the provinces formerly held by the hero we have juſt now mentioned, *Bahaman*, or *Ardſhir*, extended his empire

bable, is, that the provinces governed by this family took their name; which is more likely to have happened under a ſucceſſion of governors, than in the time of one man. We mention this merely to prevent a ſuſpicion, that we ſwallow, without conſideration, all that oriental writers have delivered. When we ſhall have cloſed our hiſtory of the *Perſian* kings, natives of that country, we ſhall give a large account of the chronology of theſe times, and make it as intelligible as we can. In the mean time, let us add a few circumſtances, which we have not had occaſion to inſert in the text, as to the family of which we were juſt now ſpeaking. The author of the *Guliſtan* tells us, that *Zal-zer* gave his ſon *Ruſtan* this caution: *Never deſpiſe an enemy, however impoteut he may ſeem at preſent; for a ſtream which will ſcarce bear a ſtraw at its ſource, grows in its courſe ſtrong enough to carry away a camel, and its burden (41).* We have frequently taken notice of the mighty encomiums beſtowed by the oriental romance-writers on our hero *Ruſtan*. Of all his exploits, none, however, furniſhes them with ſo much room to expatiate on, as his two days combat with *Iſphendiyar*. Theſe ſtories were ſo pleaſant in themſelves, ſo agreeably embelliſhed by thoſe who took them for their theme, that they gave no ſmall interruption to *Mohammed*, in his ſettling his new religion. It ſeems there was one *Neſſer*, who had been in *Perſia* about his concerns as a merchant, and there picked up the relation of *Ruſtan*'s combats with *Iſphendiyar*; he vehemently oppoſed *Mohammed*, and laughed at his pretended miſſion; and, the better to carry his point, he diverted the people with theſe ſtories; which had ſuch an effect, that, when *Mohammed* brought them a new chapter of the *Koran*, they would frequently cry out, *This is an odd ſtory; there is no great matter in this; it is not half ſo pleaſant as the ſtories of Neſſer:* which provoked the pretended prophet very much, and put him upon curſing this *Neſſer* violently as an enemy to God, and the true religion (42). It is to theſe ſtories of *Neſſer*'s, and to the behaviour of the people thereupon, that *Mohammed* alludes in the following paſſage of his *Koran*: "There is "with God great reward for "the righteous. O ye that be- "lieve, if ye fear God, he "ſhall remove your enemies far "from you, and pardon your ſins; "his goodneſs is infinite. The "wicked have conſpired againſt "thee, to puniſh and ſlay thee, "or drive thee from *Mecca*; "but God hath rendered their "conſpiracy ineffectual; he "knoweth all the deſigns of "conſpirators. When his mi- "racles were related to them, "and his commandments taught "them, they ſaid, we have heard "them: we had ſaid the like "things, had we ſo inclined; it "is but a ſong, and a fable of "old

(41) *D'Herbelot. biblioth. orient. art. Zal.*

(42) *Ibid. art. Alcoran.*

pire on all ſides. Some hiſtorians ſay, that *Kireſh*, i. e. *Cyrus*, was his governor in *Babylon*; but this is a palpable miſtake, grounded on a real fact, *viz.* the great kindneſs which this prince expreſſed for the *Jews*: ſome have reported, that his mother was of that nation; however it was, we may be aſſured, that he had a very great regard for the choſen people, and did them great kindneſſes. This prince had a ſon, whoſe name was *Saſſan*, a man much addicted to learning, and eſpecially to aſtrology: whence it came to paſs, that either through his own modeſty he pretended not to the empire, or was precluded therefrom by his father, on account of his ſtudious life, which that active prince thought incompatible with the duties of a ſovereign: however it was, hiſtorians are agreed, that he did not ſucceed, nor did pretend to the ſucceſſion, on the demiſe of his father; but led contentedly a private life, though his deſcendents afterwards recovered the kingdom, as will be ſhewn in the next period of our *Perſian* hiſtory from oriental hiſtorians. After a long and glorious reign, wherein he ſo far extended his dominions, that ſome will have his ſurname of *Diraazdeſt* derived from thence, *Bahaman*, or *Ardſhir*, died, and left his empire to his wife *Homai*; whom ſome writers alſo affirm to have been his daughter, and who, at the time of his deceaſe, was big with child. The favourite ſaying of this prince was, *That the gate of a king ought never to be ſhut*[e].

*Bahaman dies, and leaves the empire to his wife Homai.*

HOMAI, or *Khamani*, about five months after her acceſſion to the throne, brought forth a ſon of wonderful beauty. According to the cuſtom of thoſe times, the aſtrologers were conſulted as to the fortune of this young prince. They, it ſeems, were unanimouſly of opinion, that his fate would by no means correſpond with his face; but, on the contrary, he would bring great misfortunes on his country as well as himſelf; for which reaſon they adviſed, that he ſhould be immediately de-

*Predictions of the aſtrologers concerning her ſon.*

[e] MIRKHOND. hiſt. ſect. 17. D'HERBELOT. biblioth. orient. art. Bahaman.

" old men. Remember thou
" they ſaid, My GOD, if what
" *Mohammed* declareth be true,
" cauſe a ſhower of flint-ſtones
" to fall upon us, and rigorouſly
" chaſtiſe us. He ſhall not cha-
" ſtiſe them when thou art with
" them, neither when they beg
" pardon of him. Who is he
" that is able to hinder GOD to
" puniſh them? They are not
" in his grace, when they hin-
" der true believers to enter the
" temple of *Mecca*; he protect-
" eth only ſuch as have his fear
" before their eyes, but moſt of
" them underſtand it not. Their
" prayers are very light; they
" go hand in hand in the tem-
" ple, but ſhall one day feel
" the puniſhment of GOD be-
" cauſe of their iniquity (43)."

(43) *Koran, cap. Alſan, i. e. Of the booty.*

ſtroyed. The tenderneſs of a mother would not permit *Homai* to follow their counſels; and yet her love for her country extended ſo far, that ſhe determined, at any rate, to prevent his bringing on it thoſe miſchiefs the aſtrologers had threatened. With this view ſhe cauſed a little wooden ark or cheſt to be made; and, having put the child in it, covered him with precious ſtones, and then ſuffered the veſſel to ſail down the *Gihon*, or *Oxus*. The floating cradle came, at laſt, within the view of a poor man waſhing linen, who was by trade a dyer. He, ſtruck with the novelty of beholding a cheſt on the water, took pains to draw it on ſhore; and was mightily ſurpriſed on finding therein a child with things of ſuch value, not doubting but it was the deſcendent of ſome great family. He carried it, with the precious ſtones which were in the cradle with it, to his wife; who, concurring with him in opinion, that it was the ſon of ſome perſon of diſtinction, bred it up with as much tenderneſs and care as if it had been her own, the dyer giving him the name of *Darab*, from the veſſel in which, and the element wherein he was found, *dar* ſignifying a wooden veſſel, and *ab* water. When this child was grown up to ſuch an age as required its learning ſome trade, the dyer would willingly have taught him his own; but the boy ſhewed a viſible reluctancy thereto, and appeared to have a ſtrong genius for war. The good old man, who had brought him up, far from checking his inclinations, ſtrained his abilities to the utmoſt, to furniſh the young *Darab* with an equipage neceſſary to his ſerving in the army, then raiſed for the reduction of *Roumeſtan*, into which the young hero readily went. This war was of no very long continuance; but *Darab* performed therein ſuch extraordinary feats of arms, that they rung thro' the whole army; wherein, though the flower of the *Perſian* army had ſerved, yet none had attained to ſo high a reputation as this unknown youth. At their return, therefore, from the war, the commander in chief reported ſuch favourable things of him to the queen his miſtreſs, that ſhe would needs ſee him. *Darab*, upon this, was introduced into the royal preſence, where, after ſome diſcourſe about the war, and the great things he had done therein, the queen demanded of him what was his name, and who were his father and mother. He anſwered, as to the firſt, that his name was *Darab*; but that, as to his parents, he was able to ſay nothing: that the perſons he lived with, and whom he acknowleged for his father and mother, were a dyer and his wife: that the man had taken him out of the water, where he floated in a little cheſt; and that, from thence, they had given him the name of *Darab*. The queen, having conſidered and inquired into this ſtory, owned him for her ſon, and declared him her ſucceſſor, with the general

*Is expoſed by his mother.*

*But found and brought up by a dyer.*

*Serves and diſtinguiſhes himſelf in the army.*

*The queen owns him, and declares him her ſucceſſor.*

neral approbation of her people [f]. This princess, all the oriental writers who speak of her agree, had a prodigious capacity, and was wonderfully careful in ordering all things for the good of her people. Above all things, she studied the adorning of the glorious capital of her dominions, *Istachr*: to this end she erected a noble palace therein, the ruins of which are glorious even to this day, and are the same which the *Persians* call *Chilminar*, and in the palace of *Persepolis*. We will not take upon us to affirm, that these authors are in the right; but we may safely say, that, in all human probability, this palace was built about this time; and the reason which the eastern writers assign for queen *Homai*'s choosing to erect it here, is neither absurd nor incredible: they allege, that *Gushtasp* having erected several *pyrea*, or fire-temples, and cut for himself, and for his successors, superb tombs in the rock which lies behind this palace, *Homai* was tempted to build a royal house in their neighbourhood, that all these marks of *Persian* magnificence might appear together, and set off each other: to her also are attributed several other monuments of a royal mind, and a deep desire of fame, such as a multitude of pyramids smaller, but not unlike those in *Egypt*, scattered throughout all *Persia*, and every-where overturned by the soldiers of *Alexander the Great*. This princess is likewise said to have built a city called *Semrim*, or *Semirah*: whence a famous *Persian* author hath been led to think, that the *Homai* of the *Persians* was the *Semiramis* of the *Greeks*: but in this, perhaps, there is more of criticism than solidity [g]. The author of another *Persian* chronicle is so far from thinking her either the *Semiramis* of the *Greeks*, or so famous a queen of *Persia* as other authors make her, that he has totally omitted her name in his history of the *Persian* monarchs of the dynasty of the *Kainites* [h]. *Mirkhond*, however, assures us, that she reigned thirty-two years, and then resigned the crown to her son *Darab* [i] (T).

Homai said to have built the palace of Persepolis.

Her other works.

All

[f] Mirkhond. hist. sect. 18. D'Herbelot. artic. Homai. [g] Tarik. Montekebh. [h] Tarikcozideh. [i] Mirkhond. ubi supra.

(T) The oriental histories mention various queens, who flourished, and did great things, in their respective countries, and yet are little known to us in the west. If we consider what the *Persian* historians say of her building the glorious palace at *Istachr*, we shall find it not so improbable as at first sight it may seem. We have shewn before, from authorities of all kinds, that in the reign of *Gushtasp* arts and sciences flourished exceedingly in *Persia*: his grandson and successor *Bahaman* must have

Darab. ALL historians agree, that *Darab* ascended the throne as the son of *Bahaman*, or *Ardshir*; and that he gave the highest proofs of his royal descent, by his wise and gentle administration (V). His valour had been sufficiently distinguished before

have carried them still higher; for he was extremely successful in all his wars, and, after he had finished them, applied himself to the adorning his country with stately buildings, as *Mirkhond* expressly informs us. That his widow therefore, who was also a potent and successful princess, should endeavour to establish her fame, by erecting so magnificent a pile, has nothing in it unlikely or incredible: she might adorn this new-raised palace of hers with the spoils brought by her immediate predecessors out of *Egypt* and *Syria*: and as to the grand procession, which yet appears on the walls of that palace (*plate* VII. VIII. *p.* 104). if one might be indulged to conjecture, why may it not be supposed to represent the homage paid to *Bahaman* or *Ardshir* by the states of *Persia*, when he assembled them in the first year of his reign, and submitted his conduct, and even his qualifications for the royal dignity, to their censure? That he did this, *Mirkhond* affirms; and that they were profuse in their expressions of gratitude and loyalty on this occasion. What more noble transaction could this princess chuse, than this recognition of her husband's right to his crown, from virtue as well as descent, by a generous and wise people? But let this procession be what t will, it may as we ll be placed here as any-where else; and till the learned, by dint of their inquiries and criticisms, can furnish us with a better account, we may as well accept of this from the *Persian* historians. As to the modern *Persians*, they, as we have here before observed, speak very tenderly on this head; and if we bar their tales of king *Solomon*, and the fairies, have nothing to offer against queen *Homai*'s being the founder of that stupendous fabric, the ruins of which are now called *Chilminar*, i. e. *forty pillars*; tho', if we may trust Dr. *Hyde*, its old *Persic* name was *Hazar-sutun*, i. e. *a thousand columns* (44).

(V) *Darab*, as we have already heard, was educated by a poor dyer, or fuller, who took all the care of him that could be expected from a man in his low condition. It is reported by a *Persian* writer, that the young *Darab*, being one day at the water-side with his supposed father, addressed himself thus to the dyer: *I should be very glad if you would tell me the truth as to my birth; for I begin to imagine, from the aversion I have to this business, and from my contempt of all manual labour, that I am not really your son, as you have hitherto made me believe. Whoever*, said the dyer, *beheld a ruby, and supposed it dropt from a common stone, might conceive, that a youth of your shining parts was, what till this time you have*

(44) *Hist. relig. vet. Persar. cap.* 23. *p.* 304.

passed

fore he ascended the throne: he suffered it not to rust after he assumed the royal dignity; for, at the same time he loved justice, and took care to have it exactly administred throughout all his wide dominions, he was likewise a munificent patron of arts and sciences, easy of address, eloquent in speech, and one of the most humane princes that ever swayed a sceptre. On some account or other, he found it necessary to turn his arms on *Filikous*, that is, *Philip* king of *Macedon*, at first by his captains, and, at last, in person, with such success, that *Philip*, being driven to extremities, was obliged to accept such terms as *Darab* thought fit to impose: and they were these; that the king of *Macedon* should pay yearly the sum of forty thousand pieces of gold, by way of tribute; and should give his daughter, one of the handsomest princesses in *Greece*, to *Darab* for a wife: which was accordingly done. The very first night that *Darab* passed with his new spouse, he found her breath so offensive, that he resolved to send her back to her father, notwithstanding that, as some writers say, she was with child. After the *Macedonian* war, *Darab* applied himself wholly to the arts of peace, and to the settling such things as were still in disorder, and inventing new methods for giving ease and satisfaction to his subjects. Amongst other wise and glorious acts of this good prince, the settling posts throughout all *Persia* is particularly recorded; which he executed with such skill, that he had news brought him from every corner of his empire, by couriers setting out regularly twice a day. He was the founder of a pleasant and beautiful city in *Proper Persia*, on which he bestowed his name, calling it *Darabgerd*,

*Wages a successful war with* Philip *of* Macedon.

*Marries his daughter, but sends her back.*

*Settles posts throughout* Persia.

*His other works.*

*passed for, the son of a fuller. Whatever my parts may be,* returned *Darab, I should be much pleased to hear, without either allegories or metaphors, who I am to suppose myself, and whether that spirit of ambition which I feel in my breast ought to be checked or cherished.* Upon this, the honest old man related to him all he knew; which, as soon as *Darab* heard, he demanded the jewels; and, having received them, went directly to the army; and, applying himself to the commander in chief, told him all that his reputed father had related. The general was at that very time about to give battle to the *Grecks*; he therefore gave no answer to *Darab*, but advised him to keep his own counsel, and to serve the queen valiantly in the approaching engagement. Which instructions of his he exactly pursued, and behaved with such prudence and vivacity in the battle, that the general gave easy credit to what he had told him; and, on his return from the war, presented him to the queen, and gave it as his opinion, that he was her son. Which of these stories is true, or which comes nearest the truth, we pretend not to determine.

i. e.

i. e. *Mount Darab*; in the middle of which rose an hill, in the shape of a tent or pavilion; and without its walls lay a circle of hills, producing salt of various colours, transported from thence into all the provinces of *Persia*. He likewise erected another city called *Khourch*: and, after a reign of four years, according to *Mirkhond* [k]; of fourteen, says another writer [l]; at the end of twelve, says a third [m]; he died universally lamented, and left the crown to his son (V).

DARAB

[k] Hist. sect. 19. [l] TARIKH MONTEKEBH. [m] LEBTARIKH.

(V) It is certainly no bad caution to an historian, that, in his writings, he should forget his country, or rather, that he should lay aside that partiality which a man naturally has for his country. The *Persian* historians, as we have said in our text, represent *Darab* moralizing in his last moments, and reading a lecture on the vicissitudes of this world with his expiring breath, closeing all with passionate intreaties, that *Alexander* would use his subjects kindly, and take his daughter *Rouschengh* to wife. Who can avoid admiring a prince, so truly a prince, even in the sight of death? The *Greek* writers, on the other hand, make *Darius* moralize too; but then it is in favour of their hero: he was so struck with the virtues of the *Macedonian*, that he yielded to him his sceptre rather with admiration than disgust. Let us hear what *Plutarch* puts into the mouth of *Darius* on this subject, and we shall be constrained to own, that the desire of making all facts contribute as far as possible to the glory of one's country, is not peculiar to *Persian* writers. *Plutarch*, having long expatiated on the virtues of *Alexander*, tells us, that *Darius* was a long time of opinion, that he owed his successes to fortune; but, when he understood the truth, he said, *Well, I do not yet perceive the condition of the* Persians *so deplorable; since the world can never tax us now with imbecillity or effeminacy, whose fate it was to be vanquished by such a person. Therefore my prayers shall be to the gods for his prosperity, and that he may still be victorious in war, to the end that in well-doing I may surpass* Alexander. *For my emulation and ambition leads me, in point of honour, to shew myself more cordial and friendly than he. If then the fates have otherwise determined of me and mine, O* Jupiter, *preserver of the* Persians, *and you his equal deities, to whom the care of kings belongs, hear your suppliant, and suffer none but* Alexander *to sit upon the throne of* Cyrus (45). One may safely say, there is as just ground to suspect this passage of forgery, as any of the romantic stories in the *Persian* authors. *Darius* worshiped no god but the true GOD; he was utterly unacquainted with the *Jupiter* of the *Greeks*; and it does not appear, that, even after *Alexander* conquered *Persia*, he established

(45) *Plutarch. de fortuna Alexandri.*

the

Darab II.

DARAB the ſecond, or the younger, ſurnamed *Darab Kuchek*, came very young to the crown, and, what was much worſe, came to it without any of the qualities of a prince. He was of an ill diſpoſition, haughty, brutal, falſe, and cruel; properties which rendered him in a ſhort time hateful to his people, and obnoxious to his neighbours. The *Perſians*, unuſed to ſuch treatment, entered into private negotiations with *Aſcander* the ſon of *Filikous*, that is, *Alexander the Great* the ſon of *Philip*, whom many of the *Perſian* writers believe to have been the ſon of *Darab* the firſt by the daughter of *Filikous*, whom he ſent back becauſe of her offenſive breath; and perſuaded him to enter *Perſia* with an army, promiſing to join him as ſoon as he arrived with a force ſufficient to protect them, and to put him in poſſeſſion of an empire, of which they held *Darab* to be unworthy. As a pretence for making war, they adviſed *Aſcander* to refuſe payment of the tribute which his father had agreed to ſend annually into *Perſia*; and with theſe negotiations the king of *Macedon* readily fell in. *Darab*, finding that *Aſcander* did not ſend his tribute as uſual, ſent an embaſſador to demand it; to whom *Aſcander* anſwered, that thoſe who paid tribute in his country were dead. But others ſay, that the pieces of gold, in which the tribute was payable, being called by a name, which ſignified at once a piece of corn and an egg, *Aſcander* anſwered *Darab*'s embaſſador in deriſion, when he demanded a mighty ſum of gold for the tribute in arrear, that the bird which had laid thoſe eggs was flown into another world, alluding to his father's death, who had burdened his ſubjects with this tribute. This anſwer terribly provoked *Darab*, who, to ſhew at once his reſentment and contempt of ſo weak an enemy, ſent a ſecond embaſſador with an harſh meſſage, accompanied with a preſent more expreſſive of his maſter's ſentiments, than any ſpeech or letter could have been. This preſent was a little caſket, containing a *dibble* or *planting-ſtick*, a bag full of ſmall ſtones, and another full of ſmall coin; the firſt to intimate that he was young and inconſiderate, and that he had better employ himſelf in his gardens,

*His evil qualities.*

*His ſubjects revolt, and join Aſcander.*

Aſcander

*refuſes to pay the uſual tribute.*

the ſuperſtitions of the *Greeks* there. That *Darius* might recommend his kingdom, or his daughter, to *Alexander*, or that he might intreat him to uſe his ſubjects well, is credible; but that *Darius* fell in love with the virtues of an enemy, who came unprovoked to lay waſte his empire, is a ſtroke of *Greek* eloquence, which may pleaſe us well enough in an oration, but can hardly be digeſted for hiſtory. We muſt therefore bear with the *Perſians* as well as the *Greeks*, ſeek truth in the writings of the one as well as the other, receive her kindly as oft as we find her, and not charge one people more than another, with concealing or diſguiſing her, to ſerve a turn.

than in matters of ſtate; the ſecond ſhewing the power and ſtrength of the *Perſian* nation; and the third their riches: the whole implying, that it was a raſh, imprudent thing for ſuch a petty prince as him to oppoſe ſo great and powerful a monarch. However, this embaſſador, with his preſent, found *Aſcander* on the point of going into the field; and had therefore no opportunity of carrying back to his maſter any anſwer. The troops of the king of *Macedon* were not very numerous; but they were all choſen men, ſuch as were valiant in their perſons, and, at the ſame time, inured to hardſhips. On his entering *Aſia*, he met with little oppoſition, partly through the hatred which the people had conceived againſt *Darab*, and partly from the generoſity of *Aſcander*'s behaviour, who treated them not as enemies, but ſubjects. When he arrived in *Armenia*, he received a letter from *Darab*, wherein that monarch pretended great concern for his welfare, adviſed him not to hazard a battle, but rather to conſent to a peace while it was yet in his power; adding ſome menaces at the cloſe. *Aſcander* returned him for anſwer, that empires were beſtowed by GOD alone, who changed them as he thought proper. After this, he continued his march till he entered the province of *Aderbayagjan*, where he defeated one of *Darab*'s captains, who endeavoured to oppoſe his paſſage; and, having done this, he advanced into *Ghilan*. This province, according to *Mirkhond*, was, in old times, a flouriſhing kindom, called by its inhabitants *Endſafet*, i. e. the *White Indies*, in alluſion to the beauty of the country, which is far preferable to that of the *Indies* properly ſo called; its ſituation alſo being remarkably happy, by reaſon of the *Caſpian* ſea on one ſide, and their eaſy correſpondence with *Tartary*, *Perſia*, and *Armenia*, all lying round them. This country *Aſcander* quickly ſubdued. From thence he marched into the heart of *Perſia*; where, in the province properly called by that name, *Darab* met him with a prodigious army. After an obſtinate and bloody battle, *Aſcander* carried the victory; and *Darab* was forced to fly, leaving his camp, his wives, and his daughters, in the power of the victor. In their flight, the *Perſians* met with a river, wherein many entering heedleſly, were drowned. At laſt a ford was diſcovered, through which *Darab*, attended by the principal perſons in his army, paſſed; but the ſoldiers, who followed him, crouding each other, the weakeſt were thrown down, and periſhed miſerably in the water. As ſoon as the king was come to a place of ſafety, he ſent once more embaſſadors to *Aſcander* to treat of peace, offering, in caſe he would ſend back his wives and daughters, and retire with his troops back to *Greece*, to renounce all right of tribute, and make ſome other conceſſions. At the ſame time that he propoſed

*Aſcander enters* Aſia.

*Reduces the province of* Ghilan.

*Defeats* Darab *in a pitched battle.*

this treaty, he dispatched embassadors also to the kings of *India* and *Macherek*, intreating them to yield him assistance, that he might be able to drive the *Greek* out of his dominions; which they furnished with such readiness, that, in a short time, he had an army on foot more numerous and potent than that which he had lost. As for *Ascander*, he treated the offers made him by *Darab* with derision, making all the haste he could to engage the *Persian* forces a second time, notwithstanding he was well informed of the great reinforcements they had received. It was not long before he brought them to a battle, in which the *Greek* gained another complete victory, *Darab* flying, with a few of his captains, to a strong fortress, where, before he could well recollect himself, some of his own subjects most treacherously put him to death; that is, they gave him several mortal wounds with their poniards, and then fled to the camp of *Ascander*, leaving their unhappy prince weltering in his blood. *Ascander* no sooner received the news, than he went with the utmost expedition to *Darab*'s fortress, and found him in his last agonies; which sight so touched the *Greek*, that, melting into tears, and holding up his hands to heaven, he protested he had neither knowlege of, nor pleasure in, so execrable a deed. The dying king expressed great satisfaction thereat, assured him that he throughly believed all that he said, besought him to chastise the traitors by whose hands he died, and intreated him to espouse his daughter *Rouschengh*, and not to put the several provinces of the empire under the direction of strangers; with all which *Ascander* promised to comply. Then *Darab*, after making many pitiful complaints of the misery of human life, and the inconstancy of fortune, all which are repeated by *Mirkhond*, yielded up the ghost, after a reign of fourteen years. Thus far we have followed, for the most part, the author last-mentioned (W). The reader might

*Gains another complete victory.*

Darab *murdered by his own subjects.*

Ascander's *generous behaviour.*

(W) An author informs us (46), that, in compliance with *Darab*'s last request, *Ascander*, or *Alexander*, appointed, for the governors of *Persia*, natives of that country; but that afterwards he had it in his head to have changed this disposition, and to have appointed *Greeks* in their room; but that *Aristotle*, whom this writer calls his vizir, advised him to leave things as they stood, and not to remove any of the *Persian* lords, to whom he had given the direction of provinces. It is very certain, that this circumstance is not, strictly speaking, agreeable to truth: *Aristotle* neither accompanied *Alexander* in this expedition, nor took upon him to dictate to him in matters of state, except in general terms; otherwise it is not at all improbable, that he would have given him the advice mentioned by

(46) *Jabia al Cafvini in Lebtarikh.*

this

might very well expect, that we should here put an end to this section, especially since he has already seen the history of *Persia*, according to the *Greek* writers, concluded at the death of *Darius*. But so it is, that, in order to pursue the theme laid down in the title of this section, we are bound to carry on our history to the death of *Alexander*; for, as we have shewn before, the oriental writers, in order no doubt to save the credit of the *Asiatics*, have pretended, that the empire of *Iran*, with its dependencies, which were then very great, came into the hands of *Alexander*, not so much by conquest, as by right. In this light therefore, *Alexander* was the last monarch of the dynasty of the *Kainites*, and consequently his reign ought as much to be taken notice of here, as the reigns of any of his predecessors [P].

Alexander.

ALEXANDER, son of *Philip* king of *Macedon*, is, by the *Persian* writers, stiled *Iscander Ben Filoukous*, which signifies the same thing; only they pretend, that it was a kind of surname bestowed on him for the following reason: they will have it, that he was the son of *Darab* the first by the daughter of *Filikous*, whom he sent home because of her nauseous breath; but that *Philip* bringing him up as his own son, and leaving to him the kingdom, he called himself, out of gratitude, *Alexander* the son of *Philip*, though he put in his claim to the kingdom of *Persia* as heir to *Darab* his father (X). The oriental

[P] MIRKHOND. sect. 20, 21. D'HERBELOT. biblioth. art. Dara, Escander.

this author, since it would evidently have contributed to the keeping the people quiet and easy; and would also have been very conformable to the temper of *Alexander*, who, when in a right frame of mind, always professed a generous regard for mankind in general, and a desire of behaving as an universal parent towards those over whom, as an universal monarch, he sought the power of ruling; at least, this is the idea *Plutarch* (47) would give us of him, and of *Aristotle*, who, though a philosopher, was a great politician, and had perhaps better conceptions of this conqueror's intentions, than most of the writers who have taken upon them, not only to record, but to criticize his actions.

(X) The history of *Alexander the Great* has not only been intermixed with fables by the *Persian* writers; the eastern authors in general, even those most esteemed, abound with very extraordinary circumstances relating to that conqueror. *Joannes Malela*, a very celebrated writer, to whom we are indebted for a very curious history of the *Constantinopolitan* emperors, hath given us some strokes in his ac-

(47) *De fortuna Alexandri.*

count

oriental writers in general beſtow another ſurname upon him, *viz.* that of *Dhoulcarnein*, or rather *Dulcarnein*, which ſignifies lite-

count of *Alexander*, which do not very well agree with what the *Greek* writers have delivered, though he follows them in the main: for example, he makes *Roxana* the daughter of *Darius*, in which he joins with the *Perſian* hiſtorians, who, as we have ſeen, allege, that the emperor of *Perſia*, in his laſt moments, intreated *Alexander* to marry his daughter *Rouſchengh*; whereas *Arrian* makes *Roxana* the daughter not of *Darius*, but of *Oxyartes*; but this is a ſmall matter: we have in the ſame author a ſtory of ſome length, which is quite in the oriental taſte: "It was the cuſtom, ſays "he, of *Alexander the Great*, in "the expeditions he made af-"ter the conqueſt of *Perſia*, to "go in diſguiſe with ſuch em-"baſſadors as he ſent to the "courts of neighbouring prin-"ces, that in this ſituation he "might make ſuch obſerva-"tions as might facilitate his "deſigns. Of this, it ſeems, "*Candace*, queen of the inner "or higher *Ethiopia*, had no-"tice; whereupon ſhe made "ſtrict inquiry as to the form "and preſence of this conque-"ror. The reſult of this was, "that we were told he was low "in ſtature; had large broad "teeth; ſome of which ſtood "out; that of his eyes, one "was of a light grey, the other "quite black; which marks "ſhe carefully remembered. "When therefore *Alexander* ap-"peared with his embaſſadors "in her preſence, ſhe inſtantly "ſingled him out, addreſſing "herſelf to him in theſe words: "*You*, O Alexander, *have been* "*too wiſe for all the world, and* "*yet one woman has been too* "*wiſe for you.* To which he "replied, *I therefore grant you,* "*and your ſubjects, my protec-*"*tion, as a reward for your ex-*"*traordinary capacity; I alſo* "*accept you for a wife.* To "which *Candace* readily yield-"ed. After this marriage, *A-*"*lexander* went into *Ethiopia*, "and ſeveral other countries "(47)." If we were critically to inquire into the origin of ſuch ſtories, we ſhould perhaps find it no difficult thing to ſhake off all romantic circumſtances, and leave only the naked truth; but the compaſs of theſe notes neither admits of ſuch diſquiſitions, nor indeed does the nature of this work allow them. Our preſent buſineſs is to ſhew what oriental writers have ſaid of affairs mentioned in the text; and this therefore leads us to recite what is recorded by *Abul-Pharajius*. This celebrated hiſtorian calls *Nebuchadnezzar* by the name of *Bochtanſer*, as the *Perſian* writers do; and, in his ſhort account of the *Perſian* kings, preſerves exactly the names recorded by *Mirkhond*; we mean the latter race of kings, the deſcendents of *Guſhtaſp*, who ſucceeded after the *Greek* power ceaſed to have dominion in *Perſia*: he calls the laſt king of *Perſia Darab*, the ſon of *Darab*; of *Alexander* he ſpeaks thus: "*Alex-*"*ander*, the ſon of *Philip*,

(47) *Chronographia, p.* 449.

literally *with two horns*, in allusion to the two ends of the world, the east and the west. Of the first nothing can be said with

" reigned six years after the " death of *Darius*, having also " reigned six years before his " death. He subdued many " nations; so that his domi- " nions extended even to *In-* " *dia*, and the frontiers of *China*. " He was called *Dhul-Kharnain*, " *i. e.* two-horned, because he " seemed to have passed from " one horn of the sun to the " other, *i. e.* from west to east. " Five-and-thirty kings he slew, " and twelve cities he founded; " two of these in the province " of *Chorasan*, viz. *Hera* and " *Marwa*; one in the region " *Alsogd*, viz. *Samarchand*; and " in *Egypt*, *Alexandria*. When " he returned out of *India*, he " went to *Babylon*, where he " died of poison; and his body " being put into a chest of gold, " it was borne on the shoulders " of kings and nobles to the " *Egyptian Alexandria*, where " it was interred. It was *Alex-* " *ander*, who began the wall *Ya-* " *juji*, which was composed of " stone and iron, the iron being " let into the stone, to fasten it " by the help of fire, each of " the stones being twelve cubits " in length, and eight broad. " This wall, when it was finish- " ed, came down to the place " called *Babo l'Abwab*, in the " valleys of the region of *Xaph-* " *jak*, from whence it was car- " ried over and through the " mountains, as far as the sea " of the *Greeks*; nor were there " wanting many of the *Persian* " kings, who, to defend their " dominions from the incur- " sions of the *Turks*, sought to " find the foundations of this " wall. At last they were found " by *Yazdejerd*, the son of *Bah-* " *ram Jur*, who began to carry " on the work, but did not live " to see it finished; several suc- " ceeding kings prosecuted the " same design, but none of them " with effect, till God rendered " it easy to *Chosroes Nusherwan*, " who built it strongly, uniting " it to the mountains, and at " last brought it down to the " sea, placing iron gates at the " end, so that an hundred men " were then able to defend what " would otherwise require an " army of an hundred thousand " (48)." Of this wall, as it nearly concerns the history of *Persia*, it is necessary, that we should give some further account. The famous *Abu l'Ghazi Baliader Khan* of *Khowarazm*, in his genealogical history of the *Tartars*, has given us the following account of it: — " Those of *Kitay* have built a " great wall to cover their coun- " try, in which there are two " iron gates for the passage of " the merchants, and other tra- " vellers. This wall is called " *Sat* in *Arabic*, which signifies " *fortress*; in the antient *Turk-* " *ish* language it is called *Turk-* " *urga*; and, in the language " of *Kitay*, *Ungu*. *Alexander* " *the Great* caused a like wall " to be raised to cover the fron- " tiers of his dominions; but it " was composed of all sorts of " metals. His design, by this " wall, was to hinder the na- " tion of *Jadsutz-Madzuth*, i. e. " of *Gog* and *Magog*, from car-

(48) *Historia dynastarum*, p. 97.

" rying

with certainty, or even with probability. To the second the eastern writers, and especially the *Persian* historians, pay great honours, and tell a multitude of things concerning him, which are not to be met with in the *Greek* or *Latin* historians: for example, they tell us, that this monarch, being asked why

"rying their ravages into the "lands under his dominion, "where they had done great "mischief in times past. 'Tis "a general tradition with the "*Tartars*, that those people "have the muzzle of a dog; "and that this wall being made "up of all sorts of metals, they "did all in their power to make "a passage through it by dint "of licking, but they could "not succeed; that neverthe-"less, before the day of judg-"ment, they shall come and lick "their way through the wall; "and that then they shall do a "great deal of mischief in the "world. *Nausbir Wanadill*, sul-"tan of *Samachy*, caused, in "like manner, a wall of earth "to be built round about his "kingdom (49)." On this passage the ingenious editor of that curious work has added the following remarks: "The remains "of this wall, which the *Persians* "pretend their king *Naw-shir-*"*wan* caused to be drawn from "the *Caspian* to the *Black* sea, "are at this day to be seen up-"on the confines of the pro-"vince of *Shirman* and *Geor-*"*gia*: it begins at the higher "town of *Derbend*, and extends "thence north-westward across "the mountains of *Georgia* to-"wards the *Black* sea. These "remains are every-where three "feet thick, but its height is "very unequal; for in some "parts it is still six and seven "feet high, in others only one "or two, and in some places it "is quite beaten down. It ap-"pears at first sight to be built "of stone; but, when one comes "to examine it near, it proves "to be only a kind of petrified "earth, sand, and shells, which "has formed so solid a body, "that there is no free-stone "better than it: and it is "on this account that our "author thinks it might be "called a wall of earth. The "late emperor of *Russia*, in his "*Persian* expedition, had the "curiosity to go see the re-"mains of this wall, so far as "the situation of the country, "and his affairs, would permit "him; and he could not but "admire the solidity of that "composition, which he found "every-where so exceeding "hard, that there was no break-"ing off any pieces of it, with-"out employing a good deal of "strength. He found also, some "leagues within the mountain, "a skirt of it, which seemed to "be intire, and was about fif-"teen feet high. In all pro-"bability, this wall had stood "intire to this day, if it had "nothing to fear but time; but "the hands of men which built "it, have also destroyed it; "and most of the towns, bo-"roughs, and villages of the "countries thereabouts are built "with the ruins of this wall "(50)."

(49) *Genealog. hist. of Tartars, vol.* i. *p.* 42. (50) *Ibid. vol.* ii. *p.* 722.

he paid greater honours to his tutor than to his father, answered, that it was but just, because his father made him descend from heaven on earth; whereas the instructions of his master had made him rise from earth to heaven [r]. One day he said to a counsellor of his, who had been long about his person, "I "am not satisfied with your service for this reason: I know "that I am a man, and that, as a man, I am liable to errors "and mistakes; for which you never have reproved me. If "this happened for want of perceiving them, then you must "be ignorant, and unworthy of your office; but, if you did "know them, and yet were silent, it was treason [s]." It is likewise reported of him, that, to make an experiment of a courtier's temper, he removed him from an higher to a lower office, and afterwards took occasion to ask him, how the latter agreed with him, and how he brought himself to discharge its functions. "Very well, answered the courtier, since it "is not any office or dignity that does honour to a man, but "the man that does honour to it; since every post requires "sense and honesty to execute it well; and he who possesses "these, cannot fail to discharge his duty with reputation." *Alexander*, having heard this, commended him highly, restored him to his former employment, and gave him a great reward [t]. Somebody wondering, in the presence of *Alexander*, at his acquiring so young so large an empire, and adding, it was still stranger he preserved it; he thereupon turned about, and said, "By two maxims I have done all this: I have taken "care to treat my enemies so well, that they have found it "their interest to become my friends; while, on the other "hand, my care of my friends has been such, as to raise, "out of gratitude, a double affection for my service." *Khondemir* the famous historian, speaking of *Alexander the Great*, informs us, that a person in a very bad apparel presented him one day a petition admirably well penned. The king, having read it with pleasure, and much admiring both the thoughts and the stile, looked next on the person of the man, and then answered him thus: "Friend, if you had taken care to appear "before me in an habit as neat and decent as that in which "you have cloathed your thoughts, I should have been much "better pleased with you than I am." To which the man readily answered, "Your servant has received from nature "that capacity of speaking and writing, which you are pleased "to commend; but it is to you, great monarch, who are so "much famed for your bounty and generosity, that he must "be indebted for such a garment, as may render him worthy

[r] Vit. RABIALAKIAR. [s] HAFEZ. in Bahariſtan. [t] MOIANNABI apud D'HERBELOT. biblioth. orient. art. Escander.

"of your regard." *Alexander* was so well pleased with the modesty and justice of this answer, that he ordered a magnificent habit to be brought, and, with a considerable sum of money, gave it to this wise man in necessity, whose learning till then had left him in rags. In the *nighiaristan*, i. e. a book so called, the word signifying literally a *gallery*, or *place to walk in*, we are told, that a certain flagrant rebel being brought bound hand and foot into the presence of *Alexander*, that monarch generously restored him to his freedom; which surprising those about him, one of his favourites had the boldness to say, "Sir, if I were in your place, I would not have extended "mercy to such a man:" "And I (replied *Alexander*), who "am not in yours, have pardoned him." Then, after a short silence, he added, "I the more readily pardon my ene-"mies, because there is no comparison between the pleasure "one tastes in an act of clemency, and in an act of vengeance." *Khondemir*, speaking of the death of *Alexander*, assures us, that, finding his last moments approach, he wrote to his mother two verses to console her, to the purport following: *Your son, after having counted some moments of life, is delivered to death. He is gone like a flash of lightning, and has only left behind him matter of discourse* [u]. It may be supposed, that the intent of these verses was to put his mother in mind, that, as human life, so human glory, was a mere nothing; and that therefore she ought not to grieve at his being snatched so soon from an empire so lately acquired, since, if he had lived longer, it would have been of no great consequence to himself, and would have furnished only more matter of speculation to those who amuse themselves with repeating the actions, and sometimes censuring the conduct, of others. On what authority these stories are grounded, it is difficult to say. They are chiefly recorded by moral and political writers, who aim rather at instructing men by paraphrasing on remarkable actions, and wise sayings, than at delivering a dry detail of facts, which, without such reflections, instruct very little. A *Persian* author of great genius hath related a remarkable story of the hero we are now speaking of, which is, in all probability, founded on what the *Greeks* tell us of his sparing *Thebes*, because it gave birth to *Pindar*. The *Persian* story runs thus: *Alexander* having issued orders, after the reduction of a very strong place, that it should be given up to the mercy of his soldiers, some of his courtiers informed the king, that there was in this place a philosopher of great name, who deserved his majesty's notice. The king ordered, that he should be immediately sent for. When he appeared, it so happened, that he made but a very

[u] D'Herbelot, biblioth. orient. art. Escander.

indifferent figure: upon which *Alexander*, turning to those who had sent for him, said, with a smile of contempt, "What "strange figure have you brought me here?" which so piqued the philosopher, that he repeated immediately the following lines, which he made upon the spot;

*O prince! of manners void, though great in fame,*
*Why shouldst thou slight my person, though uncouth?*
*Dost thou not know, that man's exterior form*
*Is but the scabbard of th' enliv'ning mind?*
*Why shouldst thou judge then of the weapon's edge,*
*When yet you've nothing seen, except the case?*

He added to this poetical reproof the following words in prose: "One may say of a man unindued with virtue, that his body "is no better than a prison; since the soul must find itself so "penned up therein, that any other confinement would seem "liberty in comparison thereof. The vicious man is tortured "continually; there is no occasion for an executioner and "guards to punish or distress him: the very skin, which covers "his body, is at the same time the unsurmountable wall of "a perpetual prison." The same philosopher added, "There "is nothing more unreasonable than to envy others those gifts "which God and nature have bestowed upon them. The "bosom of the envious man is continually full of anger and "spleen against his Creator: he thinks every thing amiss "which is given to others, and at the same time covets "whatever is not designed for him. As it is thus the custom "of the envious to oppose constantly the conduct of him "who governs the world with infinite wisdom, so the mouth, "that thus murmurs against Providence, deserves no other "answer, than to be filled with earth. One of this disposi-"tion exclaims at every thing he sees in the hands of his "neighbour, *For what reason should this man have more than* "*I?*" At these words he stopped. But *Alexander*, admiring the boldness as well as prudence of the man, bad him go on; assuring him, that he took all that he said in good part. The philosopher, on this, proceeded in his harangue: "Wise men "(continued he) are liberal of their wealth, and give part of "it to their friends while they are alive; but the covetous "are such fools as to fatigue themselves in laying up riches "for their enemies. The railleries thrown out by the great "against such as are in low condition, tarnish the lustre of "their high qualities, and take off that deference, which "otherwise would be paid them. Whoever wearies himself "with striking those who dare not strike again, will be easily "beaten, when he meets one who dares oppose him; and he

" who puts to the ſword without pity, will one day feel, with-
" out pity, the edge of a ſword." *Alexander* at this ſtopped him, revoked his reſolution, pardoned the citizens whom he had deſtined to deſtruction, and rewarded the philoſopher for his timely advice [w]. It may poſſibly happen, that ſome rigid critic may object to the inſerting this dubious relation in our hiſtory; but we hope, though it ſhould be exploded as a fact, it will yet be received as a proper inſtance of the *Perſian* mode of writing hiſtory; and, at the ſame time we remark this, let us be indulged another obſervation, that the writings of *Xenophon*, who was very well acquainted with the antient *Perſian* learning, correſpond nearly with the manner of thoſe authors we have lately cited; for he reaſons on all the facts which he delivers, inſomuch that his moral and political reflections have, in the opinion of many, removed him, as well as the *Perſian* writers, from the claſs of hiſtorians into that of romance-writers: but, as his excellent treatiſe of the education of *Cyrus* has, within theſe few years, found many warm and learned defenders, it may be the time is near, when we ſhall ſee apologies written in favour of orintal hiſtorians, who, like *Herodotus*, may have their credit perhaps reſtored, when the ſubjects they treat of come to be examined to the bottom (Y). The

[w] FAREZ in Bahariſtan.

(Y) The *Greek* writers would perſuade us, that the *Perſian* kings concealed themſelves from the ſight of the people, that they might conceive extraordinary ideas of one who dwelt in ſuch ſtate. But that they were therein miſtaken, if the oriental writers are to be credited, will appear from an antient cuſtom in uſe among the kings, of whom we have been ſpeaking, on the firſt day of *April*, called from thence, that is, from this cuſtom, *Chorrem-ruz*, i. e. the day of mirth; on which, as a very antient writer informs us, the king deſcended from his throne dreſſed in a white garment; afterwards riding abroad on a white horſe, accompanied by his nobility, he and they gave open and indiſcriminate audience to all who approached them, laying aſide all diſtinctions, and acting as if they were equals: huſbandmen and clowns ſat down at the ſame table with the king; without ceremony told him their minds, and without fear made ſuch requeſts as they thought fit. The king, on the other hand, addreſſed them in theſe terms: *I am one of you; and, notwithſtanding the elevation of my ſtation, I know that all I have ariſes from your labour; and that kings could not be without you, any more than you could be without kings: let us then agree like brothers, ſince nothing but union can preſerve us* (51). The foregoing hiſtory hath ſhewn us, that the *Perſian* kings, in antient times,

(51) *Hyde hiſt. relig. vet. Perſar. c.* 19. *p.* 253.

The *Persians* are not only much charmed with the character of the great *Alexander*: they are also wonderfully pleased with that

were really as wise, as humane, and as condescending, as any that have reigned in the north or west. As to the modern *Persians*, on whose credit we are now forced to take the history of these early times, they speak and write as freely about government as we do. For example; the famous poet *Sahdy* wrote an express treatise on this subject, called *An advice to kings*: among other wise and prudent admonitions, he delivers these: *It is the wisdom of kings to be kind to the poor, and not to oppress the rich. The felicity of a state depends on the good sense and right disposition of the sovereign. The security of his country depends on his administring justice impartially. Prosperity follows security, and will be where that is. If a country is once known to be secure, merchants will resort thither; the gain from thence will be large, and all temporal blessings will abound. If the country become rich, the king cannot well be poor; and, besides, at the last day he shall be recompensed amply by* God *for so well discharging his duty; whereas he who acts in a contrary manner, will, in every respect, meet with a contrary fate. Be always kind to merchants, and public ministers, that strangers, being well received, may carry a good report of you into their own country. Soon will that kingdom fall, wherein the souls of strangers are afflicted: be wise therefore, use the traveller well, that wheresoever he goes he may speak well of you.—A prince ought always to have before his eyes this maxim; Dominion really belongs to* God, *and he has no certainty how long it shall be delegated to him: he ought likewise to remember, that the country he rules was given by* God *to the people who inhabit it, to the end he may not be misled by the false ideas of things that have no solidity, and place his trust on joys that may not perhaps last five days. It is reported of the caliph* Aron Reschid, *that he one day said to the famous* Beloul *his brother, "Give me some good "advice." He answered, "There "is nothing to be carried out of "this world into the other, but "good and bad works; it is in "your power to carry which load "you please."—This* Beloul *was a very knowing man, who, that he might have the more leisure to attend his studies, would never marry. The caliph his brother asked him another time for his advice, how he might govern his people for their advantage and his own. The sage answered, "Let your decisions become laws "through their apparent equity, "and never let reason yield to "your will; prevent, as far "as you can, requests; give "little to such as ask, but think "of giving in time to such as "merit, and do not ask. The "king is the head; the people are "the body of the state: if the "king is either ignorant or wic-"ked, the head will devour the "body with its teeth."—The government of an empire is an affair which requires a genius attentive and collected, and an heart which turns itself continually towards the most high* God, *to invoke*

that of his vizir, as they call him, or, as he was in truth, his preceptor, *Aristotle*. This wise man they call sometimes by the name of *Aristhathialis*, but commonly, by way of abbreviation, *Aristou*. They report, that he was wonderfully sagacious, even in his childhood; that he addicted himself very early to the school of *Plato*, and continued therein upwards of twenty years, till he set up for himself, and became author of the sect of *maschaioun*, i. e. the peripatetics. They affirm likewise, that he died very old, and in high reputation throughout all *Greece*. They are very positive, that he was prime minister to *Alexander* the son of *Philip*; and, in consequence of this notion, they report a multitude of fine sayings, and moral maxims, under his name. *Ben Cassan* informs us, that *Aristotle* composed above an hundred different treatises on various subjects; and, amongst the rest, mentions one, which is neither found among his works as we have them at present, nor is at all taken notice of by any of the *Greek* writers. Its title runs thus, *A discourse on the conduct which a great general ought to observe after the gaining or losing of a battle*; which, *Ben Cassan* says, he dedicated to *Alexander the Great*. As to his philosophy, we cannot find, that it was throughly studied by the antient *Persians*, though, in after-times, it came to be in high credit with the *Arabians* [x]. But to return to *Alexander*: *Mirkhond*, who has written very copiously of his conquests, affirms, that he reduced many nations to the east of *Persia* under his dominion, and that he advanced as far as the *Indies*; that he was the founder of many glorious cities, particularly of *Heri* or *Herat*, and *Samarkand*. He reports likewise, that this prince, being mightily taken with the *Persian* learning, caused three celebrated treatises, written in that language, to be translated into *Greek*; the first relating to physic,

[x] D'Herbelot. biblioth. orient. art. Aristhalis.

*voke his aid, that its owner may turn his feet, his hand, his tongue, and his pen, aright; and the king, who acts thus,* God *will undoubtedly endue with grace, to conserve his empire and his piety* (52). It is evident from these citations, that the *Persians* have at present, and have always had, very rational sentiments as to the reciprocal duties of governors and subjects; and it is likewise plain, that the diffuse manner of writing, peculiar to the east, is not without its advantages; since the intent of history is not tiring the memory, but directing the judgment, which is perfectly answered by the oriental mode of delivering the wise sayings, as well as great actions, of famous kings.

(51) *Apud Chardin voyag. tom.* iii. *p.* 253.

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the second to astrology, and the third to natural philosophy (Z). He divided, says the same historian, his ample dominions

(Z) At first sight it may seem, that *Mirkhond* might have inserted this story of *Alexander*'s causing books to be translated out of the *Persic* language into *Greek*, merely to do honour to his country; but it would be unreasonable to suppose this, when we have good grounds to believe, that the fact was really as he reports it. These grounds are, first, that *Alexander* was a very learned and inquisitive prince; and secondly, that it was his custom to transmit whatever he thought might be useful to the commonwealth of learning into *Greece*; as for instance, the astronomical observations which were found in *Babylon*. But, as *Mirkhond* has set down the subjects of the books which he alleges were translated by the conqueror's command, the matter seems to be put out of dispute, since all the sciences he mentions were indisputably better understood in *Persia* than in *Greece*. First, as to physic, if we consider the prescriptions of *Hippocrates*, and other antient physicians, we shall find, that the drugs then in use, were most of them brought from the east, and not a few from *Persia*; and if they had their drugs from these places, why should we question their learning from the inhabitants of these places how to use them? But farther still; among the works of *Zerdusht*, there is a treatise which bears the title of *Bizishk-nama*, i. e. the book of physicians, which is said to treat intirely of the virtues of herbs, and how they ought to be applied; nay, he is reported to have been so very skilful in these matters, that *Sharistani*, in his treatise of the religions of the east, which we have so often quoted, attributes expresly all the miracles *Zerdusht* is said to have done to his skill in simples only (53). Now, take it either way; if he was inspired, he knew all things; if not, he knew so much of simples as to pass himself for a prophet; consequently there might be treatises on physic among the *Persians* well worth *Alexander*'s directing to be put into *Greek*. Secondly, as to astronomy and other mathematical sciences, we have proved in our note (N), p. 393—395, that they were well known to this people, when they were very little known to the *Greeks*, and that from the testimony of the *Greeks* themselves. It is true, that the modern *Persians* stand indebted for most of their knowlege in these sciences to the writings of the *Greeks*, which are translated into *Arabic* and *Persian*; but the reason of this is plain, because the antient books, relating to these abstruse sciences, were not so carefully preserved as those which regard history and morality; these being valuable in the sight of many, those precious only in the eyes of few. As to moral philosophy, which was the subject of the third book mentioned by *Mirkhond*, it was the darling study of the antient *Persians*,

(53) *Sharistani apud Hyde relig. vet. Pers. c. 22. p. 300.*

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minions into ninety governments; and, after a ſhort and glorious life, ended his days at *Babylon*, in the thirty-ſixth year of his age, and ſeventeenth of his reign [y], leaving his conqueſts

[y] MIRKHOND. hiſt. ſect. 21.

if we may venture to credit any thing which oriental writers have delivered. Morality is the ſubject of the book, intitled, *Gjouidan Chrad*, aſcribed to *Huſhang*, a king far older than *Zerduſht*. Morality was the ſubject of moſt of *Zoroaſter*'s writings, as we gather from ſuch fragments of them as we have ſeen, and eſpecially from the book of *ſad-der*, which though calculated for the vulgar in verſe, and in a ballad ſtile, contains as many moral ſentences as are to be found in *Diogenes Laertius*'s lives of the philoſophers. To theſe arguments, in favour of the learning of the antient *Perſians*, we may add the amazing love of ſcience viſible in the modern *Perſians*; for we can hardly account for it any other way than by their mixing with the antient inhabitants of this country, and borrowing from their ſtores, ſince they far exceed the *Turks*, and indeed all the eaſtern nations, except the *Chineſe*, in their affection for learning: as a proof of which, we ſhall allege the reigning maxim in their ſchools, not unworthy perhaps of being echoed in our univerſities: *Doubting is the beginning of ſcience; he who doubts nothing, examines nothing; he who examines nothing, diſcovers nothing, is blind, and muſt remain blind.* An extraordinary affection for myſterious theology ſeems to have been the reigning paſſion of the antient *Perſians*, and of the *Perſees* at this day. Among the latter, there is a ſect ſtiled *Suphi* or *Sophi*, who profeſs themſelves admirers of the *Pythagoric* philoſophy. To deſcribe the notions of the *Suphi* in few words, we muſt ſay, that, according to their own account, they are quietiſts or enthuſiaſts; in the opinion of the vulgar, atheiſts. They faſt often, and to exceſs; they pretend to ecſtaſies, and converſations with GOD; they profeſs themſelves friends alike to all men, and believe that the good in all religions are ſaved; they have a remarkable averſion for churchmen, which is owing perhaps to the outrageous antipathy the clergy ſhew towards them. Sir *John Chardin* gives us a whimſical inſtance of this: he ſays, he was preſent when a preacher at *Spahawn* told the people in his ſermon, that the *Suphi* were atheiſts; that they deſerved to be burnt; and that he who killed one of this ſect did an action more pleaſing in the ſight of GOD, than if he ſaved the lives of ten other men. As ſoon as he came out of the pulpit, five or ſix *Suphi*, who were among his audience, cudgelled him heartily; and when our author interpoſed, and begged them to give ear to the poor man's cries, one of them anſwered briſkly, *What! ought a fellow, who preaches up murder, to complain of a beating* (54)?

(54) *Chardin voyag. tom.* iii. *p.* 211.

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to be divided among his captains, who are distinguished by the *Arabians* and *Persians* with the title of *molouk al shaovaif*, i. e. the *kings of nations* or *families*. The *Persians* likewise take notice of *Alexander*'s brother *Aridæus*, whom they stile *Ardous*, and, generally speaking, make him the son, instead of the brother, of that monarch. They agree, however, with the *Greeks* in representing him as a prince little qualified for empire; but they soften this account, by pretending, that he despised grandeur for the sake of wisdom, having learned from *Aristotle* to think those goods only valuable, which neither fortune nor force can take away.

We have now conducted the history of the *Persian* empire from its origin to its dissolution after the death of *Alexander the Great*. In our next period, we shall see it revive under a prince descended from their antient kings, and of the magian religion. We have referred our researches into the chronology of the writers from whom we have taken this history, till we come to the utter extinction of the monarchy of the native *Persians* in *Yezdegherd*. But, before we close this section, it will be proper to obviate some objections to the bulk of the foregoing history (A).

(A) First, It may be said, that there is so much of confessed fable in almost every reign of these *Persian* monarchs, and the years, generally speaking, assigned for the reign of each, are so incredible, that a prudent man will be tempted to reject the whole, rather than take up with a tale full of apparent absurdities. To this we answer, that if it once becomes an established rule to reject every history which carries in it a mixture of fable, all the antient historians must be condemned in the mass. *Berosus*, if we may judge from the fragments which still remain of his work, inserted many fabulous narrations in his *Babylonish* antiquities. *Manetho*, the *Egyptian* historian, can expect no mercy, if once this law be owned. *Herodotus*, *Xenophon*, and innumerable others (55), will share the same fate with *Mirkhond*, and the rest of the *Persian* writers.

As to the incredible length of the reigns of the *Persian* kings, we admit this charge to be just; but at the same time we can safely say, the same charge may be brought against every antient history extant among the orientals. To give but one instance from the history of the *Tartars*, written by *Abu l'Ghazi Bahader*, khan of *Khowarazm*, from records the most antient and authentic, if the royal author is to be believed; and yet he places but seventeen khans between *Bertizena Khan* and *Kabul Khan*; though, according to his history, there intervened two thousand five hun-

(52) *Stillingfleet origines sacræ, lib.* i. *c.* 5.

dred

dred and fifty years between those princes; and, in another part of his history, he allows a thousand years for the reign of six princes (56). These are mistakes as great as any that are to be met with in the historians we have cited; and it would be no difficult thing to draw together many examples of the like nature, if this were a proper place, But this single one is sufficient for our purpose: we do not pretend to say, that the numbers set down in our catalogues of kings are right, or capable of being defended; we only allege, that they are not more preposterous than the numbers which are met with in other oriental historians, who are, notwithstanding, allowed to have some truth in their works. This confession, we hope, will procure us some favour, and pave the way to those amendments which we shall offer in due time. But, secondly, it may be objected, that our *Persian* history from the oriental writers being, in most respects, directly opposite to the history in the foregoing section, which is extracted from the *Greek* writers, one of the two must be rejected, since opposites can never be alike true. To this we may say, that we would be glad to compound the difference, and to allow, that the *Persian* history by the *Greeks* is frequently to be preferred to this; and that this is, in other places, frequently to be preferred to that. Something in support of this demand has been already said on account of *Xerxes*'s expedition, the life of *Zoroaster*, and the death of *Darius*: besides, as we have before observed, the *Greeks* differ among themselves; and to this we may add, that they, like all other writers, were notoriously partial to their country and countrymen, as indeed were the *Persians*; so that, on the whole, what we ask will not appear very unreasonable; especially when we refer it to the judgment of the reader, to compare, to weigh, and to decide, as he pleases. But, thirdly, it may be objected, that these accounts, being opposite to what is recorded by the *Greek* writers, and having no authority to support them, but their reputed antiquity, they ought, for this reason, to be rejected; since true history is always supported by concurrent testimonies of natives and foreigners, the latter of which is wanting here. The strength, however, of this objection, which is the last, and perhaps the most plausible, of all that can be offered against the foregoing series of facts, will be effectually weakened, from the following considerations: First, among those writers that are best known to the learned, there are none who come near the times contained under the beginning of this period. Among the *Greek* historians, the history of the *Medes* and *Persians* ascends, as we have shewn, very little higher than *Cyrus*, if we except what *Diodorus Siculus* has transcribed from *Ctesias*, which has been

(56) *Preface to the genealog. hist. of the Tartars, p.* 8.

generally

generally exploded by the critics. With reſpect therefore to writers of great antiquity, if our hiſtory be unſupported by them, it is likewiſe uncontradicted. As to writers of a later date, our *Perſian* hiſtory is not deſtitute of friends among them, ſuch as are unbiaſed, and whoſe authority ought to be of ſome weight. The royal author of the hiſtory of the *Tartars*, ſpeaking of the original of his nation, places *Kejomaras* juſt where the *Perſian* hiſtorians place him (57); and it is likewiſe plain, that the belief of the true religion is reported, by the ſame records, to have remained untainted in theſe countries, which is exactly what our *Perſian* writers ſay. The ſame author agrees with them in many other things, ſuch as making *Sam*, i. e. *Shem*, and his deſcendents, the original inhabitants of *Iran* or *Perſia*, and in acknowleging *Huſhang*, the grandſon of *Kejomaras*, his ſucceſſor: he relates likewiſe the wars carried on by the deſcendants of *Turk* againſt the monarchs of *Iran*, and proportions the reigns of thoſe khans to the reigns of the kings of *Perſia*, mentioned in the foregoing hiſtory. In Dr. *Hyde*'s learned book of the religion of the antient *Perſians*, there are many *Arabic* and other hiſtorians quoted in ſupport of ſuch paſſages of the antient *Perſian* hiſtory, as he has occaſion to touch on in that work. It is true, that learned and judicious writer is far from conceiving, that all theſe oriental hiſtorians have delivered ought to be taken on truſt; on the contrary, he points out many of their errors, as he does alſo thoſe of the *Greek* writers; whence he argues, as we do after him, that intire credit ought to be given to neither; but that the likelieſt method for attaining truth, is to read and compare both (58). Secondly, the whole ſeries of antient hiſtory teaches, that in the moſt remote ages of the world theſe countries were very populous, and under the dominion of potent monarchs. This is exactly conformable to what our writers of the *Perſian* hiſtory, and other oriental authors, affirm; ſo that we muſt either renounce that opinion, which has hitherto been generally entertained, of theſe eaſtern countries being firſt and moſt fully peopled; or we muſt admit, that theſe accounts are probable, if it were in reſpect only to this point. Thirdly, there remain, of the antient *Perſians*, thoſe poor diſtreſſed creatures who are now ſtiled *Perſees*, as ſo many living witneſſes of the truth of this hiſtory. We can no way avoid affording our belief to this propoſition, that the religion they profeſs is the very ſame which their anceſtors held in the reign of *Yezdegherd*; and, if ſo, we muſt trace this religion from their accounts, thoſe of their conquerors, and ſuch as are to be met with among their neighbour nations. Now the *Perſees*, as well thoſe in *India* as thoſe who ſtill remain in their own country, affirm ſteadily, that it was ſettled by

(57) *P.* i. *c.* 2. *p.* 6. (58) *Hyde hiſt. relig vet. Perſ. & in præf.*

*Kejo-*

*Kejomaras*, reformed by *Zerduſht*, and ſo continued till the diſſolution of the empire of the native *Perſians*. The modern *Perſians*, and the *Arabic* hiſtorians, acknowlege theſe facts to be ſo; they are likewiſe admitted by ſuch of the oriental Chriſtian writers as have come to our knowlege: we may therefore conclude, that there is not ſo much in this third objection as at firſt ſight there may ſeem; but that, conſidering the nature of the thing, this hiſtory has as ſtrong evidence in its favour as moſt other hiſtories of equal antiquity.

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